W. L. S.

THE

REVOLUTIONARY DIPLOMATIC CORRESPONDENCE

OF THE

UNITED STATES.

EDITED UNDER DIRECTION OF CONGRESS

By FRANCIS WHARTON,

WITH

PRELIMINARY, INDEX, AND NOTES, HISTORICAL AND LEGAL.

The Columbian University
WASHINGTON, D. C.
Library of
THE SCHOOLS OF LAW,
This book must not be taken from the building.

PUBLISHED IN CONFORMITY WITH ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 15, 1856.

VOLUME IV.

WASHINGTON:
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE.
1889.

CORRESPONDENCE.

Observations on Mr. J. Adams' Letter of July 17, 1780.*

[Translation.]

I. The reasons which determined the Count de Vergennes to give Mr. Adams that advice are so plain that they must appear at first view:

(1) To be solicitious about a treaty of commerce before peace is established is like being busy about furnishing a house before the foundation is laid.

(2) In the situation in which America stands at present with regard to England, to announce to that power that they have forgotten her system of tyranny, her cruelties, and her perfidy, is discovering too great a degree of weakness, or at least too much good nature, and inviting her to believe that the Americans have an irresistible predilection for her, and to fortify her in the opinion she entertains, that the American patriots will submit through weariness or the preponderating influence of the tories.

(3) To propose a treaty of commerce which must be founded on confidence and on a union equivalent to an alliance, at a time when the war is raging in all its fury, when the court of London is wishing to ruin or to subjugate America, what is it but to give credit to the opinion which all Europe entertains, conformable to the assertions of the English ministers, that the United States incline towards a defection, and that they will be faithful to their engagements with France only till such time as Great Britain shall furnish a pretext for breaking them?

II. A person may be furnished eventually with plenipotentiary powers without being under the necessity of publishing them until circumstances permit him to use them. This happens every day. Mr. Adams is charged with three distinct commissions: (1) To take a share in the future negotiations for peace; (2) to conclude a treaty of commerce with Great Britain; and (3) to represent the United States at the court of London. It requires no great effort of genius to show that these three objects can not be accomplished at the same moment of time, nor that the two last can not serve as an introduction to the first. It is necessary, first of all, to obtain from England an acknowledgment of the

* MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 207, with verbal changes.

independence of America, and that acknowledgment must serve as a foundation for a treaty of peace. Until this is obtained, Mr. Adams can not talk of a treaty of commerce. To propose one while the court of London is flattering itself with the hopes of subduing America, and while with that view it is making the most strenuous efforts, would, in the view of that court, be to propose what was chimerical, and would be taking a step which it would hold in derision.

The case would be the same were one at this time to talk of a minister plenipotentiary from the United States appointed to reside at the court of his Britannic majesty. The only powers, therefore, which circumstances permit Mr. Adams to announce are those which authorize him to take a part in the negotiations for peace. The two other powers can be of no avail until the conclusion of that peace, so that it would be at least useless to produce them at present; and consequently Mr. Adams will not act inconsistent with the design and nature of his appointment by concealing them from the court of London. Although the Count de Vergennes is unacquainted with the instructions of Mr. Adams, yet he is persuaded that they are conformable to the foregoing reflections, and that they do not direct him to make an immediate commmunication of his powers relative to a treaty of commerce any more than they order him to make a separate peace with Great Britain. This opinion is founded on that which the king's ministry entertain of the wisdom, prudence, and fidelity of Congress.

III. It is to be observed that the English ministry would consider that communication as ridiculous; so that it is deceiving one's self to suppose that it will engage them to enter into any conference, or to say anything more than what is contained in the resolutions of Parliament, namely, that they will listen to the Americans and receive them into favor when they return to their former allegiance. It can answer no good purpose to draw from them such an answer, nor can the United States want such an answer to inform them of the present sentiments of the court of London, and much less to prepare with councils and arms to resist them. It is astonishing to talk of preparations of council and arms when the war is raging in all its fury, when it has now lasted six years, and England has not made an overture to the Americans that can authorize them to believe that she would agree to their independence.

IV. The English ministry would either return no answer, or if they did, it would be an insolent one. In case of the latter, why should a man needlessly expose himself to insult, and thereby make himself the laughing-stock of all the nations who have not yet acknowledged the independence of the United States? But there is reason to believe Mr. Adams would receive no answer, because the British ministry would not think themselves bound to return one to a man who assumes a character which the court of London must consider an insult. It should not be forgotten that that court always considers the Americans as

ebellious subjects. With such an opinion, how could Lord Germain eceive a letter from Mr. Adams, taking upon himself the character of inister plenipotentiary from the United States of North America? ow could that minister bear the mention of a treaty of commerce, hich can only take place between independent nations? These obervations will convince Mr. Adams that France has no occasion for the xpedient which he proposes to discover the sentiments and dispositions f the court of London, and that we are already perfectly acquainted ith what we ought and may expect from it in the present situation of ffairs.

V. The silence or the answer of the English ministry, let which will appen, will neither alarm nor arouse the people of England. That peole, without doubt, desire peace and an accommodation with America. ut we find that only some individuals talk of independence, and these ore from a spirit of opposition than from conviction. There never has een a single motion made in Parliament tending to grant that indeendence. Yet the people have friends and protectors in Parliament. rom this Mr. Adams may judge into what embarrassment the anouncing his powers would throw the ministry.

VI. England, as well as the rest of Europe, are perfectly acquainted ith the nature of the engagements which subsist between France and he United States. The king caused a declaration to be made by this inistry on the 13th of March, 1778, that he had not secured to himself ny exclusive privilege by the treaty of commerce of the 6th February f the same year, and his majesty has confirmed that declaration in writing published by his order. So that the plenipotentiary powers f Mr. Adams can disclose nothing new either to England or to the ther powers of Europe, and the false opinion of the court of London this matter can be no obstacle to a peace. If such an obstacle exted, the English ministry would themselves find means to remove it they were determined to make peace; depend upon that.

VII. It is certain that the whole English nation, and even the minisrs themselves, wish for peace. But it has been observed that there as not been a single motion made in favor of the independence of merica. Certainly the plenipotentiary powers of Mr. Adams will not hange the present dispositions of the people in that respect, and conequently the communication that might be made of them will neither cilitate nor accelerate the conclusion of peace.

VIII. This is a sensible reflection. It proves that Mr. Adams is himelf convinced that there are circumstances which may induce him to onceal his powers. The king's ministry think that such circumstances ill continue till the English nation shall show a disposition to acknowlge the independence of the United States. That acknowledgment ill not be facilitated by proposing a treaty of commerce, for the Engsh are at present well persuaded that they will have such a treaty with merica when they shall judge it proper. They have besides, as Mr.

Adams has himself mentioned in his letter of the 19th of February last, a full knowledge of his commission, so that the communication of his full powers will teach them nothing new in this respect.

IX. In answer to this paragraph, it may be observed that there is not an Englishman who is not persuaded that the United States are disposed to grant the advantages of commerce to their ancient metropolis; but it would be a very difficult task to persuade an Englishman, or any thinking being, that by granting independence in exchange for these advantages the court of London would make an honorable and advantageous peace. If this was the real sentiment of the people of England, why have they for these six years past, without murmuring, furnished ruinous supplies for subduing America?

X. The English ministry either have sincere intentions of making peace, or they mean to amuse and penetrate the designs of Spain. In the first case they will express the conditions on which they desire to treat; they will then be obliged to explain their views and their demands with regard to America. They will assuredly forget nothing which they think will forward peace; and upon agreeing to her independence, their first care will be to demand equal privileges with France in regard to commerce. On the contrary, if the English ministry only means to amuse Spain, to penetrate her designs, and to slacken her preparations for war, Mr. Adams should do the ministry of Madrid the justice to believe that they will have sagacity enough to discover their views, and have understanding and prudence sufficient to determine on the conduct they ought to pursue.

XI. If Mr. Adams is as sure as he is of their existence that the English ministers have no intentions of making peace on terms which France and America can agree to, to what purpose communicate to them at present powers which can not be made use of until after the peace? How can Mr. Adams persuade himself that the court of London will be seduced by the bait of a treaty of commerce while it still manifests an invincible repugnance to acknowledge the independence of America? Whenever it shall be disposed to acknowledge that independence it will of itself propose the conditions on which it will think it proper to grant it, and Mr. Adams may rest assured that it will not forget the article of commerce. Then will be the proper time for him to produce his plenipotentiary powers. In the mean time it is necessary to pursue measures for the establishing the foundation of that negotiation, namely, the independence of America, and that can only be effected by carrying on the war with vigor and success.

J. Adams to Vergennes.*

PARIS, *July* 26, 1780.

SIR: I have received the letter which your excellency did me the nor to write me on the 25th of this month.

The sincere respect I entertain for your excellency's sentiments would ve determined me, upon the least intimation, to have communicated y letter and your excellency's answer to Congress, and to suspend, til I should receive orders on their part, all measures towards the itish ministry without your excellency's requisition in the name of e king.

I shall transmit these papers to Congress, and I doubt not the reans your excellency has adduced will be sufficient to induce them to spend any communication to the British ministry, as it is undoubtly their wisdom to conduct all such measures in concert with their lies.

There is a great body of people in America as determined as any to pport their independence and their alliances, who, notwithstanding, sh that no measure may be left unattempted by Congress or their rvants to manifest their readiness for peace upon such terms as they ink honorable and advantageous to all parties. Your excellency's guments, or indeed your authority, will probably be sufficient to satfy these people and to justify me, whereas without them I might have en liable to the censure of numbers; for it is most certain that all ie deference will be shown by the people of the United States and eir servants, both in and out of Congress, to the sentiments of the inistry of France.

This deference, however, by no means extends so far as to agree in cases to those sentiments without examination. I can not, therefore, ree in the sentiment that proposing a treaty of peace and commerce discovering a great deal of weakness, or that the Americans have rgotten the British system of tyranny, cruelty, or perfidy, or to inte her to believe the Americans have an irresistible predilection for ngland, or to fortify her in the opinion that the American patriots ll submit through weariness or through fear of the preponderant fluence of the tories.

And so far from thinking it would give credit to the opinion, if there such a one in all Europe, that the United States incline towards a detion, and that they will not be faithful to their engagements, it seems me, on the contrary, it would discredit the opinion which prevails o much in Europe, that there is some secret treaty between France d the United States by which the former is entitled to exclusive ivileges in the American trade.

It is very true that the independence of America must be acknowlged before a treaty of peace can be made. But a prospect of a free ade with America, upon principles of perfect equality and reciprocity,

* MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 212, with verbal changes.

like that between France and the United States, might be a powerful inducement with the people of England to acknowledge American independence. Indeed, I do not see any other considerable motive that England can ever have to make that acknowledgment. The Congress have given no positive instructions respecting the time or manner of making these powers known to one court or another. All this is left at discretion and to a construction of the commissioners themselves. It is very certain that all the belligerent powers are busily occupied every winter in their councils and preparations for the ensuing campaign. And it is also certain that the artifice of the British ministry, in holding up to view every winter some semblance of a design of reconciliation formerly, and of peace latterly, has been a real engine of hostility against America equal to a considerable part of the British army. Neither the people of America nor Mr. Adams have the least dread upon their minds of an insolent answer from one of the British ministers, nor of the ridicule of those nations who have not yet acknowledged the independence of America. No man of any knowledge, justice, or humanity in any of those nations would laugh upon such an occasion; on the contrary, he would feel a just indignation against a minister who should insult a message so obviously calculated for the good of England and of all Europe in the present circumstances of affairs.

I am very much mistaken (for I speak upon memory) if the Duke of Richmond did not make a motion two years ago in the House of Lords, and if Mr. Hartley did not make another about a year ago, which was seconded by Lord North himself, in the House of Commons, tending to grant independence to America. And it is very certain that a great part of the people of England think that peace can be had upon no other terms. It is most clear that the present ministry will not grant independence; the only chance of obtaining it is by change of that ministry. The king is so attached to that ministry that he will not change them until it appears that they have so far lost the confidence of the people that their representatives in Parliament dare no longer to support them; and in the course of the last winter the weight and sentiments of the people were so considerable as to bring many great questions nearly to a balance, and particularly to carry two votes, one against the increase of the influence of the crown, and another against the board of trade and plantations, a vote that seemed almost to decide the American question, and they came within a very few votes of deciding against the American secretary. Now, where parties are approaching so near to a balance, even a small weight thrown into either scale may turn it.

In my letter of the 19th of February I said that my appointment was notorious in America, and that therefore it was probably known to the court of London, although they had not regular evidence of it. The question then was more particularly concerning a commission to assist in the pacification. This was published in the American newspapers

n a general way, but I have no reason to think they are particularly nformed of these matters; if they were, no evil that I am aware of ould result from giving them the information officially. Certainly they ave no official information, and it is reported that they deny that they now the nature of Mr. Adams' commission.

Without any great effort of genius I think it is easy to demonstrate o any thinking being that by granting American independence and naking a treaty of peace upon principles of perfect reciprocity England ould, in the present circumstances of affairs, make an honorable and n advantageous peace. It would have been more for their honor and dvantage never to have made this war against America it is true; but aving made it, all the dishonor and disadvantage there is in it is ndelible; and after thirteen Colonies have been driven to throw off heir government and annihilate it in every root and branch, becoming ndependent in fact, maintaining this independence against a force of ixty thousand men and fifty ships of war that would have shaken nost of the States of Europe to the very foundation—after maintaining his independence four years, and having made an honorable treaty vith the first power in Europe; after another power had fallen into the var in consequence of the same system; after the voice of mankind had o far declared against the justice of their cause that they could get no lly, but on the contrary all the maritime powers are entering into a onfederacy against them upon a point which has been a principal ource of their naval superiority in Europe;—in these circumstances the nly honorable part they can act is to conform to the opinion of man- ind, and the dishonorable and ruinous part for them to act is to con- inue the war. For the principle that the people have a right to a form f government according totheir own judgments and inclinations is, n this enlightened age, so well agreed in the world, that it would be nought dishonorable by mankind in general for the English to govern hree millions of people against their wills by military force, and this s all they can ever hope for, even supposing they could bribe and tempt eserters enough from our army and apostates from our cause to make t impossible for us to carry on the war. This, however, I know to be npossible, and that they never will get quiet possession again of the overnment of any one whole State in the thirteen; no, not for an hour. f England considers further that America is now known all over Eu- ope to be such a magazine of raw materials for manufactures, such a ursery of seamen, and such a source of commerce and naval power hat it would be dangerous to all the maritime powers to suffer any one f them to establish a domination and a monopoly again in America. I know there exists in some European minds a prejudice against America and a jealousy that she will be hurtful to Europe, and Eng- and may place some dependence upon this prejudice and jealousy, but he motions of the maritime powers begin to convince her that this ealousy and prejudice do not run so deep as they thought, and surely here never was a more groundless prejudice entertained among men,

and it must dissipate as soon as the subject is considered. America is a nation of husbandmen, planted on a vast continent of wild uncultivated land, and there is and will be for centuries no way in which these people can get a living and advance their interest so much as by agriculture. They can apply themselves to manufactures only to fill up interstices of time in which they can not labor on their lands, and to commerce only to carry the produce of their lands, the raw materials of manufactures, to the European market.

Europe is a country whose land is all cultivated nearly to perfection, where the people have no way to advance themselves but by manufactures and commerce; here are two worlds, then, fitted by God and nature to benefit each other—one by furnishing raw material, the other manufactures, and they can never interfere. The number of the States in America, their position and extension over such a great continent, and their fundamental constitution that nine States must concur to war, show that nine of these States never can agree in any foreign war, or any other, but for self defense, if they should ever become powerful. But in this case, however disagreeble a prospect it may open to Americans, Europe has an everlasting warranty against their becoming dangerous to her in the nature of men, the nature of her governments, and their position towards one another.

All these circumstances serve to show, and the people of England begin to be sensible of it, that Europe will never suffer them to regain their domination and monopoly even if the English were able to extort a forced submission. In this situation, then, the only honorable and advantageous course for England is to make peace and open commerce with America in perfect consistency with her independence and her alliances. The people of England can not be said to furnish subsidies without murmuring, for it is certain there never was so much murmuring and such radical discontent in that nation, nor any other, but at the eve of a revolution.

I very cheerfully agree with your excellency in opinion that the court of Spain has sagacity enough to penetrate and to defeat the deceitful designs of the English, and am not under other apprehensions from thence than that the report of a negotiation with Spain will leave some impressions in America, where I believe the English ministry chiefly intend it. I have already said that from the present British ministry I expect no peace. It is for the nation and for the change of ministry, as a step towards peace, that I thought it might have some effect to make the communication, and to satisfy those people in America who, without the most distant thought of departing from their independence or their alliances, wish still to take every reasonable measure towards peace. Your excellency's letter will convince them that my apprehensions were wrong, and your advice will undoubtedly be followed, as it ought to be; for they can not promise themselves any advantages from the communication equivalent to the inconveniency of taking a measure of this

nd, which ought not to be done but in concert, against the opinion of
ie ministry of France.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

Luzerne to the President of Congress.*

[Translation.]

PHILADELPHIA, *July* 26, 1780.

SIR: Some Hessian deserters having come to me to obtain service in
ie body of French troops sent by the king to this continent, I have
ought proper, before accepting their offers, to know the opinion of
ie State of Pennsylvania on this subject; and President Reed, whom
consulted, returned for answer the letter of which I annex a copy.
articular arrangements relative to the subsistence of these new re-
uits will make it necessary for me to have recourse to the board of
ar; and I request, sir, that Congress would be pleased to authorize
ie members composing it to agree with me on such measures as cir-
umstances shall render necessary.†

I have the honor to be, etc.,

LUZERNE.

Franklin to Dumas.‡

PASSY, *July* 26, 1780.

DEAR SIR: I wrote to Messrs. de Neufville by the last post in answer
o theirs of the 14th. I hope they received my letter. It signified that
could accept the bills drawn on Mr. Laurens. I find by a vote of Con-
ress on the 4th of March that they then stopped drawing, and I am
informed no more bills have been issued since. I could not relish those
entlemen's proposal of mortgaging *all our estates* for the little money
Holland is likely to lend us. But I am obliged to them for their zeal in
ur cause.

I received and thank you for the protest relating to the election of the
adjutor. You seem to be too much affected with the taking of
harleston. It is so far a damage to us as it will enable the enemy to
xchange a great part of the prisoners we had in our hands; otherwise
heir affairs will not be much advanced by it. They have successively
een in possession of the capitals of five provinces, viz: Massachusetts

* 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 698.

† IN CONGRESS, *July* 31, 1780.

On a report from the board of war, to whom the minister's letter of the 26th was
ferred:

Resolved, That, agreeably to the request of the honorable the minister of France,
ie board of war be authorized to take such measures relating to the subsistence of
ie recruits who shall be enlisted into the service of his most Christian majesty out of
ie German deserters from the enemy as the said board shall deem proper.

‡ 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 114; 8 Sparks' Franklin, 482; 7 Bigelow's Franklin, 104-

Bay, Rhode Island, Pennsylvania, New York, and Georgia; but were not, therefore, in possession of the provinces themselves. New York and Georgia still continue their operations as free States; and so, I suppose, will South Carolina. The cannon will be recovered with the place; if not, our furnaces are constantly at work in making more. The destroying of our ships by the English is only like shaving our beards, which will grow again. Their loss of provinces is like the loss of a limb, which can never again be united to their body.

I was sorry to hear of your indisposition. Take care of yourself. Honey is a good thing for obstructions in the reins. I hope your health is by this time re-established.

I am less committed than you imagine in the affair between Jones and Landais. The latter was not dispossessed by me of his command, but quitted it. He afterwards took it into his head to resume it, which the former's too long stay at Paris gave him an opportunity of effecting. Captain Jones is going in the *Ariel* frigate to America, where they may settle their affairs as they can.

The captain commandant of Dunkirk, who occasioned the loss of our despatches, is himself taken by the English. I have no doubt of the truth of what Mr. White told you about the facility with which the tax was collected.

The same Baron de Wulffen has not pleased me, having left little debts behind him unpaid, though I furnished him with twenty guineas. As he had been with his brother at Venloo before he saw you, where he might get money, I wonder at his borrowing of you.

This will be delivered to you by his excellency John Adams, whom I earnestly recommend to your best civilities. He has never been in Holland, and your counsels will be of use to him.

My best wishes attend you, being ever, etc.,

B. FRANKLIN.

J. Adams to Vergennes.*

PARIS, *July* 27, 1780.

SIR: Since my letter of the 21st, and upon reading over again your excellency's letter to me of the 20th, I observed one expression which I think it my duty to consider more particularly. The expression I have in view is this: "That the king, without being solicited by the Congress, had taken measures the most efficacious to sustain the American cause."

Upon this part of your letter I must entreat your excellency to recollect that the Congress did, as long ago as the year 1776, before Dr. Franklin was sent off for France, instruct him, Mr. Deane, and Mr. Lee to solicit the king for six ships of the line, and I have reason to believe that the Congress have been from that moment to this

* MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 217, with verbal changes; 7, J. Adams' Works, 241. As to this letter, see Introduction, § 15.

persuaded that this object has been constantly solicited by their ministers at this court.

In addition to this, I have every personal, as well as public, motive to recall to your excellency's recollection a letter or memorial which was presented to your excellency in the latter end of the month of December, 1778, or the beginning of January, 1779, in which a great variety of arguments were adduced to show that it was not only good policy, but absolutely necessary to send a superiority of naval force to the coasts of the continent of America.* This letter, together with your excellency's answer, acknowledging the receipt of it, I transmitted to Congress myself, and their journals show that they received them near a year ago, so that Congress, I am persuaded, rest in the most perfect security in the persuasion that every thing has been done by themselves and their servants at this court to obtain this measure, and that the necessary arrangements of the king's naval service have hitherto prevented it.

But if it was only suspected by Congress that a direct application from them to the king was expected, I am assured they would not hesitate a moment to make it. I am so convinced by experience of the absolute necessity of more consultations and communications between his majesty's ministers and the ministers of Congress, that I am determined to omit no opportunity of communicating my sentiments to your excellency upon everything that appears to me of importance to the common cause in which I can do it with propriety; and the communications shall be direct in person or by letter to your excellency, without the intervention of any third person. And I shall be very happy, and think myself highly honored, to give my poor opinion and advice to his majesty's ministers upon anything that relates to the United States or the common cause whenever they shall be asked.

I wish I may be mistaken, but it could answer no good purpose to deceive myself, and I certainly will not disguise my sentiments from your excellency. I think that Admiral Graves, with the ships before in America, will be able to impede the operations of Chevalier de Ternay, of M. le'Comte de Rochambeau, and of General Washington, if their plan is to attack New York.

If there should be a naval battle between the Chevalier de Ternay and Admiral Graves, the event is uncertain. From the near equality of force, and the equality of bravery and of naval science which now prevails everywhere, I think we can not depend upon anything decisive in such an engagement, unless it be from the particular character of Graves, whom I know personally to be neither a great man nor a great officer. If there should be no decision in a naval battle, Graves and his fleet must lie at New York, and de Ternay and his at Rhode Island. I readily agree that this will be a great advantage to the common cause for the reasons mentioned in my letter to your excellency of

* See *supra*, commissioners to Vergennes, January 1, 1779.

the 13th of this month. But still I beg leave to suggest to your excel lency whether it would not be for the good of the common cause to have still further resources in view, whether circumstances may not be such in the West Indies as to enable M. de Guichen to dispatch ships to the re-enforcement of M. de Ternay, or whether it may not consist with the king's service to dispatch ships from Europe for that purpose, and further, whether the court of Spain can not be convinced of the policy of keeping open the communication between the United States and the French and Spanish islands in the West Indies, so as to co-operate with France and the United States in the system of keeping up a constant superiority of naval power both upon the coasts of North America and in the West India islands. This is the true plan which is finally to humble the English and give the combined powers the advantage.

The English, in the course of the last war, derived all their triumphs both upon the continent of America and the islands, from the succor they received from their colonies. And I am sure that France and Spain, with attention to the subject, may receive assistance in this way from the same source equally decisive.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

Washington to Luzerne.*

HEADQUARTERS, *July* 27, 1780.

SIR: I have the honor to enclose to your excellency a letter, which has just come to hand, from the Count de Rochambeau of the 22d instant. It is certainly of great importance that the precaution he mentions should be taken without loss of time. I should think the Delaware the best place for the reception of the second division, though there ought to be cruisers off both bays. It is necessary that a place should be previously fixed for the junction of the fleets after the debarkation. I shall immediately write to the count for this purpose.

We have repeated accounts from New York that General Clinton is making a large detachment for a combined attack upon the French fleet and army. This will be a hazardous attempt, and therefore, though I do not regard it as impossible, I do not give it entire faith. The Count de Rochambeau has been some time since apprised of these demonstrations, and seems to have been preparing for what might happen.

I have the honor to be, with every sentiment of respect and attachment, etc.,

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

* 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 698.

De Neufville & Son to Jay.*

AMSTERDAM, *July* 28, 1780.

SIR: Since we had the honor of writing to your excellency, it is but just that we should inform you of the success of our proceedings in the acceptance of the bills drawn on Henry Laurens, for which Dr. Franklin, by his last favor, has engaged, offering to accept further bills, when sent to him, until the arrival of Mr. Laurens, or that some good reason may appear for the contrary. As this will answer the same purpose, and we think it best that there should not seem to be any alteration, we offer to-day to continue our acceptance until forbid, under guaranty of our being reimbursed in time. We are very much pleased that the matter is thus far settled for the honor of Congress.

We have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN DE NEUFVILLE & SON.

Jay to De Neufville and Son.†

MADRID, *July* 29, 1780.

GENTLEMEN: Your favor of the 13th instant was delivered to me last evening. I admire the generous principles which lead you to take so decided and friendly a part in favor of America. I have too great confidence in the honor, justice, and gratitude of Congress to suspect that they will permit you to be sufferers by your exertions in their favor. On the contrary, I am persuaded they will entertain a proper sense of your disinterested attachment, and with pleasure take every opportunity of acknowledging it.

Mr. Laurens' absence is much to be regretted; his endeavors, aided by your assistance, would probably have prevented the embarrassments which have taken place. I have not as yet received any advices of his having sailed, and your information of his not having left America in May is true. By a letter from a gentlemen at Cadiz of the 21st instant I learn that a vessel from North Carolina had arrived in forty-nine days, and left Mr. Laurens there on his way to Philadelphia. I am at a loss to account for this, having no intelligence from America on the subject. Perhaps his design was to sail from Philadelphia. If so, we may still look out for him. Prudence, however, demands that every possible step be taken to alleviate the inconveniences arising from his absence. If my power extended to this case, I should, without hesitation, authorize you in a proper manner to make a loan in Holland, and be much obliged to you for undertaking it. But my instructions do not reach so far. All I can do is to advise as an individual, and as a public servant to represent in a true light to Congress your benevolent efforts

---

* MSS. Dep. of State; 4 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 214.

† MSS. Dep. of State; 4 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 215.

to preserve their credit. If Dr. Franklin has such instructions as you suppose, and his circumstances will admit of it, I can at present see no objections to his taking some such measures as you propose until Mr. Laurens' arrival; but of this, he alone can properly judge. I shall write to him on the subject, and you may rely on my doing everything in my power. I assure you I feel myself, as an American, so much obliged by your generous zeal to serve my country, that I shall be happy in being instrumental to render the issue of it as agreeable and honorable to you as the principles on which you act are meritorious and noble.

I flatter myself that the unfavorable influence which the capture of Charleston has on the public will be of short duration. When they reflect that America has nobly sustained a six years' war, fought hard battles with various success, and lost and regained several of their cities they will find it ridiculous to believe that the fate of the thirteen States is involved in that of one or two towns. The like impressions were made when New York, Philadelphia, and Ticonderoga fell into the enemy's hands; and those impressions were again removed by the battle of Trenton, the evacuation of Philadelphia, the battle of Monmouth, the defeat and capture of General Burgoyne and his army, and other victories on our side. Many of these great events happened when America had no ally and when Britain had no other objects to divide her force. It is not reasonable, therefore, to imagine that the power of Britain has been augmented by the accession of two formidable enemies, or that the power of America has been diminished in proportion as the number of her friends increased.

Depend upon it, that as the spirit of America has always risen with the successes of her enemies, they will not, on this occasion, throw away their arms, and ingloriously pass under the yoke of a nation whose conduct towards her has been marked by injustice and oppression in peace and by malice and wanton barbarity in war.

With sentiments of sincere regard and esteem, I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN JAY.

Vergennes to J. Adams.*

[Translation.]

VERSAILLES, *July* 29, 1780.

SIR: I have received the letter which you did me the honor to write me on the 27th of this month. When I took upon myself to give you a mark of my confidence by informing you of the destination of Messrs. de Ternay and Rochambeau, I did not expect the animadversion which you have thought it your duty to make on a passage of my letter of the 20th of this month. To avoid any further discussions of that sort,

* MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 219; 7 J. Adams' Works, 243.

ink it my duty to inform you that, Mr. Franklin being the sole person
no has letters of credence to the king from the United States, it is
th him only that I ought and can treat of matters which concern them,
d particularly of that which is the subject of your observations.
Besides, sir, I ought to observe to you that the passage in my letter
nich you have thought it your duty to consider more particularly re-
es only to the sending the fleet commanded by the Chevalier de Ter-
y, and had nothing further in view than to convince you that the king
l not stand in need of your solicitations to induce him to interest
nself in the affairs of the United States.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

DE VERGENNES.

Luzerne to Washington.*

[Translation.]

PHILADELPHIA, *July* 30, 1780.

SIR: I enclose to your excellency a letter for M. de Ternay, in which
u will see what measures I have taken to fulfill the intentions which
u imparted to me on the 27th instant. I beg you will seal this packet
d send it to his address by the first opportunity.

Congress has put under your orders the frigates in directing them to
me into the Delaware. You will be able to judge, after your arrange-
ents with the Chevalier de Ternay, whether these vessels, or one of
em, may not accomplish the commission desired. Their cruise may
en be useful to the commerce of the United States. I know not
nether M. de Ternay will communicate to them any signals by means
which they may approach the coast without danger. Your excel-
ncy may be able, should you think it necessary, to suggest it to him.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

LUZERNE.

The President of Congress to J. Adams.†

PHILADELPHIA, *July* 30, 1780.

SIR: Since your arrival in Europe I have been favored with your
veral dispatches of the 11th and 16th of December last, the 16th of
nuary, the 15th, 17th, 19th, 20th, 25th, 27th, and 29th of February,
e 8th, 18th, 19th, and 23d of March.

It is probable the committee of foreign affairs may have acknowl-
ged the receipt of these dispatches and several duplicates which have

* MSS. Dep. of State; 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 699.

† J. Adams' Works, 243.

also been received. I presume they have given you particular intelli gence of all material occurrences in America since your departure, if being properly in their department, and a business my present engage ments will by no means admit me to undertake in so ample a manner as is necessary or would be agreeable to your wishes. Before this comes to hand you will doubtless have received the disagreeable in telligence of the capitulation and surrender of Charleston, in which the brave General Lincoln, with about two thousand Continental troops officers included, were made prisoners.

On the evening of the 10th instant the French squadron, under the command of the Chevalier de Ternay arrived off Newport. The Count Rochambeau has since landed his troops on Conanicut. Three days after their arrival Admiral Graves, with a British squadron, arrived at New York, and being joined by the ships there, soon put to sea; and we have just received advice that Graves with his whole squadron since their junction, is cruising off Newport. The exact number and strength of this squadron I can not learn, but it is thought equal if not superior to Ternay's. Without a decisive superiority of naval strength in these seas we can not expect to expel the enemy from New York this campaign, where we have been plagued with them long enough.

We have been waiting for some time in anxious expectation of intel ligence from the West Indies, but from the latest advices from thence nothing capital had been done as late as the 15th instant.

I have the pleasure to inform you that the State of Massachusetts have established their constitution; a desirable and important event.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

SAMUEL HUNTINGTON.

Vergennes to Franklin.*

[Translation.]

VERSAILLES, *July* 31, 1790.

SIR: The character with which you are invested, your wisdom, and the confidence I have in your principles and sentiments, induce me to communicate to you a correspondence which I have had with Mr Adams.

You will find, I think, in the letters of that plenipotentiary opinions and a turn which do not correspond either with the manner in which I explained myself to him or with the intimate connection which subsists between the king and the United States. You will make that use of these pieces which your prudence shall suggest. As to myself, I de sire that you will transmit them to Congress, that they may know the line of conduct which Mr. Adams pursues with regard to us, and that

* MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks Dip. Rev. Corr., 220.

ey may judge whether he is endowed, as Congress no doubt desires, th that conciliating spirit which is necessary for the important and icate business with which he is intrusted.*

I have the honor to be, etc.,

DE VERGENNES.

Washington to Luzerne.†

PEEKSKILL, *August* 4, 1780.

SIR: Colonel Jamet arrived here last night, by whom I had the honor receive your excellency's request that I would send instructions for e second division coming from France with respect to the measures ich it should pursue for forming a junction with the first. I beg ve to inform your excellency that I wrote to the Count de Rochamu, agreeably to my letter to you of the 27th ultimo, and requested at he, in concert with the Chevalier de Ternay, would communicate me, that it might be transmitted to your excellency, the line of conct which they should judge proper to be pursued by this division. As the marine are concerned, and the junction in present circumnces is a matter of peculiar delicacy, I did not think myself qualified decide on that point. I have not received their answer yet, and erefore I can not pretend to determine what should be done; I will, wever, take the liberty to observe that if the ships of war with this ision are superior, or even fully equal, to those of the enemy off Rhode and, I should suppose it would be eligible for them to proceed there once, should they be met by the cruisers your excellency has sent

---

* A copy of the correspondence between Count de Vergennes and Mr. Adams respecting the communication of his powers to the British ministry being forwarded to ngress, a committee was appointed to consider the subject. Conformably to their ort the President wrote to Mr. Adams the following letter, in the name of Congress, on the 10th of January, 1781:

SIR: Congress considers your correspondence with the Count de Vergennes on subject of communicating your plenipotentiary powers to the ministry of Great tain as flowing from your zeal and assiduity in the service of your country; but n directed to inform you that the opinion given to you by that minister relative he time and circumstances proper for communicating your powers and entering n the execution of them is well founded.

Congress have no expectations from the influence which the people may have on British counsels, whatever may be the dispositions of that nation or their magistes towards these United States, nor are they of opinion that a change of ministry uld produce a change of measures. They therefore hope that you will be very caus of admitting your measures to be influenced by presumptions of such events or ir probable consequences.

"I am, etc.,

"S. HUNTINGTON,
"*President of Congress.*"

SPARKS.

† MSS. Dep. of State; 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 700.

out on the southern coast. If this is not the case, they ought to mak the Delaware as soon as possible. In this event the troops might b forwarded to Trenton in the first instance, and the ships might remai until ulterior measures, with respect to them, should be determined These, however, I would not offer but as mere suggestions, and muc it would seem must depend on circumstances and the discretion of th officer commanding the division.

Perhaps if the ships of war should proceed directly to Rhode Islan it will be best for them to disembarrass themselves of their transports and send them into the Delaware, as in the other case. I take it fo granted that signals of recognizance have been preconcerted betwee the two divisions.

On the 31st ultimo the enemy's fleet in the sound returned fro Huntington Bay to New York. From every information the Count d Rochambeau and his army were certainly their object, and they ha embarked in considerable force with a view of attacking him. I ca not determine with precision the reasons which induced the enemy t relinquish their plan; but it is not improbable that the movements o our army and the ulterior measures I was about to prosecute operate in some measure to produce it.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

Washington to Luzerne.*

PEEKSKILL, *August* 6, 1780.

SIR: I had this morning the honor to receive your excellency's lett of the 30th of July, with the one addressed to the Chevalier de Terna which I have sealed and forwarded by an express.

With respect to the Continental frigates, I beg leave to inform yo excellency that I did not apprehend, from the resolution of Congres concerning them, that they were to be under my orders or to receiv any instructions from me until they had joined the Chevalier de Terna after assembling in the Delaware. This being the case, I can not giv any directions about them at present, and would take the liberty t recommend to your excellency to apply to Congress or the board of a miralty; to the latter of whom I have written to give their orders t the captains of the frigates on the conduct they are to pursue. Th employment for them, or at least for one which your excellency ha suggested, appears to me to be proper, and that it will answer th double purposes you mention.

I have by my letter of to-day to the Chevalier de Ternay requeste him to advise me in what manner he thinks the frigates can be mo usefully employed to assist his fleet, and that there might be no furth

* MSS. Dep. of State; 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 701.

lay, when matters with respect to them are ultimately fixed, I re-
ested him also to communicate to the captains of the frigates at
ston, as well as to myself, the signals of recognizance. When I
eive his answer I will embrace the earliest occasion to transmit the
nals.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

Izard to the President of Congress.*

PHILADELPHIA, *August* 6, 1780.

SIR: In several letters which I wrote to Congress from Paris I ac-
ainted them with my reasons for not going into Italy. It will give
great pleasure to be informed that those reasons and my conduct
ve been approved of by the Representatives of my country. Permit
, sir, to request that you will be pleased to inform Congress of my
ival in this city, and that I shall be ready, whenever it is their pleas-
e, to give them any information in my power respecting their affairs
Europe.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

RALPH IZARD.

Franklin to the President of Congress.†

PASSY, *August* 9, 1780.

SIR: With this your excellency will receive a copy of my last, dated
ly 31, the original of which, with copies of preceding letters, went by
e *Alliance*, Captain Landais, who sailed the beginning of last month,
d who I wish may arrive safe in America, being apprehensive that,
her long delay in port from the mutiny of the people (who, after
e was ready to sail, refused to weigh anchor till their wages were
id), she may fall in the way of the English fleet now out, or that her
ew, who have ever been infected with disorder and mutiny, may carry
r into England. She had on her first coming out a conspiracy for that
rpose, besides which, her officers and captain quarreled with each
ner, the captain with Commodore Jones, and there have been so many
broils among them that it was impossible to get the business forward
ile she staid; and she is at length gone without taking the quantity
stores she was capable of taking and was ordered to take.

I suppose the conduct of that captain will be inquired into by a court-
rtial. Captain Jones goes home in the *Ariel*, a ship we have borrowed

---

* MSS. Dep. of State; 1 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 705.

† MSS. Dep. of State; 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 116, with verbal changes; 8 Sparks'
anklin, 484; 7 Bigelow's Franklin, 107.

of government here, and carries one hundred and forty-six chests of arms and four hundred barrels of powder. To take the rest of the stores I have been obliged to freight a ship, which, being well armed and well manned, will, I hope, get in safe. The clothes for ten thousand men are, I think, all made up; there are also arms for fifteen thousand new and good, with two thousand barrels of powder. Besides this there is a great quantity of cloth I have bought, of which you will have the invoices sent by Mr. Williams; another large quantity purchased by Mr. Ross; all going in the same ship.

The little authority we have here to govern our armed ships and the inconvenience of distance from the ports occasion abundance of irregularities in the conduct of both men and officers. I hope, therefore, that no more of those vessels will be sent hither till our code of laws is perfected respecting ships abroad and proper persons appointed to manage such affairs in the seaports. They give me infinite trouble; and though I endeavor to act for the best, it is without satisfaction to myself being unacquated with that kind of business. I have often mentioned the appointment of a consul or consuls. The Congress have perhaps not yet had time to consider that matter.

Having already sent you, by different conveyances, copies of my proceedings with the court of Denmark relative to the three prizes delivered up to the English, and requested the instructions of Congress, I hope soon to receive them. I mentioned a letter from the Congress to that court as what I thought might have a good effect. I have since had more reasons to be of that opinion.

The unexpected delay of Mr. Deane's arrival has retarded the settlement of the joint accounts of the commission, he having had the chief management of the commercial part, and being therefore best able to explain difficulties. I have just now the pleasure to hear that the *Fier Rodrique*, with her convoy from Virginia, arrived at Bordeaux all safe except one tobacco ship, that foundered at sea; the men saved; and I have a letter from Mr. Deane that he is at Rochelle; proposes to stop a few days at Nantes, and then proceed to Paris, when I shall endeavor to see that business completed with all possible expedition.

Mr. Adams has given offense to the court here by some sentiments and expressions contained in several of his letters written to the Count de Vergennes. I mention this with reluctance, though perhaps it would have been my duty to acquaint you with such a circumstance even were it not required of me by the minister himself. He has sent me copies of the correspondence, desiring I would communicate them to Congress; and I send them herewith.* Mr. Adams did not show me his letters before he sent them. I have in a former letter to Mr. Lovell mentioned some of the inconveniences that attend the having more than one minister at the same court; one of which inconveniences is

* These letters will be found in Mr. Adams' Correspondence in the month of June 1780, *supra*.

hat they do not always hold the same language, and that the impres-ons made by one, and intended for the service of his constituents, ay be effaced by the discourse of the other. It is true that Mr. dams' proper business is elsewhere; but the time not being come for hat business, and having nothing else here wherewith to employ him-elf, he seems to have endeavored supplying what he may suppose my egotiations defective in. He thinks, as he tells me himself, that merica has been too free in expressions of gratitude to France, for hat she is more obliged to us than we to her, and that we should show pirit in our applications. I apprehend that he mistakes his ground, nd that this court is to be treated with decency and delicacy. The ing, a young and virtuous prince, has, I am persuaded, a pleasure in eflecting on the generous benevolence of the action in assisting an ppressed people, and proposes it as a part of the glory of his reign. think it right to increase this pleasure by our thankful acknowledg-ents, and that such an expression of gratitude is not only our duty, ut our interest. A different conduct seems to me what is not only mproper and unbecoming, but what may be hurtful to us. Mr. Adams, n the other hand, who at the same time means our welfare and interest s much as I or any man can do, seems to think a little apparent stout-ess and a greater air of independence and boldness in our demands ill procure us more ample assistance. It is for the Congress to judge, nd regulate their affairs accordingly.*

M. de Vergennes, who appears much offended, told me yesterday that e would enter into no further discussions with Mr. Adams, nor answer ny more of his letters. He is gone to Holland to try, as he told me, whether something might not be done to render us less dependent on France. He says the ideas of this court and those of the people of merica are so totally different, that it is impossible for any minister to lease both. He ought to know America better than I do, having been here lately, and he may choose to do what he thinks will best please he people of America. But when I consider the expressions of Con-ress in many of their public acts, and particularly in their letter to he Chevalier de la Luzerne, of the 24th of May last, I can not but magine that he mistakes the sentiments of a few for a general opinion. t is my intention, while I stay here, to procure what advantages I can or our country by endeavoring to please this court; and I wish I could revent anything being said by any of our countrymen here that may ave a contrary effect and increase an opinion lately showing itself in aris, that we seek a difference, and with a view of reconciling ourselves o England. Some of them have of late been very indiscreet in their onversations.

I have received, eight months after their date, the instructions of ongress relating to a new article for guarantying the fisheries. The

* See Introduction, § 15.

expected negotiations for a peace appearing of late more remote, and being too much occupied with other affairs, I have not hitherto proposed that article. But I purpose doing it next week. It appears so reasonable and equitable that I do not foresee any difficulty. In my next I shall give you an account of what passes on the occasion.

The silver medal ordered for the Chevalier de Fleury has been delivered to his order here—he being gone to America. The others for Brigadier-General Wayne and Colonel Stewart I shall send by the next good opportunity.

The two thousand pounds I furnished to Messrs. Adams and Jay, agreeable to an order of Congress, for themselves and secretaries, being nearly expended, and no supplies to them arriving, I have thought it my duty to furnish them with further sums, hoping the supplies promised will soon arrive to reimburse me, and enable me to pay the bills drawn on Mr. Laurens in Holland, which I have engaged for to save the public credit, the holders of those bills threatening otherways to protest them. Messrs. de Neufville of Amsterdam, have accepted some of them. I have promised those gentlemen to provide for the payment before they become due, and to accept such others as shall be presented to me. I hear, and hope it is true, that the drawing of such bills is stopped, and that their number and value is not very great.

The bills drawn in favor of M. de Beaumarchais for the interest of his debt are paid.

The German prince who gave me a proposal some months since for furnishing troops to the Congress has lately desired an answer. I gave no expectation that it was likely you would agree to such a proposal; but being pressed to send it to you, it went with some of my former letters.

M. Fouquet, who was employed by Congress to instruct people in making gunpowder, is arrived here after a long passage. He has requested me to transmit a memorial to Congress, which I do, enclosed.

The great public event in Europe of this year is the proposal by Russia of an armed neutrality for protecting the liberty of commerce. The proposition is accepted now by most of the maritime powers. As it is likely to become the law of nations *that free ships should make free goods*, I wish the Congress to consider whether it may not be proper to give orders to their cruisers not to molest foreign ships, but conform to the spirit of that treaty of neutrality.

The English have been much elated with their success at Charleston. The late news of the junction of the French and Spanish fleets has a little abated their spirits; and I hope that junction and the arrival of the French troops and ships in North America will soon produce news that may afford us also in our turn some satisfaction.

Application has been made to me here requesting that I would solicit Congress to permit the exchange of William John Mawhood, a lieuten-

ant in the seventeenth regiment, taken prisoner at Stony Point, July 5, 1779, and confined near Philadelphia; or, if the exchange can not conveniently be made, that he may be permitted to return to England on his parole. By doing this at my request the Congress will enable me to oblige several friends of ours who are persons of merit and distinction in this country.

Be pleased, sir, to present my duty to Congress, and believe me to be, with great respect, etc.,

B. FRANKLIN.

P. S.—A similar application has been made to me in favor of Richard Croft, lieutenant in the twentieth regiment, a prisoner at Charlottesville. I shall be much obliged by any kindness shown to that young gentleman, and so will some friends of ours in England, who respect his father.

B. F.

Franklin to the President of Congress.*

PASSY, *August* 10, 1780.

SIR: Having but just been acquainted with this opportunity, which goes directly, I have only time to write a few lines, and only leave to send a letter, without any packets of newspapers.

Count d'Estaing is gone to Spain to take the command of the united fleet.

The important alliance of the neutral powers for the protection of trade is nearly completed; it has met with some delays and obstructions in Holland through English influence, though the plan is more particularly to the advantage of that state, which subsists by commerce and carriage.

The emperor is gone to Russia on a visit to that empress.

The disposition of this court towards us continues as favorable as ever, though some displeasure had lately been unluckily given to it, which perhaps will be explained to you by M. le Chevalier de la Luzerne.

The departure of the supplies obtained here last spring have met with delays from various unforeseen causes. Some are however gone in the *Alliance;* more will go in the *Ariel*; Commodore Jones, and the rest, being the greatest part, in a large ship we have chartered.

There is in all clothing made up for ten thousand men, fifteen thousand stand of arms, two thousand barrels of gunpowder, some cannon, and a good deal of cloth, etc., unmade up. I hope all will safely arrive before winter.

The *Ariel* will sail next week with my fuller despatches. I have furnished Messrs. Jay and Adams with the moneys you ordered and more since, those sums being expended and no supplies arrived to them.

* MSS. Dep. of State; 1 Hale's Franklin in France, 374.

I have paid the interest bills to M. Beaumarchais. I continue to pay punctually your loan interest bills, and I have, to prevent their being protested, promised payment of those bills arrived in Holland drawn on Mr. Laurens, who has not yet appeared. I am anxious to support the credit of the Congress—they will not suffer me to lose my own—but if these *extra* demands are multiplied upon me and no supplies sent I must become a bankrupt, for I can not continually worry the court for more money.

The privateers *Black Prince* and *Black Princess*, with Congress commissions issued here by me and manned partly with Americans, have greatly harassed the English coasting trade, having taken in eighteen months near one hundred and twenty sail. The *Prince* was wrecked on this coast; the men saved. The *Princess* still reigns, and in a late cruise of twenty days between June 20 and July 10 took twenty-eight prizes, some very valuable.

I must repeat my motion that the Congress would appoint consuls in the principal ports to take care of their maritime and commercial affairs; and beg earnestly that no more frigates may be sent here to my care.

Much clamor has been made here about the depreciation of our money, but it is a good deal abated. I wish however to be furnished with authentic informations of the intentions of Congress relative to that matter.

Mr. Adams is gone to Holland for a few weeks; Mr. Dana remains here.

I am told complaints are likely to be made against me by Messrs. Lee and Izard and Captain Landais. If such should be laid before Congress, I wish to receive copies of them; and knowing the uprightness and cleanness of my own conduct, I have no doubt of answering them to satisfaction. I hear you have already had some sheets of the kind from Mr. Lee.

Be pleased to present my dutiful respects to Congress and assure them of my most faithful services.

I have, etc.

P. S.—The *Fièr Rodrique*, with her convoy from Virginia, are all safe arrived except one vessel, that foundered at sea; the men saved.

Franklin to Lovell.*

PASSY, *August* 10, 1780.

SIR: I received on the 12th of June, 1780, copies of your several favors of April the 29th, 1779, June the 13th, 1779, July the 9th and 16th, August and September the 16th, 1779. You will see by this what

* MSS. Dep. of State; 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 121, with verbal changes; 8 Sparks' Franklin, 491; 7 Bigelow's Franklin, 115.

delays our correspondence sometimes meets with. I have lately received two of fresher date, viz: February the 24th and May the 4th. I thank you much for the newspapers and journals you have from time to time sent me. I endeavor to make full returns in the same way. I could furnish a multitude of despatches, with confidential informations, taken out of the papers I send you, if I chose to deal in that kind of manufacture; I know the whole art of it, for I have had several volunteer correspondents in England, who have in their letters for years together communicated to me secrets of state extracted from the newspapers, which sometimes came to hand in those papers by the same post and sometimes by the post before. You and I send the papers themselves. Our letters may appear the leaner, but what fat they have is their own.

I wrote to you the 17th of October and the 16th of March, and have sent duplicates, some of which I hope got to hand. You mention receiving one of September the 30th, and one of December the 30th, but not that of October the 17th. The cipher you have communicated, either from some defect in your explanation or in my comprehension, is not yet of use to me, for I can not understand by it the little specimen you wrote in it. If you have that of M. Dumas, which I left with Mr. Morris, we may correspond by it when a few sentences are required only to be written in cipher, but it is too tedious for a whole letter.

I send herewith copies of the instruments annulling the eleventh and twelvth articles of the treaty.* The treaty printed here by the court omitted them, and numbered the subsequent articles accordingly.

I write fully to the President. The frequent hindrances the committee of correspondence meet with in writing as a committee, which appear from the excuses in your particular letters and the many parts of my letters that have long been unanswered, incline me to think that your foreign correspondence would be best managed by one secretary, who could write when he had an opportunity, without waiting for the concurrence or opinions of his brethren, who can not always be got conveniently together. My chief letters will therefore, for the future, be addressed to the President till further orders.

I send you enclosed some more of Mr. Hartley's letters. He continues passionately to desire peace with America, but wishes we could be separated from France.

With great esteem, etc.,

B. FRANKLIN.

* For these instruments, see *supra*, under date of September 1, 1778.

Franklin to Lewis.*

PASSY, *August* 10, 1780.

SIR: I received the honor of yours written by order of the board March 28. We were at the time preparing to send back the *Alliance*, laden with several kinds of the military stores.

An unfortunate quarrel between captains Jones and Landais, and a mutinous spirit among the men, encouraged by the latter, as appears by his correcting with his own hand and transmitting to me the declaration of one hundred and twenty-five of them not to weigh anchor till they were paid wages and prize money, etc., threw everything into confusion and occasioned a long and expensive delay of her sailing. The particulars you will hear from Captain Jones. She departed at last without taking near the quantity she ought to have done. I formerly sent drafts to the best frigates, which I believe were received. But I shall endeavor to get more, as you desire. You have not mentioned the rates, but I suppose you do not mean ships of the line. I shall do what I can to obtain satisfaction for the *Daphne*.

Be pleased to present my respects to the board, and be assured that I am, etc.

Dana to the President of Congress.†

PARIS, *August* 10, 1780.

SIR: Mr. Adams having left Paris the 27th of last month to visit the Low Countries, I do myself the honor of forwarding to your excellency two packets, the one containing his letters to you from No. 89 to 99 inclusive, and two private letters from a gentleman in London to him; the other containing letters numbered in their order from No. 1 to 10 inclusive. I shall also forward to your excellency, if the bearer can take them, all the newspapers we have on hand. The whole will be committed to the care of Captain Jones, who will sail in the *Ariel*.

Had I been apprised less suddenly of the time of Captain Jones' departure I should also have sent translations of the declarations of the courts of Copenhagen and Stockholm to the belligerent powers, conforming to that of the Empress of Russia, relative to the commerce of the neutral powers and the armed neutrality. These declarations are in the "*Suite des Nouvelles d'Amsterdam*" of the 8th of August, No. 63. The fleet which left Virginia the 14th of last June, under the convoy of the *Frère Roderique*, bound for France, are all except one—which foundered at sea, the crew being saved—safely arrived. A vessel which left New London the 27th of June was cast away on the rocks entering Rochelle. We have no letters by any of these vessels, but learn from

* MSS. Dep. of State.

† MSS. Dep. of State; 4 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 543.

them that no intelligence had been received from M. de Ternay when they left America. We can not but lament our total want of intelligence respecting the state of our country.

I am, sir, with the greatest respect, etc.,

FRANCIS DANA.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.*

AMSTERDAM, *August* 14, 1780.

SIR: On the 27th of July I set out from Paris on a journey to Amsterdam. I left Mr. Dana and Mr. Thaxter at Paris, who will regularly transmit to Congress whatever shall occur of importance to the United States to know. They will also enclose all the English, French, and Dutch gazettes. They are exerting themselves in this republic to man their ships of war, in which they have great success, as they give very great premiums for seamen, as far as sixty ducats a man. The Russian men-of-war are arrived and anchored in sight of the Texel, and several of their officers have been ashore in this city. The plenipotentiaries are gone to Petersburgh. Sweden and Denmark have adopted the declaration of Russia. It is whispered that the Dutch ministers to the congress at Petersburgh are shackled with instructions to insist on a warranty of their possessions in the East and West Indies previous to their acceding to the confederation of the maritime powers; but this instruction produced a protest of the city of Amsterdam, with such reasons against it, that it is thought the opposite party will not venture to take upon themselves the consequences of a refusal to join in the confederation, so that it is expected the treaty will take place.

It is universally considered as a great misfortune to us by all whom I converse with here that Mr. Laurens is not arrived. Some prudent person, authorized by Congress, is earnestly desired here. He would not be publicly received, at least until the states shall take a decided part with the other maritime powers against England; this case, however, may soon happen. But there is not in Europe a better station to collect intelligence from France, Spain, England, Germany, and all the northern parts, nor a better situation from whence to circulate intelligence through all parts of Europe than this. And it may be depended on that our cause has never suffered from anything more than from the failure of giving and receiving intelligence. A minister here from Congress would be considered as the centre of communication between America and this and many other parts of Europe, and I have since my arrival here been more convinced than ever that Congress might open a considerable loan here, and be supplied from hence with stores and with clothing, and at the same time be gradually extending the commerce between this country and America, to the great advantage

---

* MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 221; 7 J. Adams' Works, 244.

of both. I have had a great deal of conversation upon the subject of a loan and shall have more. I am sure that a loan might be obtained by any one with powers from Congress. But there are no powers as yet arrived in Europe that will ever succeed here.

We are still in daily hope and expectation that Mr. Laurens will arrive; but should he decline to come, or in case any accident has befallen him, I most earnestly recommend to Congress the appointment of some other gentleman, with a proper commission, with full powers, and especially to borrow money and to sign proper promissory notes for the payment of it.

The King of Sweden is at Spa, from whence, in the letter of the 30th of July, the public are informed that his majesty, the first who during the present maritime war has given validity to the rights of neuters, by means of the declaration which he caused to be made the last year to the belligerent powers and by means of the protection which he granted from that time to the commerce and the navigation of his subjects in sending out from his ports a numerous squadron, has manifested the consistency of his sentiments and disposition in this respect by a new declaration lately made to the courts of Madrid, Versailles, and London, an authentic copy of which here follows:

DECLARATION OF SWEDEN.

From the commencement of the present war the king has taken care to make known his fashion of thinking to all Europe; he has prescribed to himself a perfect neutrality; he has discharged the duties of it with scrupulous exactness; he has thought himself entitled to enjoy in consequence of it the rights attached to the quality of a sovereign absolutely neutral. Notwithstanding, his trading subjects have been obliged to demand his protection, and his majesty has found himself under a necessity of granting it to them. To fulfill this object, the king caused to be armed the last year a certain number of vessels; one part of them he employed upon the coasts of his kingdom, and the other has served to convoy the Swedish merchant vessels in the different seas where the commerce of his subjects called them to navigate. He communicated these measures to the belligerent powers, and he prepared himself to continue them in the course of the present year, when other courts, which had equally adopted a neutrality, communicated to him the dispositions which they had made conformable with those of the king, and tending to the same end. The Empress of Russia caused to be presented a declaration to the courts of London, Versailles, and Madrid, by which she informed them of the resolution she had taken to defend the commerce of her subjects and the universal rights of neutral nations. This declaration was founded upon principles so just, that it did not appear possible to call them in question. The king has found them entirely conformable to his own cause, to the treaty concluded in 1666 between Sweden and England, and to that between Sweden and France; and his majesty has not been able to excuse himself from acknowledging and adopting these same principles, not only with regard to the powers with whom the said treaties are in force, but also with relation to those who are already involved in the present war or who may become so in the sequel, and with whom the king has no treaty to appeal to. It is the universal law, and in default of particular engagements this becomes obligatory upon all nations. In consequence of which the king declares once more that he will observe in future the same neutrality and with the same exactness which he has

bserved heretofore. He will forbid his subjects, under severe penalties, to deviate any manner whatsoever from the duties which a similar neutrality imposes; but will protect their lawful commerce by all means possible when they shall conduct conformably to the principles above mentioned.

From Hamburg the 1st of August we have the following article:

All nations and all commercial cities being interested in the liberty of the seas and e safety of navigation, attacked and violated in our days in a manner whereof history furnishes few examples, we have not learned here with less joy than in the rest Europe (if we except perhaps Great Britain) the generous resolution which the ree powers of the north have taken to protect, by an armed neutrality, the comerce of their subjects, and at the same time the rights of all nations; rights immeorial, which honor and justice alone ought to cause to be respected, without having casion to recur to the sanction of treaties. The court of Denmark has adopted ese principles into the declaration which, after the example of Russia, she has made the belligerent powers, and which is conceived in these terms:

DECLARATION OF DENMARK.

If a neutrality the most exact and the most perfect, with a navigation the most gular and an inviolable respect for treaties, had been sufficient to place the freedom commerce of the subjects of the King of Denmark and Norway in a state of safety om these misfortunes, which ought to be unknown to nations which are at peace d who are free and independent, it would not be necessary to take new measures insure them this liberty, to which they have a right the most incontestable.

The King of Denmark has always founded his glory and his grandeur upon the teem and the confidence of other people; he has made it a law to himself, from the mmencement of his reign, to manifest to all the powers his friends a conduct the ost capable of convincing them of his pacific sentiments and of his sincere desire to ntribute to the general prosperity of Europe. His proceedings, the most uniform, d which nothing can conceal, are a proof of this. He has not hitherto addressed mself but to the belligerent powers themselves to obtain the redress of his grievces; and he has never failed of moderation in his demands, nor of gratitude when ey have had the success which they ought to have. But the neutral navigation s been too often molested, and the most innocent commerce of his subjects too freently disturbed, for the king not to think himself obliged to take at present meases proper to assure to himself and to his allies the safety of commerce and navigation d the maintenance of the indispensable rights of liberty and independence. If the ties of neutrality are sacred, if the law of nations has also its decrees adopted by all partial nations, established by custom, and founded in equity and reason, an indendent and neutral nation does not lose by the war of another the rights which it d before that war, because that peace continues for her with all the belligerent ople, without receiving and without having to follow the laws of any of them. e is authorized to make in all places (the contraband excepted) the traffic which e would have a right to make if peace existed in all Europe as it exists for her. e king pretends to nothing beyond that which neutrality entitles him to. Such his rule and that of his people; and his majesty not being able to avow the prinle that a belligerent nation has a right to interrupt the commerce of his states, he s thought it a duty which he owed to himself and to his people, faithful observers his regulations, and to the powers at war themselves, to lay open to them the folwing principles, which he has always had, and which he will always avow and maintain in concert with her majesty the Empress of all the Russias, whose sentiments he knowledges to be entirely conformable to his own:

(1) That neutral vessels may navigate freely from port to port and upon the asts of nations at war,

(2) That the effects belonging to the subjects of the powers at war may be free upon neutral vessels, excepting merchandises of contraband.

(3) That nothing be understood by this denomination of contraband but that which is expressly defined as such in the third article of the treaty of commerce with Great Britain in 1770 and in the twenty-sixth and twenty-seventh articles of his treaty of commerce with France in 1742; and the king will equally avow that which is fixed in these articles towards the powers with which he has no treaty.

(4) That we should consider as a port blocked that into which no vessel can enter without an evident danger by reason of ships of war stationed to form very near an effectual blockade.

(5) That these principles serve as a rule in all proceedings, and that justice be rendered with despatch and according to the documents of the sea, conformably to treaties and to received usages.

His majesty does not hesitate to declare that he will maintain these principles, as well as the honor of his flag and the liberty and independence of commerce and of the navigation of his subjects; and it is to this end that he has caused to be armed a part of his fleet, although he desires to preserve with all the powers at war not only the good intelligence, but even all the intimacy, which a neutrality can admit. The king will never deviate from this without being forced; he knows the duties and the obligations of it; he respects them as much as his treaties, and desires nothing but to maintain them. His majesty is also persuaded that the belligerent powers will do justice to these motives; that they will be as far as he is himself from everything which oppresses the natural liberty of men, and that they will give to their admiralties and to their officers orders conformable to the principles here announced, which evidently tend to the prosperity and the interest of all Europe.

COPENHAGEN, *July* 8, 1780.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

Lovell to Franklin.*

PHILADELPHIA, *August* 15, 1780.

SIR: Though I can not procure the signatures of the committee of foreign affairs at this moment, nor the resolve of Congress respecting bills to be drawn on you for one hundred thousand dollars, passed two or three days ago, the bills payable at ninety days' sight, yet I should be blamable if I did not thus far notify you. The breach upon our taxes at the southward by the possession which the enemy have there made this disagreeable step necessary for the express purpose of supporting General Gates in that department.

Notwithstanding the mention made in our journals long ago of giving you a secretary, no vote has lately been taken for the purpose.

Mr. Laurens will be able, on any questions from you in corresponding, to give you whatever the gazettes do not convey.

I am, sir, your most humble servant,

JAMES LOVELL,
For the Committee of Foreign Affairs.

P. S.—August 27, 1780. I now add the resolves.

---

*2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 122.

Franklin to Vergennes.*

PASSY, *August* 15, 1780.

SIR: I received the letter your excellency did me the honor of writ-g to me the 13th instant, enclosing a copy of the king's letters to M. e Admiral of France concerning the future judgment of prizes ought in by privateers fitted out in France under commissions of ngress. I accordingly transmit to the conseil des prizes, for their lgments, some late procès verbaux, taken at Morlaix, and sent to me the admiralty there. I have written to the owners of the *Black ince* and *Princess*, recalling their commissions. The answer I have ceived is, that the *Black Prince* is wrecked upon the coast, and her mmission therefore void; that the *Princess* is out upon a cruise, and at as soon as the cruise is finished her commission can be obtained m government to continue acting under it, which the owners say ey have applied for. I have had no other interest in those arma-nts than the advantage of some prisoners to exchange for my untrymen.

With great respect, etc.

Luzerne to the President of Congress.†

[Translation.]

PHILADELPHIA, *August* 15, 1780.

SIR: I have received the letter which you did me the honor of writing me on the 12th instant, with an act of Congress relative to the petition George Basden. I shall transmit the whole to the governors of St. mingo, in order to know their opinion on a subject of this nature; t I can inform you beforehand that it seems to me doubtful whether eir opinion will be favorable to the petitioner, as the Bermudians, ing under the English Government, are not excepted from the num-r of our enemies by any public act which has come to my knowledge. Allow me, sir, to have the honor to remind you on this occasion that veral notes, which I had the honor of sending to the committee of mmerce, in relation to merchandise deposited in the hands of the eur Caraburse, at St. Domingo, have remained unanswered.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

LUZERNE.

---

* MSS. Dep. of State.

† 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 702.

Luzerne to the President of Congress.*

[Translation.]

PHILADELPHIA, *August* 15, 1780.

SIR: I have received the letter with which you honored me on th 12th instant, with the resolutions of the 5th and 12th instants, whic accompany it. Be pleased to assure Congress that I will neglect n means in my power for securing the success of the prudent and patrioti measures which are about to be taken, and I can assure you of th eagerness with which the king will second those measures and of hi resolution to assist the thirteen States to the utmost of his power. shall transmit to his majesty the resolution which you have been pleas to communicate to me, and I have reason to believe that he will entirel approve of everything that may contribute to the immediate deliver ance of the States invaded by the enemy.

With regard to the concurrence of the forces of his Catholic majest I am entirely uninformed, and although the good dispositions of th court of Madrid towards the thirteen States are undoubted, I do no know in what points the Spanish troops can assist the American armie

I have the honor to be, etc.,

LUZERNE.

Jay to De Neufville & Son.†

MADRID, *August* 16, 1780.

GENTLEMEN: My last to you was dated July 29, in answer to you of the 13th of the same month. I have since had the pleasure to r ceive your favor of the 28th of July, and am happy to hear that D Franklin has been able to take the step you mention. I can not fo bear again to repeat the sense I have of your very friendly conduct o this occasion. I assure you I shall rejoice in every opportunity of a knowledging the obligations you have conferred on my country. Suc disinterested acts of friendship are not common, and ought never to b forgotten.

With sentiments of great and sincere esteem and regard, I have th honor to be, etc.,

JOHN JAY.

J. Adams to Franklin.‡

AMSTERDAM, *August* 17, 1780.

SIR: I was never more amused with political speculations than sin my arrival in this country. Every one has his prophecy, and eve prophecy is a paradox. One says, America will give France the go-b

* 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 702.

† MSS. Dep. of State; 4 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 216.

‡ 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 226; 7 J. Adams' Works, 247.

nother, that France and Spain will abandon America. A third, that pain will forsake France and America. A fourth, that America has ie interest of all Europe against her. A fifth, that she will become ie greatest manufacturing country, and thus ruin Europe. A sixth, iat she will become a great military and naval power, and will be very mbitious, and so terrible to Europe. In short, it seems as if they had tudied for every impossibility, and agreed to foretell it as a probable iture event.

I tell the first, that if the King of France would release America from er treaty, and England would agree to our independence on condition 'e would make an alliance offensive and defensive with her, America ught not to accept it, and would not, because she will in future have o security for peace, even with England, but in her treaty with France. ask the second, whether he thinks the connection of America of so ttle consequence to France and Spain that they would lightly give it p? I ask the third, whether the family compact, added to the connec- on with America, is a trifling consideration to Spain? To the fifth, I say iat America will not make manufactures enough for her own consump- on these thousand years. And to the sixth, that we love peace and ate war so much, that we can scarcely keep up an army necessary to efend ourselves against the greatest of evils and to secure our inde- endence, which is the greatest of blessings; and therefore, while we ave land enough to conquer from the trees and rocks and wild beasts, 'e shall never go abroad to trouble other nations.

To the fourth I say, that their paradox is like several others, viz, iat Bacchus and Cerres did mischief to mankind when they invented ine and bread; that arts, sciences, and civilization have been general lamities, etc. That upon their supposition all Europe ought to agree) bring away the inhabitants of America and divide them among the ations of Europe, to be maintained as paupers, leaving America to be vergrown again with trees and bushes and to become again the habi- tions of bears and Indians, forbidding all navigation to that quarter the world in future. That mankind in general, however, are prob- ly of a different opinion, believing that Columbus, as well as Bacchus id Cerres, did a service to mankind, and that Europe and America ill be rich blessings to each other, the one supplying a surplus of man- factures, and the other a surplus of raw materials the productions of griculture.

It is very plain, however, that speculation and disputation can do us ttle service. No facts are believed but decisive military conquests;) arguments are seriously attended to in Europe but force. It is to hoped our countrymen, instead of amusing themselves any longer ith delusive dreams of peace, will bend the whole force of their minds augment their navy, to find out their own strength and resources, id to depend upon themselves.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.*

AMSTERDAM, *August* 22, 1780.

SIR: In a letter of the 14th instant I had the honor to transmit to Congress the declaration of the courts of Sweden and Denmark, conformable to that of Russia, which have been presented to the belligerent powers. I now send the answer of the King of France to the declaration of Sweden. It is conceived in these terms:

ANSWER OF FRANCE TO THE DECLARATION OF SWEDEN.

The king has constantly desired that the neutral powers should not receive any damage by the war in which his majesty is engaged; his orders have assured to the vessels belonging to these powers the enjoyment of all the liberty which the laws of the sea allow them; and if any individual navigators have had cause to complain of having suffered by the violence of the subjects of his majesty, he has rendered them immediate and ample justice.

His majesty has seen with satisfaction, in the declaration which has been presented to him on behalf of the King of Sweden, that it was the intention of this prince to continue to protect the navigation of his subjects against all violence; that even his Swedish majesty had resolved to take measures, in concert with other courts, and especially with the Empress of Russia, to accomplish more effectually this purpose. The king can not but wish that the confederation of his Swedish majesty with those powers may produce the benefit which they promise themselves from it—that the ocean may be free, conformably to the law of nations and to treaties, which are known to be nothing more than explanations of that law; and, in fine, that all the nations who have no part in the war may not suffer the evils of it. His majesty has renewed to the officers of his marine and to the privateers which carry his flag orders entirely conformable to the principles upon which must depend the safety and tranquillity of all neutral vessels. For a stronger reason still, the subjects of the King of Sweden ought to be assured that they will meet with no obstruction from those of his majesty, since there is no Frenchman who is ignorant of the alliance and friendship which has so long subsisted between the two crowns.

The precautions which his Swedish majesty has taken, as they must confine the Swedish navigators within the bounds of the most exact neutrality, so they will be a new motive for them to demand the execution of those laws of which their master discovers himself to be a zealous defender; laws which the king ardently wishes to see adopted by the unanimous concurrence of all the powers in such a manner that no one may have to suffer by the war if his sovereign does not take a part in it, provided he shall conform to the rules prescribed to prevent all abuse of the neutral flag.

VERSAILLES *August* 4, 1780.

In a London paper of the 15th of August are the following queries of the court of Sweden relative to the proposal which the court of Russia has made for the reciprocal protection and navigation of their subjects:

QUERIES OF THE COURT OF SWEDEN.

(1) How and in what manner a reciprocal protection and mutual assistance shall be given?

(2) Whether each particular power shall be obliged to protect the general commerce of the whole, or if in the mean time it may employ a part of its armament in the protection of its own particular commerce?

* MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 227.

(3) If several of their combined squadrons should meet, or, for example, one or ore of their vessels, what shall be the rule of their conduct towards each other, and w far shall the neutral protection extend?

(4) It seems essential to agree upon the manner in which representations shall be ade to the powers at war if, notwithstanding our measures, their ships of war or med vessels should continue to interrupt our commerce in any manner; must these monstrances be made in the general name of the united powers, or shall each par-cular power plead its own cause only?

(5) Lastly, it appears essentially necessary to provide against this possible event, here one of the united powers, itself driven to extremities against any of the powers tually at war, should claim the assistance of the allies in this convention to do her stice, in what manner can this be best concerted? A circumstance which equally quires a stipulation that the reprisals in that case shall not be at the will of such rty injured, but that the common voice shall decide; otherwise an individual wer might at its pleasure draw the rest against their inclinations and interests to disagreeable extremities, or break the whole league and reduce matters into eir original state, which would render the whole fruitless and of none effect.

ANSWER OF THE COURT OF RUSSIA.

(1) As to the manner in which protection and mutual assistance shall be granted, must be settled by a formal convention, to which all the neutral powers will be vited, the principal end of which is to insure a free navigation to the merchant ips of all nations. Whenever such vessel shall have proved from its papers that it rries no contraband goods, the protection of a squadron or vessels of war shall be anted her, under whose care she shall put herself, and which shall prevent her ing interrupted. From hence it follows:

(2) That each power must concur in the general security of commerce. In the ean time, the better to accomplish this object, it will be necessary to settle by means a separate article the places and distances which may be judged proper for the ation of each power. From that method will arise this advantage, that all the uadrons of the allies will form a kind of chain and be able to assist each other; the rticular arrangements to be confined only to the knowledge of the allies, though e convention in all other points will be communicated to the powers at war, accom-nied with all the protestations of a strict neutrality.

(3) It is undoubtedly the principle of a perfect equality which must regulate this int. We shall follow the common mode with regard to safety. In case the squad-ns should meet and engage, the commanders will conform to the usages of the sea rvice, because, as is observed above, the reciprocal protection under these conditions ould be unlimited.

(4) It seems expedient that the representations mentioned in this article be made the party aggrieved, and that the ministers of the other confederate powers sup-rt those remonstrances in the most forcible and efficacious manner.

(5) We feel all the importance of this consideration, and to render it clear it is nec-ary to distinguish the case. If any one of the allied powers should suffer itself to drawn in by motives contrary to the established principles of a neutrality and per-t impartiality, should injure its laws, or extend their bounds, it can not certainly expected that others should espouse the quarrel; on the contrary, such a conduct ould be deemed an abandoning the ties which unite them. But if the insult offered one of the allies should be hostile to the principles adopted and announced in the ce of all Europe, or should be marked with the character of hatred and animosity, spired by resentment at these common measures of the confederacy, which have no ner tendency than to make, in a precise and irrecoverable manner, laws for the lib-y of commerce and the rights of every neutral nation, then it shall be held indis-nsable for the united powers to make a common cause of it (at sea only), without being a groundwork for other operations, as these connections are purely mari-

time, having no other object than naval commerce and navigation. From all that is said above, it evidently results that the common will of all, founded upon the principles admitted and adopted by the contracting parties, must alone decide, and that it will always be the fixed basis of the conduct and operations of this union. Finally, we shall observe that these conventions suppose no other naval armament than what shall be conformable to circumstances, according as these shall render them necessary or as may be agreed. It is probable that this agreement, once ratified and established, will be of the greatest consequence, and that the belligerent powers will find in it sufficient motives to persuade them to respect the neutral flag and prevent their provoking the resentment of a respectable communion founded under the auspices of the most evident justice, and the sole idea of which is received with the universal applause of all impartial Europe.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

Carmichael to the Committee of Foreign Affairs.*

ST. ILDEFONSO, *August* 22, 1780.

GENTLEMEN: In the course of this month I did myself the honor of writing to you by the *General Pickering*, from Bilboa, and the *Captain Ryan*, from Cadiz, as also *via* France. In these letters I informed you of the situation of our affairs here and of that of Europe in general; since which we have advanced very little. The minister having informed Mr. Jay, on the 5th of July, that he had sent for a person to succeed M. Miralles, and that, on his arrival, arrangements would be made with respect to the bills presented to Mr. Jay for payment, and that he would then enter into discussions on the other objects of Mr. Jay's mission, before and since that period bills to the amount of thirty thousand dollars have been presented, of which Mr. Jay has accepted for fourteen thousand dollars, by the direction of the minister, and none of the others have as yet been protested.

You will see by a state of the finances of this country, which, in compliance with Mr. Jay's instructions to me at my departure from Cadiz, I have had the honor to give him, that their revenues and resources since the war have greatly diminished, and that previous to that period they were by no means so flourishing as Congress had reason to suppose. In most of the conferences with the minister the scarcity of cash has been objected more than the want of inclination, and hints have been thrown out that it would be much more convenient for the court to grant the United States aids in money from their possessions in America than in Europe. Although hopes have been as constantly given that a part of the sum drawn for would be furnished at the end of the present year or commencement of the next, and that measures in the mean time might be taken to prevent embarrassments in case of the arrival of bills after that period, great surprise has been expressed that Congress should take such a step without previously in-

* MSS. Dep. of State; 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 25, with verbal corrections.

rming the court of their intentions and obtaining its approbation of e measure. Congress will therefore judge of the propriety of dispos- g of any bills that may remain unsold until they are fully ascertained at they will be punctually paid. Mr. Jay, now at Madrid, where the ath of his child, and the consequent distresses of his family, detain m a few days, will undoubtedly transmit more ample intelligence on is subject, with the various papers in his possession necessary to ex- ain it. This court has been obliged to make considerable loans for eir own current expenses, the nature of which I hope to be able to plain in a future letter. It has lately obtained seven millions five ndred thousand current dollars in France and elsewhere. The loan for nine millions, and from the nature of it will create a temporary per circulation to that amount in this kingdom. I shall transmit to ngress as soon as it becomes public a full detail of this operation.

Mr. Cumberland, whom I mentioned in my last, and whose name you ll find in all the European gazettes, is still at Madrid, from whence has lately had permission to send a courier to London; but as the panish minister has engaged to impart any serious proposals he may ake, and as the French ambassador expresses no uneasiness from the sidence of this gentleman in Spain, although this circumstance at this isis is extraordinary, we can not presume there can be solid ground r apprehension. Considerable revolutions, however, have happened the system of politics of this country, ever since the accession of the use of Bourbon, and where governments are often more influenced the counsels, and sometimes the caprices, of individuals than from gard to the real and permanent interest of a nation there is always mething to fear. Congress, judging from the assurances of the minis- r and the king's character, which is remarkable for steadiness, on the ne part, and from the circumstance of Mr. Cumberland's residence re and the constant endeavors of our enemies by every insidious art misrepresent our situation, on the other, will be best able to draw nclusions from the whole.

The treaty proposed by Russia to the neutral maritime powers to se- re their commerce and protect a free navigation has been or will be ceded to by Sweden, Denmark, the Hanseatic Towns, and Holland, d a Russian fleet is expected in the channel daily. Portugal, it is id, influenced by England, will not accede to this treaty, which will t a stop to the piratical conduct of that country. France and Spain claim against the partiality of Portugal to Great Britain, and I have en informed, but I do not pretend to vouch for the authenticity of the telligence, that strong representations have been made to that court, ther to shut its ports against the armed vessels of the nations at war to take a part in it. The French minister to that court said some- ing to the same purpose to me at Madrid on his way to Lisbon. The nglish at present sell their prizes there without the formality of con- emnation.

The Count d'Estaing is now here, and on every occasion manifests the strongest attachment to the United States and their interests. The general opinion gives him the command of a part, if not the whole, of the combined fleets, which amount to thirty-six sail of the line, now at sea, commanded by M. Cordova. The English fleet under Geary is also cruising between Ushant and Cape St. Vincent, to prevent the junction of the ships from Brest and Ferrol with the Spanish admiral, and to protect their outward and homeward bound convoys and to intercept those of the allies.

I had written thus far when a courier arrived with the important news of the combined fleets having fallen in with and taken fifty-six sail out of sixty destined to the East and West Indies, Madeira, and Quebec. I have requested Mr. Harrison at Cadiz to enclose to the committee a list of the prizes and the nature of their cargoes, as it has not yet been received here. This will be severely felt in England and will occasion more clamor against the ministry than all their naval losses since the war. Mr. Jay has heard but once from Congress since we have been in Spain, and very seldom from our other correspondents. The last letters from Paris mention that Messrs. Franklin, Adams, and Dana were well, and that Mr. Adams was going to Holland.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

WILLIAM CARMICHAEL.

P. S.—Since sending off a copy of the preceding letter I have the pleasure to inform the committee that the gentleman expected by the minister has arrived, and proves to be Don Diego Gardoqui, who is already known by his former correspondence with America. Our affairs are once more in train; some bills have been accepted since his arrival, but nothing decisive has been as yet determined, and, indeed, I fear the court is too much pressed for money to do anything considerable for us here in that way. Probably this gentleman will be sent to America, by whom we shall have an opportunity, I hope, of conveying the final determination of the court with respect to our affairs. The navigation of the Mississippi appears to be the great, and if we can credit the assertions of men in power the sole, obstacle.

Mr. Cumberland has been here, and is expected again with his family in a few days. I have been informed that he has offered, on the part of Great Britain, to restore to Spain what they lost by the peace of Paris, and has been permitted to reside at this court in expectation of being authorized to make further concessions, and, indeed, on no other principle can I account for his residence here at this crisis. I mentioned in my letter of the 22d ultimo that representations had been made to the court of Portugal either to shut its ports against the armed vessels of all nations at war, or to take a part in it. I have the honor to inform you that the above court has consented to the first of these propositions, although this is not yet public. Another vessel has arrived at Nantes from Philadelphia, by which neither Mr. Jay nor my

elf have received any letters. The Russian fleet, consisting of fifteen ail of the line and four frigates, is arrived in England. Admiral Geary eturned to Spithead the 19th ultimo. His fleet, it is said, will soon be ent to sea, although he had upwards of two thousand sick when he eturned to port. Stocks fell considerably in England when the news rrived of the loss of the convoy before mentioned.

A fleet of seven sail of the line sailed from Ferrol the 22d ultimo to convoy off the coast a fleet of transports for the French islands, and probably to cruise to intercept the homeward and outward bound fleets of the enemy. This circumstance, joined to the late loss of the convoy, has raised insurance prodigiously in London. The Parliament does not meet until the 28th of September.

W. C.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.*

AMSTERDAM, *August* 23, 1780.

SIR: The errand of Mr. Cumberland to Madrid is a mere finesse of the British ministry, intended to aid the stock-jobbers to keep up the stocks, aid the loan and the canvass for an election, and lull the belligerent powers, while they prepare their measures for future enterprises and another campaign. They have carried this plot so far, that I see some paragraphs in the foreign papers which seem intended to counteract it.

The truth is, according to my information, that orders are already sent out by the British cabinet to prosecute the war with vigor in North Carolina and Virginia the ensuing fall, winter, and spring. General Prevost is about to sail with some frigates to aid their operations on Cape Fear River. It is said, at the same time, that they are sounding the house of Bourbon through Sardinia, and have made some loose propositions of accommodation, the groundwork of which is the sacrifice of America, and there is no doubt they would yield to France and Spain very great things to carry their point against America, who may depend upon the utmost exertions of their malice and revenge. But all this will not do. France and Spain are now responsible for their conduct to the rest of Europe, especially the northern powers, and, besides this, the separation between America and England is an object of more pressing importance to France and Spain than any concessions that England can make them. So that America need not be under any apprehensions of being deserted.

If, however, she were to be deserted by all the world, she ought seriously to maintain her resolution to be free. She has the means within herself. Her greatest misfortune has been that she has never yet felt her full strength, nor considered the extent of her resources.

---

*MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 231.

I can not but lament, however, that there is no representation of Congress in this republic vested with powers to borrow money. This would be a double advantage. We should avail ourselves of a loan, and at the same time lessen the loan of England. A loan once begun here would rapidly increase, so as to deprive the English of this resource.

This is the method in which commerce may be extended between the two republics, and the political sentiments and system of Holland changed. I fancy that several very heavy and solid houses here might be persuaded to become security for the payment of interest, and that contracts might be made with them to send them remittances in produce either to Europe, St. Eustatia, St. Thomas, etc., to enable them to discharge the interest. Might not merchants be found in Philadelphia, Boston, and many other places who would enter into contract with the public to remit such a sum as should be agreed on in the produce of the country to such houses here? This method, if Congress should think it expedient to fall into the way of sending fleets of merchantmen under convoy, would easily succeed. The safe arrival of the *Fier Roderique* with so large a number of vessels under her care, gives great encouragement to this plan.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

Dana to the President of Congress.*

PARIS, *August* 24, 1780.

SIR: I did myself the honor on the 10th instant to write to your excellency by Captain John Paul Jones, who then expected to sail soon in the *Ariel* for Philadelphia, assigning as the reason the absence of Mr. Adams, who was gone to visit the Low Countries. I then forwarded to your excellency two packets, one containing his letters to you and two private letters from a gentleman in London to him; the other containing letters to and from the minister and I also sent all the newspapers we then had on hand, directing the whole to the care of Captain Jones.

Mr. Adams has not returned. I had a letter from him of the 17th instant, in which he makes no mention of his being about to return, so that it is probable he will stay there some time longer. If anything occurs here worthy the notice of Congress during his absence I shall not fail to do myself the honor of communicating it to your excellency. The packets sent with this contain Mr. Adams' letters to your excellency from No. 91 to 100, and letters to and from the minister from No. 1 to 7 exclusive, and also the newspapers which have come to hand since making the first packet. We have not received any advice of the arrival of M. de Ternay, or any intelligence of the operations of the Span-

* 4 Sparks Dip. Rev. Corr., 544.

rds on the continent since the reduction of Mobile, or of the com-ned armaments in the West Indies.

I am, with the greatest respect, etc.,

FRANCIS DANA.

Livingston to Jay.*

PHILADELPHIA, *August* 26, 1780.

DEAR JOHN: I received yours of the 23d May from Madrid, with plicates thereof, and the letters you wrote from Cadiz and Martinique. Your remembrance of the pleasurable days of our youth and the enes in which we mutually bore our parts, together with the attrac-ons which this country still has for you, afford me the most pleas-g hope that neither time nor absence will weaken a friendship which s so long stood the test of both. This, indeed, I expected from the eadiness of your temper; but I must confess that I had little hopes at your early return would afford me a prospect of deriving that nsolation from it in the decline of life to which I looked even while it rected the pursuits and animated the pleasures of youth.

You mistake your own heart when you say you are unambitious, and thout the assurances contained in your letter I should have believed at the love of glory would have always kept you in the line in which u now are, more especially as the general satisfaction that your ap-intment and conduct since has given, renders it the wish of every-dy less interested in your return than I am to keep you abroad.

I have not been able to procure at this place the key to the cipher at you directed me to, though I believe I have it at home; besides at it is very intricate and troublesome; I shall therefore be obliged confine what I have to say to mere common occurrences. I enclose u a cipher which is very simple, and not to be deciphered while the y is concealed, as the same figure represents a variety of letters. In ler that you may know whether it comes safely to hand I have in is letter used the precaution mentioned in yours.

Nothing astonishes me more than the confidence with which the itish ministry and their dependents assert that America sighs to re-rn to their government, since the fact is that we never were more termined in opposition, nor, if we except the derangement of our ances (which the loan of half a million would re-establish if remitted specie or merchandise), were we ever so capable of resistance. Our ops are uncommonly fine, and the militia of every State north and st of Delaware is armed, disciplined, and inured to the duties of camp. The southern militia are now at school, and I have no doubt ll improve by the lessons they receive from the enemy. Our friend ith, who has probably contributed to this ministerial madness, un-tructed by his repeated disappointments from the beginning of the

---

* 2 Jay's Life, 59; 1 Corr. and Pub. Papers of John Jay, 383.

war, is said to have advised Kniphausen to erect the royal standard in the Jerseys before General Clinton returned from Charleston, persuaded that our troops, and particularly the militia, would flock to it, and thus he have the honor of reducing the country without sharing it with Clinton. He accordingly came over with great parade, with his whole force, scattering exaggerated accounts in printed handbills of the loss of Charleston, which, instead of discouraging, only animated the militia. They were all in motion upon the first alarm, and though opposed only by them and less than a thousand Continental troops, he was disgracefully driven out with the loss of five hundred men killed, wounded, and taken, after having penetrated ten miles from the shore, and done us no other injury than the burning of a few houses and the abuse and murder of some women, since which they have been more cautious and less sanguine.

Adieu. Remember my compliments to the colonel and Mr. Carmichael.

I am, etc.,

ROBERT R. LIVINGSTON.

Luzerne to the President of Congress.*

[Translation.]

PHILADELPHIA, *September* 1, 1780.

SIR: I have received the letter with which you yesterday honored me and the account of the bills of exchange drawn on Dr. Franklin. I deeply feel the confidence which Congress repose in me in confiding to me the details of this affair, and I have no doubt that Congress are persuaded of the zeal and interest with which I shall lay before his majesty's minister the actual state of the finances of the thirteen United States. Their representatives are not ignorant how desirous the king is to render them effectual assistance, and the measures lately taken are new proofs of his friendship and kindness for them.

As to the bills of exchange in question, I have said with freedom to the committee, with which I had the honor of conferring, that I was in no way authorized to give any hopes that they would be accepted. I confided to that committee, with equal sincerity, my reasons for fearing that great difficulties would be experienced in the payment of them, unless Congress themselves succeed in placing funds in the hands of their plenipotentiary. I am persuaded, sir, that the explanations which I have had the honor of transmitting to Congress by the committee appointed to confer with me are conformable to the system of sincerity and frankness which ought to exist between allies whose interests are so closely connected.†

I have the honor to be, etc.,

LUZERNE.

---

* 5 Sparks's Dip. Rev. Corr., 703.

† See the resolutions of Congress respecting the bills of exchange here mentioned in the public journal of Congress for Aug. 9 and 15, 1780.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.*

AMSTERDAM, *September* 4, 1780.

SIR: I have the pleasure to write to Congress news which I hope hey will receive many other ways before this letter can arrive, viz, hat the outward-bound British West India fleet, of fifty-two sail and five East Indiamen, on the 9th of August, fell in with the combined French nd Spanish fleets, about sixty leagues from Cape St. Vincent, and ere most of them taken; the frigates and four of the West Indiamen lone having escaped. This is the account. We may possibly hear of ome deductions, but the account in general is authentic and of very reat importance, as the value of the property is large, the number of oldiers and seamen considerable, and the disappointment to the fleets nd armies of our enemies in the East and West Indies and in North merica difficult to be repaired.

This news has been from the 22d of August to the 3d of September n traveling from London to Amsterdam, where it makes a very great ensation indeed. We had at the same time news of the capture of ost of the Quebec fleet by an American frigate and two brigantines.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.†

AMSTERDAM, *September* 5, 1780.

SIR: As eloquence is cultivated with more care in free republics than n other governments, it has been found by constant experience that uch republics have produced the greatest purity, copiousness, and erfection of language. It is not to be disputed that the form of gov- rnment has an influence upon language, and language, in its turn, nfluences not only the form of government, but the temper, the senti- ents, and manners of the people. The admirable models which have een transmitted through the world and continued down to these days, o as to form an essential part of the education of mankind from gener- tion to generation by those two ancient towns Athens and Rome ould be sufficient, without any other argument, to show the United tates the importance to their liberty, prosperity, and glory of an early ttention to the subject of eloquence and language.

Most of the nations of Europe have thought it necessary to establish y public authority institutions for fixing and improving their proper nguages. I need not mention the academies in France, Spain, and taly, their learned labors, nor their great success. But it is very re- narkable, that although many learned and ingenious men in England ave from age to age projected similar institutions for correcting and

* MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 233, with verbal changes.
† MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 233; 7 J. Adams' Works, 249.

improving the English tongue, yet the government have never found time to interpose in any manner; so that to this day there is no grammar or dictionary extant of the English language which has the least public authority, and it is only very lately that a tolerable dictionary has been published even by a private person, and there is not yet a passable grammar enterprised by any individual.

The honor of forming the first public institution for refining, correcting, improving, and ascertaining the English language I hope is reserved for Congress; they have every motive that can possibly influence a public assembly to undertake it. It will have a happy effect upon the union of the States to have a public standard for all persons in every part of the continent to appeal to, both for the signification and pronunciation of the language. The constitutions of all the States in the Union are so democratical, that eloquence will become the instrument for recommending men to their fellow-citizens and the principal means of advancement through the various ranks and offices of society.

In the last century Latin was the universal language of Europe. Correspondence among the learned, and indeed among merchants and men of business, and the conversation of strangers and travelers, was generally carried on in that dead language. In the present century Latin has been generally laid aside, and French has been substituted in its place; but has not yet become universally established, and according to present appearances it is not probable that it will. English is destined to be, in the next and succeeding centuries, more generally the language of the world than Latin was in the last or French is in the present age. The reason of this is obvious, because the increasing population in America and their universal connection and correspondence with all nations will, aided by the influence of England in the world whether great or small, force their language into general use, in spite of all the obstacles that may be thrown in their way, if any such there should be.

It is not necessary to enlarge further to show the motives which the people of America have to turn their thoughts early to this subject they will naturally turn to Congress in a much greater detail than I have time to hint at. I would therefore submit to the consideration of Congress the expediency and policy of erecting by their authority a society under the name of "The American Academy for refining, improving, and ascertaining the English language." The authority of Congress is necessary to give such a society reputation, influence, and authority through all the States and with other nations. The number of members of which it shall consist, the manner of appointing those members, whether each State shall have a certain number of members and the power of appointing them, or whether Congress shall appoint them, whether after the first appointment the society itself shall fill up vacancies—these and other questions will easily be determined by Congress.

It will be necessary that the society should have a library, consisting of a complete collection of all writings concerning languages of every sort, ancient and modern. They must have some officers and some other expenses, which will make some small funds indispensably necessary. Upon a recommendation from Congress there is no doubt but the legislature of every State in the Confederation would readily pass a law making such a society a body-politic, enable it to sue and be sued, and to hold an estate, real or personal, of a limited value in that State.

I have the honor to submit these hints to the consideration of Congress.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

Franklin to Vergennes.*

PASSY, *September* 7, 1780.

SIR: I received the letter your excellency did me the honor of writing to me the 4th instant on the appointment of consuls. I have not yet received any orders or instructions from the Congress relating to that object. I shall transmit to that body a copy of your excellency's letter; but as the office of consul has not been heretofore in use in America, and they may therefore not be so well acquainted with the usual functions and powers of such an officer in Europe as to send me instructions equally complete and perfect with those your excellency could send to M. de la Luzerne, if the convention were to be treated there, I would submit it to your judgment whether that method may not be the best and shortest. As it is a matter of the same general nature with others that are enumerated among the powers of Congress in the Article of Confederation, though not particularly mentioned, and as the grant in the twenty-ninth article of the treaty is to the *States united*, and not to each separately, and further, as the having a consul for each State, or thirteen American consuls in each port of France would be of more expense and inconvenience than of real utility, I can not imagine that the authority of Congress to make the necessary convention will be disputed by the particular States.

With the greatest respect, I have the honor to be, sir, your excellency's most obedient and most humble servant.

Lovell to Franklin.†

SEPTEMBER 7, 1780.

SIR: With triplicate and duplicate of former dates I have to enclose to you some further proceedings of Congress respecting bills of exchange drawn upon you, and to acknowledge the receipt of your letter

* MSS. Dep. of State; 7 Bigelow's Franklin, 123.
† MSS. Dep. of State; 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 123.

of May the 31st. I think I can venture now to assure you that not a single draft more will be made upon you, let the occasion be ever so pressing; but you must be entreated to work with all energy as to the past. You can not conceive of the whole train of necessities which led to such decisions after what you had written. Congress have lately called for three millions more than formerly, estimating in silver, to be paid by the last of December. Nothing but the weight of taxes will put an end to the levity with which our currency is treated.

New York has empowered its delegates to cede part of her western claims, and it is recommended to others to relinquish also a portion, and Maryland is anew invited to close the ratification of the confederating articles. We must as a whole show more vigor than of late.

I am, sir, your most humble servant,

JAMES LOVELL,
For the Committee of Foreign Affairs.

John Paul Jones to Dumas.*

ARIEL, ROAD OF CROIX, *September* 8, 1780.

I dare say, my dear friend, my silence for so long a time must have an extraordinary appearance to you, and have excited in your mind various conjectures not much to my advantage. I will now endeavor to make some atonement by confessing the truth. I have been ashamed to write to you on account of the strange variety of events that have taken place, and detained me in port from the 10th of February until this date.

I wish to pass over these events for the present in silence, choosing rather to suffer a little ill-natured misconstruction than to attempt explanations before the matters are brought to a proper and final decision. I hope it will then appear that I have been not very fairly treated, and that my conduct has been blameless. M. D. C. pursued his resentment to such a length as obliged me, in April, to pay a visit to the minister, greatly against my will at that moment, for I then thought myself neglected and not very well used by him; but I was most agreeably undeceived by the very friendly reception I met with. My every demand was granted respecting the prizes; it became me, therefore, to be very modest. I found that I had C. alone to thank for the altercations at the Texel. I had the happiness to be feasted and caressed by all the world at Paris and Versailles except himself. He, however, looked guilty; we did not speak together, not because I had any determined objection, for I love his family, but he could not look me in the face, and fled whenever chance brought us near each other.

Without studying it, I enjoyed over him a triumph as great as I could

* 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 315.

ish to experience over Jemmy Twitcher. His majesty ordered a superb sword to be made for me, which I have since received, and it is called much more elegant than that presented to the Marquis de la Fayette. His majesty has also written, by his minister, the strongest letter that is possible in approbation of my conduct to the President of Congress, offering to invest me with the cross, an institution of military merit, which I carry with me for that purpose to the Chevalier de la Luzerne. The minister of marine has besides addressed a very kind letter to myself, and I have also had the like honor shown me by the other ministers. I continue to receive constant marks of esteem and honorable attention from the court, and the ship I now command was lent to the United States in consequence of my application. Nothing has detained me from sailing for this past month but that my officers and men are still without wages or prize money. There is a strange mystery, which, when explained, must surprise you. C., who pretends to exercise authority over these moneys, will, I fear, persist in withholding them till he obliges me to lay a second complaint before the minister against him, and if I am reduced to the necessity of this step, he will not come off so well as he has hitherto done on the score of betraying secrets.

I will take care of your packets, and as I expect to remain but two or three days longer, I hope to hear from you through the hands of our friend R. M., of Philadelphia. Let me know how Mr. Round Face, that went lately from Paris to The Hague, is proceeding. I understand he has gone to Amsterdam. I wish he may be doing good. If he should inadvertently do evil as a stranger, I shall, as his fellow-citizen, be very sorry for it, but you, being a native, will hear of it. I confess I am anxious about his situation. The man has a family, and in these troublesome times I wish he were at home to mind his trade and his reside, for I think he has traveled more than his fortune can well bear.

Present my respects to madam and the virgin muse. I got many little pieces addressed to me while near the court, but I made very little return.

I am, my dear philosopher, with unalterable regard, yours,

JOHN PAUL JONES.

Jay to Deane.*

ST. ILDEFONSO, *September* 8, 1780.

DEAR SIR: If I could easily be angry with an old friend I should be so with you. Your silence is unkind, and the more so as you might probably have communicated things useful as well as entertaining. Before we parted in America you gave me a cipher, and I really promised myself much from it on your arrival in Europe. I could almost wish that the winds had blown you this way. I would give a good deal

* MSS. Dep. of State; 4 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 217.

for a day's conversation with you, but that is impossible. A correspondence is the only substitute, and perhaps you have detached yourself too much from public concerns and public men to be troubled with it. I hope this is not the case. It would be wrong to extend to a whole nation the resentments excited by a few. Perhaps other reasons may have induced your silence; whatever they may be, I regret them.

Adieu. I am, dear sir, your most obedient servant,

JOHN JAY.

Dana to J. Adams.*

HOTEL VALOIS, RUE RICHELIEU,
Paris, September 8, 1780.

DEAR SIR: I had the pleasure of yours of the 30th of last month or the 4th instant; but my eyes being again in a bad state, and being otherwise unwell, I desired Mr. Thaxter to acknowledge the receipt of it. My first misfortune I have not yet entirely recovered from, nor do I expect to till I shall be able wholly to lay aside both the book and the pen for a considerable length of time. I had begun upon the business you mentioned some time before your departure and had made a considerable progress in it, but my eyes have obliged me to stop short of my purpose. This misfortune (without a pun) frequently casts a gloomy shade over my future prospects. 'Tis really the source of much melancholy contemplation, but I will trouble you no more with it.

Mr. Thaxter communicated to you all our intelligence of a public nature; but as this letter will be handed to you by Mr. Austin, who sets off to-morrow evening for Amsterdam, I shall communicate some other parts of Mr. ——'s letter to me.

You doubtless know that Mr. Cumberland, one of Lord George Germain's secretaries, has been here some time. His mission, as well as admission, has given cause to many conjectures. I am not apprehensive that Spain will make a separate peace but I by no means think it prudent to receive the spies of Britain into the capital, and even into their palaces. There are a great many wheels in our business, and the machine wou't work easily unless the great wheel be turned by the waters of the Mississippi, which I neither believe nor wish will be the case. Success in America would give it motion.

"My adventures" (you will understand him here) "are in a most perilous suspense. God grant them a happy deliverance." You will want no comments on these texts. I shall only say, Spain, having secured to herself a free commerce with America, hath now nothing to ask of her. Behold the effects of precipitate concession! If a young politician of a young country might presume to give his opinion upon matters of such high importance, he would say that, should America in the end feel herself constrained to comply with the claims of Spain, that alone would be the cause of bringing on the extinction of the Spanish

---

*7 J. Adams' Works, 251.

ominion on the east of the great river. As a Spaniard, therefore, he ould think it unsafe and highly impolitic to urge the claim, or even accept of the *exclusive* right. It is to be hoped that the late impor- nt success of the combined fleets on the commerce of Britain will not ly teach them that similar ones are easily to be obtained, but that ey are also among the most eligible, as they most effectually distress d disable the common enemy. Such, however, is the force of habit. at he who should urge such policy might be told you are but of yes- rday, and know nothing.

I am happy to learn you spent your time so agreeably in Amsterdam d find so much good-will to our cause and country; and I lament ith you that our worthy friend has not arrived there. Ministers at the urts you mention would doubtless render the councils and influence our country more extensive and more independent; but these are ings rather to be wished for than expected. I am glad to hear that ou have my form of our constitution; when you have done with it. ease to forward it by the first private hand. I have a letter from that orthy character Judge Sargeant; among other things he says: "In e course of our traveling we have the pleasure to find a remarkable ndor in the people with respect to the new form of government, ex- pting the third article, about religion. There will be, as far as we can arn, almost a unanimous vote in favor of *it*, and more than two thirds favor of *that*. This appears to be the case at the northward and outhward and in the middle counties where we have been; and the stward counties were always in that disposition." Thus, sir, I hope e shall have cause to rejoice in the candor and good sense of our ountrymen, and in seeing them happy under a generous and free form government.

I am, dear sir,

FRANCIS DANA.

Carmichael to the Committee of Foreign Affairs.*

ST. ILDEFONSO, *September* 9, 1780.

GENTLEMEN: I did myself the honor of writing to you the 6th instant, *a* Cadiz, Bilboa, and France, informing you that the person mentioned my letters of the last and preceding month as chosen by the minister succeed M. Miralles had arrived here, and proves to be M. James ardoqui, and that since his arrival our affairs are once more in train. also mentioned that the ministry was negotiating loans to answer xtrordinary expenses. I expected to have been able to send the com- ittee a full account of the nature of these loans, as I founded my opes on the court's paying the bills drawn on Mr. Jay by means of the upplies obtained in this way. I am therefore very sorry to inform the

* MSS. Dep. of State; 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 29, with verbal corrections.

committee that the success of the most considerable has not answered the expectations of the ministers, and, what is worse, they impute its failure to the interference of M. Necker and others influenced by that minister, which has created a soreness that for the moment must be disagreeable to our ally and may be disadvantageous to us, unless more important considerations obviate the ill effects to be apprehended from such disappointment and the personal disgust and resentment consequent thereof.

A person with whom I am well acquainted is the projector of the loan above mentioned, and although for near three months I have known that such a measure was in agitation I was not able to discover the plan, it having been preserved with great secrecy in order to secure its success and complete operation. As this measure is so far important to Congress as it may influence the conduct of the court with respect to money matters and affect the credit of the nation in future, on which all the vigor of military operations in a great measure depends, I will endeavor to give the outlines of the money negotiation to the committee and will forward the plan of the king's ordinance thereon as soon as I receive them.

The original design of this loan was to procure nine millions of dollars sençilla or thirty-six millions of livres in four months, and possibly to enlarge the sum according to exigencies. The projector was to receive ten per cent. for expenses and profits, which he was at liberty to divide as he thought proper with the original lenders. To these, I think, he gave three or three and a half per cent. for the use of their money for four months, which money they were to remit in bills of exchange on Spain and to redraw at the end of four months for their principal and interest. The great secret of the operation is that government, instead of repaying their bills in specie, issues paper to repay them, the credit of which is guarantied by the crown and the different chambers or councils of the kingdom, viz, of Castile, etc. This paper bears an interest of four per cent. A *cedula* or royal ordinance will be published the 20th or 21st of this month, which gives it currency and inflicts severe penalties on any one who refuses it as a legal payment. M. Necker did not discover the latter part of the scheme until large sums had been remitted from France, and I suppose, fearing that its operation would be complete before his representations of what he thought its evil tendency could be attended to by the ministers here, he immediately gave orders not to receive the bills of exchange of the houses concerned in this measure at the Caisse Royale in France. Besides, the house of Gerardot, Haller & Co., one of the most considerable in Europe, and of which he was once the head and his brother is still a partner, wrote circular letters to all parts of Europe discrediting the loan.

The consequence has been that the persons in France and elsewhere whose bills were refused at the Caisse Royale have been pushed here so hard by their creditors, that the Spanish Government has been obliged

o make considerable remittances to support their credit, that further dvances of money have been stopped, and that bills of exchange on pain have sold at a loss of one and one and a half per cent. This has ritated the ministers here, and perhaps we may be the innocent vic- ms; for I am persuaded that Spain, without obtaining it by loans, as not money in Europe to afford us considerable aids, how great soever er inclination may be to assist us, and I think the committee will be the same opinion on reading the information I gave Mr. Jay on the bject of the revenues of this country in consequence of his instruc- ons to me at Cadiz.

I shall be happy to have it in my power to inform the committee that y apprehensions have been ill-grounded.

The fate of our bills must soon be determined. More than forty ousand dollars have been presented, of which to the amount of about urteen thousand dollars have been accepted by order of the minister. he Count d'Estaing will leave this in a few days and go to Cadiz. By e time he can arrive in that port the whole of the combined fleet will be ssembled; thirty-six sail are now at Cadiz, seven on a cruise, and two a hundred and hundred and ten guns are on their voyage from Brest. he count will urge a vigorous and decisive conduct, and seems to joy the king's esteem and the good-will of most of the ministers and urtiers.

The English emissary, Mr. Cumberland, is still in Madrid, and is per- itted to receive from and send couriers to London. The conduct of the urt appears unaccountable, and I can not persuade myself that it can agreeable to France, although the Count de Montmorin frequently sures me that we need not have any inquietude on account of this ntleman's residence. He no doubt, however, endeavors to insinuate any things to our disadvantage, and makes propositions to alienate pain from the alliance with France and from supporting the United ates. Those about him are perpetually circulating pretended bad ws from America, and assert with confidence that several States, and any individuals in others, are negotiating to make their peace with reat Britain. Spain may possibly be amusing his employers, as he is ployed to amuse the Spanish ministry.

The treaty for an armed neutrality was signed by Sweden the 4th of ugust; Denmark had not signed it the 8th of the same month, but ere is no doubt they will. The English party in Holland opposed d retarded it there as long as possible, and finally clogged it with ch conditions as they hope will frustrate the negotiation. For instance, ey propose to the contracting powers to guaranty all their possessions Europe, Asia, and America, but as the States have gone so far, they ll scarce recede [in draft *accede*] should this article be refused by the hers. The eyes of Europe are anxiously turned to America and the est Indies; the friends of liberty hope everything from our union d perseverance, and the expectations of our enemies are founded on

the reverse. Neither Mr. Jay nor myself have received letters from Congress since we left America, except one from the committee enclosing the bills of exchange, so that we are without intelligence, without money, or the certainty of conveying to Congress as regularly as we wish the information necessary for them to receive, which will plead my apology with the committee for the repetitions they will meet in this letter of what several other letters contain.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

WILLIAM CARMICHAEL.

P. S.—The declaration of Portugal, shutting their ports against the armed vessels of the nations at war, which I mentioned in a letter of the 6th, has not yet been made public. It is supposed that the present Parliament will be dissolved and a new one called while the influence of the ministry continues high. Considering the scarcity of cash in this country and the present situation of affairs, perhaps Congress would do well to stop drawing on Mr. Jay until they receive information that their bills will be paid punctually. There appears no forwardness in this court to enter into treaty; the navigation of the Mississippi is the great obstacle. The situation of America will guide the determinations of Congress, and I hope it will be such as to enable them to preserve the rights of all the States. Negotiations will probably be set on foot this winter, and it is likely that this court will be the theatre of them. As Spain has as yet taken no decided part in our Revolution, England will rather choose to apply to this court, and keep up the old idea of restoring peace by her mediation, than that of Versailles. Hints have been given that it would be more convenient for Spain to furnish the States with money in America than here, but as they seem to think that America has not proposed an equivalent for what they demand, I am afraid assistance will be given very faintly.

W. C.

Washington to Luzerne.*

HEADQUARTERS, BERGEN COUNTY,
September 12, 1780.

SIR: I have the honor to enclose you a letter, which, upon the whole, I have thought it advisable to write to the Count de Guichen. As its contents are of a nature to make its falling into the enemy's hands in its present form dangerous, and as I have no cipher of communication with the count, I take the liberty to request your excellency's assistance in making use of yours, and forwarding it by triplicates with your despatches by the first opportunities.

I make no mention of a land force, because, though it would be useful, it may be dispensed with. But if a body of troops could conven-

* 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 704

ntly accompany the fleets, it would give greater energy and certainty
success to our operations. I am the more induced to desire it, as the
mposition of a considerable part of our army is temporary, and I am
ot informed what measures may be taken to replace the men whose
mes of service will expire.

I need use no arguments to convince your excellency of the extremity
which our affairs are tending and the necessity of support. You are
n eyewitness to all our perplexities and all our wants. You know the
ngerous consequences of leaving the enemy in quiet possession of
eir southern conquests, either for negotiation this winter or a con-
nuance of the war. You know our inability alone to expel them, or
erhaps even to stop their career.

I have the honor to be, with the sincerest sentiments of respect and
tachment,

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

Dumas to the President of Congress.*

THE HAGUE, *September* 12, 1780.

SIR: There has been a great dearth of news for some time, which is
ppily interrupted by the capture of the English East and West India
ets by the combined fleets of France and Spain, as your excellency
ill see by the accompanying journals. Important as this event is in
self, we consider it here as the presage of what we are to hope in
merica. The capture of the twelve English vessels bound to Quebec,
ade by the Americans off Newfoundland, and the failure of General
niphausen at Springfield, is an agreeable foretaste of what we may
pect from the combined operations of the French and Continental
rces. There is nothing going on here, the States of Holland having
one nothing in their present session except to deliberate on a petition
the merchants of Amsterdam for the free passage into France of
val stores and copper by the canals of Flanders and Brabant until
e navigation of the republic is better protected. The inaction of the
ates-General is still greater; they are awaiting the letters from their
enipotentiaries, who must have arrived at Petersburgh.

We learn from London that the king has dissolved the present Par-
ment and will convoke a new one. In Ireland, although the ma-
rity of the parliament are subservient to the court, the associations
the disaffected increase. The Russian, Danish, and Swedish squad-
ns in concert protect the commerce of their respective nations, and
is republic protects nothing. The combined fleet of Spain and France
at sea, and is expected to show itself in the channel. The Archduke
axiimilian has been chosen coadjutor, and consequently future Elector
Cologne and bishop of Munster. The Prince and Princess of Orange

---

* MSS. Dep. of State; 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 317.

expect daily a visit from the King of Sweden, on his return from Spa. The Prince of Prussia is at Petersburgh; the emperor is returned to Vienna. The King of Prussia is engaged with the review in Silesia.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

DUMAS.

H. Laurens to the Committee of Foreign Affairs.*

VESTAL, BRITISH FRIGATE,
St. John's, Newfoundland, September 14, 1780.

GENTLEMEN: I had the honor of writing to the board of admiralty from on board the *Mercury* packet the 23d ultimo,† by Captain Young, at parting with the *Saratoga*. On the 3d instant the *Vestal* came in view, and after a pursuit of some five or six hours Captain George Keppel took possession of the packet. Mr. Young, Captain Pickles, and myself were conducted on board this ship, and yesterday we arrived here.

Certain papers, among which were all those delivered to me by Mr. Lovell and the board of admiralty, fell into Captain Keppel's hands. These papers had been enclosed in a bag, accompanied by a considerable weight of iron shot, and thrown overboard, but the weight proved insufficient for the purpose intended. Admiral Edwards, governor of this island, and commander of the stationed squadron, has ordered me to England in the sloop of war *Fairy*, under the command of Captain Keppel. Mr. Young and Captain Pickles will probably go in the same vessel.

I should be wanting in justice, and indeed deficient in common gratitude, were I to omit an acknowledgment of Captain Keppel's kindness to myself and to every body captured in the *Mercury*. Captain Pickles' conduct while he had the command of that vessel was perfectly satisfactory to me.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

HENRY LAURENS.

---

* 1 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 714.

† This letter is missing, nor does it appear from the correspondence at what time, or from what place, Mr. Laurens sailed. On the 20th of June, 1780, it was resolved in Congress, that, as circumstances had prevented his departure, the commission to negotiate a loan in the United Provinces and the Low Countries should be transferred to John Adams. And on the 7th of July, it was resolved, "That the commission, which was agreed to on the 1st day of November, 1779, for the honorable Henry Laurens, as a commissioner to negotiate a treaty of amity and commerce with the States-General of the United Provinces of the Low Countries, be delivered to him; and that the consideration of the instructions relative to the negotiation of the treaty be for the present deferred; and that Mr. Laurens, on his arrival in Holland, inform himself of the state of affairs in that country, and advise Congress particularly thereof, that they may be able to decide with more certainty upon the terms on which such treaty ought to be settled.—SPARKS.

Luzerne to the President of Congress.*

[Translation.]

PHILADELPHIA, *September* 15, 1780.

SIR: I have received the annexed declaration,† with orders to communicate it to Congress. Some American merchants, not knowing that ticles eleventh and twelfth therein mentioned had been annulled, have ade use of them in the French islands to demand an exemption from the ıties paid on the exportation of molasses.

An authentic publication of the treaty will remove all the remaining oubts as to the payment of this duty, to which the subjects of his ajesty are themselves subjected.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

LUZERNE.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.‡

AMSTERDAM, *September* 16, 1780.

SIR: I have the honor to send by this opportunity a few pamphlets d papers. The pamphlets relate to subjects which interest the United ates, and therefore ought to be communicated to Congress for their nsideration.

The attention of mankind is now turned, next to the Congress of nerica, upon that at Petersburgh. The last letters from London say at they have information that one of the first measures of this conderation will be an acknowledgment of American independence. hether this is true or not I am not able to say. The counsels of the vereigns of Europe are not easily penetrated; but it is our duty to tend to them, and throw into view such information as may be in ır power, that they may take no measures inconsistent with their and ır interest for want of light—a misfortune that may easily happen. this view, I could wish that the United States had a minister at each the maritime courts—I mean Holland, Russia, Sweden, and Denmark, d, as the cabinet of Berlin has much influence in the politics of Eupe, Prussia. I say this upon supposition that Congress can devise eans of defraying the expense, which, to be sure, amounts to a large m.

I have heard that Mr. Searle has arrived at Brest, but am not informed his destination, nor whether he has despatches for me. I am anxious learn from Congress what their intentions may be respecting me. I ve as yet received no authority to draw upon any fund whatsoever for

---

* 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 704.

† See this declaration annulling the eleventh and twelfth articles of the treaty *pra*, September 1, 1778.

‡ MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 237, with verbal changes; 7 J. dams' Works, 256.

my subsistence, nor to borrow money for that or any other purpose. I see no prospect of my commission being of any utility. Although many persons here think that peace will be made in the course of the ensuing winter or spring, yet I must confess I am of a different opinion. The idea that France will dictate the conditions of peace, if it is made now, can not be borne by Englishmen as yet; they are not yet sufficiently humbled, although probably every year will add some fresh humiliation to the demands upon their country. The English privateers have taken some Russian vessels loaded with hemp and iron, which must bring the question to a legal decision. The admiralty will probably discharge them, and the ministry will give up the point of free ships free goods, provided the Dutch agree with the northern powers, for they will not venture upon a war with all the world at once. Besides the military force, which they could not stand against, they would not be able to obtain any stores for their navy. But the great question now is whether the Dutch will agree. The deputies are instructed to insist upon a warranty of their East and West India dominions. Whether the northern powers will agree to this condition is a question. The States-General however, are sitting, and will wait for despatches from Petersburgh, and will probably be much governed by events. What events have happened in the West Indies and North America we shall soon learn.

Digby has sailed with a part of Geary's late fleet, whether for another expedition to Gibraltar, or whether for the West Indies or North America, is unknown. The success of these operations will probably influence much the deliberations both at Petersburgh and The Hague. This time only can discover. It is said, however, that M. Le Texier will be exempted by the States-General from the payment of duties upon his masts, hemp, iron, and other naval stores that he is sending overland to the French marine. The capture of fifty-five ships at once—so much wealth, so many seamen and soldiers, and such quantities of stores—is a severe stroke to the English, and can not but have the most excellent effects for us both in the West Indies and North America. The right vein is now opened, and I hope that the courts of France and Spain will be in earnest in convoying their own commerce and cruising for that of their enemies. This is a short, easy, and infallible method of humbling the English, preventing the effusion of an ocean of blood, and bringing the war to a conclusion. In this policy I hope our countrymen will join with the utmost alacrity. Privateering is as well understood by them as any people whatsoever; and it is by cutting off supplies, not by attacks, sieges, or assaults, that I expect deliverance from enemies; and I should be wanting in my duty if I did not warn them against any relaxation of their exertions by sea or land from a fond expectation of peace. They will deceive themselves if they depend upon it. Never, never will the English make peace while they have an army in North America.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

Luzerne to the President of Congress.*

[Translation.]

PHILADELPHIA, *September* 16, 1780.

SIR: The undersigned, minister plenipotentiary of France, being out to leave Philadelphia for some weeks, and being desirous that in e present state of things there should be no interruption to the com- unications between Congress and the French embassy, has the honor informing this body that M. de Marbois will remain here as chargé ffaires of his majesty. As the President and the delegates are aware the attention which he has paid to the affairs relative to them, e undersigned hopes that they will be pleased to grant him their nfidence.†

LUZERNE.

Jay to the President of Congress.‡

ST. ILDEFONSO, *September* 16, 1780.

SIR: This letter and several copies of it are to be sent by the next st to Bilboa, Cadiz, Nantes, etc. The object of it is to inform you at it is necessary immediately to cease drawing bills upon me for the esent.

Your excellency may soon expect a full detail of particulars; you ll then receive an answer to every question that may be raised upon s letter.

His Catholic majesty has been pleased to offer his responsibility to cilitate a loan of one hundred and fifty thousand dollars for us, pay- le in three years, and to promise us some clothing. This need not be pt secret. I have written several letters to your excellency, but have ceived only one from the committee since I left America. It covered e resolutions respecting these bills.

The Philadelphia bank, the ladies' subscriptions, and other indica- ns of union and public spirit have a fine effect here.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN JAY.

---

* 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 705.

† IN CONGRESS, *September* 19.

A letter of the 16th from the honorable the minister plenipotentiary of France s read, informing Congress that he is about to leave Philadelphia and to be absent some weeks, but that M. de Marbois will remain here in quality of his majesty's rgé d'affaires and hoping that from his own attention to matters relative to the bassy Congress will grant him their confidence; whereupon,

Resolved, That the President inform the minister of France that in his absence y will readily continue their intercourse with the embassy of his most Christian jesty through M. de Marbois, as his majesty's chargé d'affaires, in whose abilities l attention to the interests of the court of France and those of the United States y have just confidence."

‡ MSS. Dep. of State; 4 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 217

J. Adams to the President of Congress.*

AMSTERDAM, *September* 19, 1780.

SIR: The day before yesterday Mr. Dana arrived here from Paris with the despatches which came by Mr. Searle.

I am very sensible of the honor that is done me by this appointment, and yesterday morning I set myself seriously about discharging the duties of it, and this day I have been some leagues into the country upon the same service. There are good reasons for concealing the names of the gentlemen to whom I have applied for advice and assistance, but they are such as Congress, I think, wou'd have approved if they had themselves been here.

I was told very candidly that I might possibly be much mistaken in my information; that possibly I might think that money was more plentier here than it is; that America had more friends than she has; and that the difficulty of negotiating a loan here was less than it is; that it was mysterious that Congress should empower any gentleman to negotiate a loan, without at the same time empowering the same, or some other, to negotiate a political treaty of alliance and commerce consistent with the treaties already made with other powers; that a minister plenipotentiary here would be advised to apply directly to the prince and the States-General; that he would not be affronted or ill-treated by either, and whether received publicly or not would be courted by many respectable individuals, and would greatly facilitate a loan.

I was, however, encouraged to hope that I might have some small success, and was advised to a particular course in order to obtain it that can not as yet be communicated. I must, however, apprise Congress that there are many delicate questions which it becomes my duty to determine in a short time, and perhaps none of more difficulty than what house shall be applied to or employed. I have no affections or aversions to influence me in the choice, and shall not depend upon my own judgment alone, without the advice of such persons as Congress will one day know to be respectable. But offense will probably be taken, let the choice fall upon whom it may, by several other houses that have pretensions and undoubted merit. As this may occasion censure and complaints, I only ask of Congress not to judge of those complaints without hearing my reasons, and this request I presume I need not make. I have only to add that the moment Mr. Laurens shall arrive, or any other gentleman vested with the same commission, I will render him every service in my power and communicate to him every information I may possess.

But I ought not to conclude without giving my opinion that it is absolutely necessary that Mr. Laurens, or whoever comes in his place, should have a commission of minister plenipotentiary. If that gentle-

* MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 235; 7 J. Adams' Works, 258.

an was now here with such a commission it would have more influence an perhaps anybody in America can imagine upon the conduct of this republic, upon the congress at Petersburgh, and upon the suc- ss of Mr. Jay at Madrid.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

OMMISSION TO JOHN ADAMS, REFERRED TO IN THE PRECEDING LETTER.

Whereas, by our commission to Henry Laurens, bearing date the 30th y of October, in the year of our Lord 1779, we have constituted and pointed him, the said Henry Laurens, during our pleasure, our agent r and on behalf of the said United States, to negotiate a loan with y person or persons, bodies politic and corporate; and whereas the id Henry Laurens has, by unavoidable accidents, been hitherto pre- nted from proceeding on the said agency, We, therefore, reposing pecial trust and confidence in your patriotism, ability, conduct, and delity, do, by these presents, constitute and appoint you, the said hn Adams, until the said Henry Laurens, or some other person ap- inted in his stead, shall arrive in Europe and undertake the execu- n of the aforesaid commission, our agent, for and on behalf of the id United States, to negotiate a loan with any person or persons, dies politic and corporate, promising in good faith to ratify and con- m whatsoever shall by you be done in the premises or relating ereunto.

Witness his excellency Samuel Huntington, President of the Con- ess of the United States of America, at Philadelphia, the 20th day June, in the year of our Lord 1780, and in the fourth year of our dependence.

SAMUEL HUNTINGTON, *President.*

Dana to the President of Congress.*

AMSTERDAM, *September* 20, 1780.

SIR: Having been disappointed in my expectations of forwarding to ur excellency the packets mentioned in the above letter from France, ave brought them on to this place, and shall commit them to the re of Captain Joseph Cook, of Providence, who is now ready to sail d waits only for a wind.

I beg leave to acquaint your excellency that Mr. Searle, a member of ngress, arrived at Paris on the evening of the 10th instant, and im- diately sent me the despatches of Congress committed to his care. I

*MSS. Dep. of State; 4 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 544.

perused them, and waited on him in the morning and had a conversa tion of several hours with him, as well upon the subject matter o those despatches as upon the concerns of our country.* I thought i my duty immediately to prepare to set off for Amsterdam with the dis patches, and did so the next day at noon, and without quitting my car riage arrived at Brussels the day after, and at Amsterdam on the 16th where I had the happiness of finding Mr. Adams in good health.

From that moment to this he has been industriously engaged to en deavor to effectuate the purposes of Congress. What success we may meet with here is uncertain; but I hope I may give it as my clea opinion to Congress that their views would be very much facilitated i Mr. Laurens, or any other person whom they may think proper to em ploy in this business, should be at the same time furnished with th powers of a minister plenipotentiary to the States-General. Some per sons here, notwithstanding all that can be said, seem to be apprehen sive that the United States have granted exclusive privileges in com merce to France. This idea is industriously propagated throughou Europe by the emissaries of our enemies, and especially in this country A disposition in Congress, therefore, to form an alliance with the States General upon principles of perfect reciprocity of interest, although they should not at this instant be prepared to enter into it, would unques tionably have a powerful influence in effectuating the main intention o Congress, and, further, would give a consideration and independence t our counsels throughout Europe, which they will never acquire whil they remain in their present circumscribed state. We might, perhaps look still further with the hopes of much benefit to our country. There can be no occasion of being more particular on this subject. Indeed, should not have troubled Congress at all from this place with any lette of mine had not Mr. Adams requested me to give my sentiments t Congress upon the principal object of this letter. I have done so freely and I presume the candor of Congress will excuse me in it.

I am, with the greatest respect, etc.,

FRANCIS DANA.

COMMISSION TO FRANCIS DANA, REFERRED TO IN THE PRECEDIN LETTER.

Whereas, by our commission to the honorable Henry Laurens, bearin date the 30th day of October, 1779, we have constituted and appointe him, the said Henry Laurens, during our pleasure, our agent, for an on behalf of the United States to negotiate a loan with any perso

* Among these despatches Mr. Dana received a commission empowering him obtain a loan in Holland in case Mr. Adams should for any reason be prevented fro attending to this object. As Mr. Adams was then in Holland, Mr. Dana did not a under this commission. See John Adams to the President of Congress, Sept. 1 1780, *supra*.

persons, bodies politic or corporate; and whereas the said Henry aurens having, by unavoidable accidents, been hitherto prevented om proceeding on his said agency, we have, by our commission bear- g equal date herewith, constituted and appointed the honorable John dams, until the said Henry Laurens, or some other person appointed his stead, shall arrive in Europe, and undertake the execution of his oresaid commission, our agent to negotiate a loan as aforesaid.*

And whereas it may so happen that the said John Adams, by reason some disability arising from the state of the business of his present ppointment, or otherwise, may be prevented from undertaking the xecution of the said commission, or having undertaken it, from pro- eding therein: We therefore, reposing especial trust and confidence your patriotism, ability, conduct, and fidelity, do by these presents nstitute and appoint you, the said Francis Dana, in the event of the sability of the said John Adams, as aforesaid, until the said Henry aurens, or some other person appointed in his stead shall arrive in urope and undertake the execution of the aforesaid commission, our gent, for and on behalf of the said United States to negotiate a loan th any person or persons, bodies politic or corporate, promising in ood faith to ratify and confirm whatsoever shall by you be done in e premises or relating thereto.

Witness his excellency Samuel Huntington, President of the Con- ess of the United States of America, at Philadelphia, the 20th day of ne, in the year of our Lord 1780, and in the fourth year of our Inde- ndence.

SAMUEL HUNTINGTON, *President.*

Jay to Vergennes.†

ST. ILDEFONSO, *September* 22, 1780.

SIR: I have never taken up my pen with so much reluctance as I now , although my design is to write a letter to your excellency. But, sir, ere are few sensations more painful than those which they expe- ence who, already covered with benefits, are impelled by cruel neces- y to ask for more. Such is my present situation, and hence pro- eds my regret.

My uniform and unreserved communications to Count Montmorin, ho has my fullest confidence, precludes the necessity and consequently e propriety of a minute detail of American affairs here. Your excel- ncy will recollect the resolution of Congress for drawing bills upon e, as well as the reasons assigned for that measure. In my first con- rence with the minister on that subject he enlarged on the necessities

* See Mr. Adam's commission following letter from J. Adams to President of Con- ess, Sept. 19, 1780, *supra*.

† MSS. Dep. of State; 1 Corr. and Pub. Papers of John Jay, 419.

of the State, but nevertheless told me he would be able at the end o the present or beginning of the next year to advance thirty or forty thousand pounds sterling, and that further arrangements respecting the residue should then be made. I afterwards received and answered propositions for the reimbursement of this money, and from time to time was permitted to accept such of the bills as were most pressing.

Things remained in this state till the 5th July, when, after many warm assurances of friendship and good-will, the further discussion of these matters was postponed by the minister till the arrival of a person intended to succeed M. Miralles, the late Spanish agent at Philadelphia and I was told that they should then be arranged and adjusted.

Several weeks elapsed after the time assigned for his arrival had expired. The holders of the bills became importunate, and insisted on my accepting or refusing them. I wrote several letters to the minister requesting his directions, but was not favored with an answer to any o them.

On the 3d instant, after fruitless endeavors to see the minister, received the following note from him by the hands of M. Gardoqui viz:

The Count de Florida Blanca sends his compliments to Mr. Jay and advises him to become acquainted with the bearer of this letter, who is the person that has been expected from day to day.

This gentleman made many remarks tending to show the propriety o America's offering some specific consideration for this money, and hinted at the navigation of the Mississippi, ship timber, vessels, tobacco, etc I replied that the only consideration that Congress could offer was that which all nations at war, who borrow money, viz, to repay the principal with a reasonable interest after the war. That I should deceive him were I to enter into contracts to pay it sooner. That the proposition of paying it during the war in ship timber, tobacco, or other articles did not lessen the difficulty, for that these things were worth and cost money in America as well as in Europe; and that as to the Mississippi, it could not come in question as a consideration for one hundred thousand pounds The conversation was concluded by his desiring me to meet him at M. Del Campo's the next morning. M. Gardoqui then and since behaved with temper, candor, and politeness. The next day we saw M. Del Campo He was liberal in his censures on the measures of drawing the bills in question on Spain. He informed me that the king must first take care of his own people before he gave supplies to others; that Spain, instead of deriving advantage from America, heard of nothing but demands that if Congress wanted money, they should have drawn on France with whom they were in alliance, and who had all the profits of their trade; that we ought to have distinguished between our allies and those who only wished us well, and that applications for aid might be proper to the one which were not so to the others. That our affairs were in a ruinous condition, and that it was even said some of the

ates were holding secret negotiations for peace with the enemy, etc. y replies were such as the subject naturally suggested and as udence dictated. There are seasons when men mean not to be con- nced, and when argument becomes mere matter of form; on such casions we have little more in our power than moderation and tem- r. I gave M. Del Campo credit for his frankness, and wish I could th propriety have extended it to his delicacy.

A day or two afterwards, viz, the 6th instant, I was permitted to cept bills to the amount of one thousand one hundred and ten dollars. the 13th M. Gardoqui, by order of the minister, told me *that exigen- s of the State would not permit the king to provide for the payment of re of the bills than had already been accepted, amounting to about four- n thousand dollars.* This gave occasion to my letter to the minister the 14th and to his answer of the 15th, which was dictated by him to Del Campo, and M. Del Campo to M. Gardoqui, copies of both of ich your excellency will receive from Comte de Montmorin.

The minister's answer made a conference between us expedient. I quested that favor the 15th instant, and have been informed that the mte de Florida Blanca will endeavor to see me on Saturday next. I bear remarks on this singular conduct. I wish it could be explained a manner compatible with the reputation Spain enjoys in North nerica. I much fear partial resentments, which ought not to affect nerica, have been permitted to have an undue degree of influence; d that the minister forgot, in his zeal for a certain scheme of finance, at it was unjust to wound opponents through the sides of their friends. t whatever may have been the cause, the effect, unless removed, l be destructive, and France only at present can afford the means of ing it.

When I consider on the one hand that France was our first, and is ll our best and almost only friend; that she became our ally on terms equality, neither taking nor attempting to take ungenerous advan- ge of our situation; that she has clothed and armed our troops, and at this moment assisting us with her fleets, her armies, her treasure, d her blood, gratitude and generosity forbid me to solicit a further on her generosity.

But, on the other hand, when I reflect that the loss of America's dit would be a loss to the common cause and an eventual injury to ance; that such an event would be matter of triumph to our common emy and of pain to our friends; that the honor of Congress, sus- nded on the fate of these bills, now hangs as it were by a hair; and t our enemies here and elsewhere are doing all in their power to cut when I consider that America would feel more sensibly the loss of utation in this instance than the loss of battles in many others—I , sir, when I consider these things, I find it my duty to request your ellency to interpose the amity of France, and that his majesty will

be pleased to add this strong link to the chain of benefits by which he has already bound the affections of America to his family and people.

I ought to inform your excellency that bills for about fifty thousand dollars remain unaccepted. The greater part of these are in the hands of merchants, who waited my answer with a degree of patience I could not have expected; some of them ever since the month of June last. Further delays, therefore, were not to be asked or obtained, and I was reduced to the necessity either of promising to accept them or permit the credit of Congress to perish with them. I could not long hesitate; I promised to accept them. Fortunately these bills have hitherto come on slowly, though it is probable that the assurances of Spain which I have communicated to Congress may quicken their pace. A period, however, will soon be put to their drawing, as I have written to them by several conveyances immediately to stop.

I ought also to inform your excellency that a promise made me in June last of some clothing for our troops has been renewed, and that his majesty has been pleased to offer his responsibility to facilitate a loan of one hundred and fifty thousand dollars. I shall endeavor to make the most of this offer, and your excellency may rest assured that I shall gladly embrace every measure which may be calculated to lessen the weight with which the American cause presses on the finances of France.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN JAY.

J. Adams to President of Congress.*

AMSTERDAM, *September* 24, 1780.

SIR: Since the receipt of the despatches by the Hon. Mr. Searle, I have been uninterruptedly employed in attempting to carry into execution the designs of Congress.

The first inquiry which arose was whether it was prudent to make any communication of my business to the States-General or to the prince. Considering that my errand was simply an affair of credit, and that I had no political authority, I thought, and upon consulting gentlemen of the most knowledge, best judgment, and fullest inclination for a solid and lasting connection between the two republics, I found them of the same opinion, that it was best to keep my designs secret as long as I could. The same reasons determined me to communicate nothing to the regency of Amsterdam or any other branch of government, and to proceed to seek a loan upon the foundation of private credit. I have accordingly made all the inquiries possible for the best and most unexceptionable house, and to-morrow I expect an answer to some propositions which I made yesterday.

This business must be conducted with so much secrecy and caution,

* MSS. Dep. of State, given with numerous changes in 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 239.

d I meet so many difficulties for want of the language, the gentle-
en I have to do with not understanding English and not being very
miliar with French, that it goes on slower than I could wish. Com-
odore Gillon, by his knowledge of Dutch and general acquaintance
re has been so useful to me as he has been friendly. I never saw
e national benefit of a polished language generally read and spoken
so strong a light as since I have been here. The Dutch language is
derstood by nobody but themselves; the consequence of which has
en, that this nation is not known with as profound learning and inge-
ity as any people in Europe possess. They have been overlooked
cause they were situated among others more numerous and power-
l than they.

I hope that Congress will profit by their example, by doing what they
ve lost so much reputation and advantage by neglecting; I mean
doing everything in their power to make the language they speak
spectable throughout the world. Separated as we are from the British
minion, we have not made war against the English language any
re than against the old English character. An academy instituted
the authority of Congress for correcting, improving, and fixing the
glish language would strike all the world with admiration and Great
itain with envy. The labors of such a society would unite all Amer-
a in the same language, for thirty millions of Americans to speak to
nations of the earth by the middle of the nineteenth century.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect, your excellency's
st obedient and humble servant,

JOHN ADAMS.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.*

AMSTERDAM, *September* 25, 1780.

SIR: There are persons in this republic who have been attentive to
is war, and who know somewhat of the history of the rise and prog-
ss of the United States of America; but it is surprising that the
mber should be so small. Even in the city of Amsterdam, which is
e most attentive to our affairs and the best inclined towards us,
ere are few persons who do not consider the American resistance as a
sultory rage of a few enthusiasts, without order, discipline, law, or
vernment. There are scarcely any who have an adequate idea of
e numbers, the increasing population, or the growing commerce of
nerica.

Upon my arrival here some gentlemen were inquisitive about our
vernments. I asked if they had seen them in print, and was an-
ered no. Upon this I made it my business to search in all the book-
llers' shops for the collection of them which was published in French

*MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 241, with verbal changes.

two or three years ago, but could find only two copies, which I presented to the gentlemen who made the inquiry. Nothing would serve our cause more than having a complete edition of the American constitutions correctly printed in English by order of Congress and sent to Europe, as well as sold in America. The Rhode Island and Connecticut constitutions ought not to be omitted, although they have undergone no alteration; and it would be proper to print the Confederation in the same volume. This work would be read by everybody in Europe who reads English and could obtain it, and some would even learn English for the sake of reading it; it would be translated into every language of Europe, and would fix the opinion of our unconquerability more than anything could, except driving the enemy wholly from the United States.

There has been nobody here of sufficient information and consideration to turn the attention of the public towards our affairs, to communicate from time to time to the public, in a language that is understood, intelligence from America, France, England, etc.; but, on the contrary, there have been persons enough employed and well paid by our enemies to propagate misinformation, misrepresentation, and abuse.

The ancient and intimate connection between the houses of Orange and Brunswick, the family alliances, and the vast advantages which the princes of Orange have derived from them in erecting, establishing, and at last perpetuating the stadtholderate against the inclination of the republican party, and the reliance which this family still has upon the same connection to support it, have attached the executive power of this government in such a manner to England that nothing but necessity could cause a separation. On the contrary, the republican party, which has heretofore been conducted by Barnevelt, Grotius, the De Witt, and other immortal patriots, have ever leaned towards an alliance with France, because she has ever favored the republican form of government in this nation. All parties, however, agree that England has been ever jealous and envious of the Dutch commerce, and done it great injuries; that this country is more in the power of France, if she were hostile, than of England; and that her trade with France is of vastly greater value than that with England. Yet England has more influence here than France. The Dutch—some of them, at least—now see another commercial and maritime power arising that it is their interest to form an early connection with. All parties here see that it is not their interest that France and Spain should secure too many advantages in America and too great a share in her commerce, and especially in the fisheries in her seas. All parties, too, see that it would be dangerous to the commerce, and even independence, of the United Provinces to have America again under the dominion of England; and the Republicans see, or think they see, that a change in this government and the loss of their liberties would be the consequence of it too.

Amidst all these conflicts of interest and parties and all these specu-
ations the British ambassador, with his swarms of agents, are busily em-
loyed in propagating reports, in which they are much assisted by those
ho are called here stadtholderians, and there has been nobody to
ontradict or explain anything. This should be the business in part of
minister plenipotentiary. Such a minister, however, would not have
in his power to do it effectually without frequent and constant
nformation from Congress. At present this nation is so ignorant of the
trength, resources, commerce, and constitution of America; it has so
lse and exaggerated an imagination of the power of England; it has so
any doubts of our final success; so many suspicions of our falling
nally into the hands of France and Spain; so many jealousies that
rance and Spain will abandon us or that we shall abandon them; so
any fears of offending the English ministry, the English ambassador,
ne great mercantile houses that are very profitably employed by both,
nd, above all, the stadtholder and his friends, that even a loan of
oney will meet with every obstruction and discouragement possible.
hese chimeras, and many more, are held up to people here, and influ-
nce men's minds and conduct to such a degree that no man dares
penly and publicly to disregard them.

I have this day received an answer to some propositions which I
ade last Saturday to a very respectable house, declining to accept the
rust proposed. I do not, however, despair; I still hope to obtain
omething; but I am fully persuaded that, without a commission of
inister plenipotentiary, and without time and care to lead the public
pinion into the truth, no man living will ever succeed to any large
mount. Those persons who are both able and willing to lend us
oney are the patriots who are willing to risk the British and stadt-
olderian resentment for the sake of extending the commerce, strength-
ning the political interests, and preserving the liberties of their coun-
y. They think that lending us money without forming a political
nnection with us will answer these ends. That cause stands very
isecurely which stands upon the shoulders of patriotism in any
rt of Europe. And in such case, if patriotism is left in a state of
oubt whether they ought to sustain it, the cause must fall to the
round.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

Carmichael to the Committee of Foreign Affairs.*

ST. ILDEFONSO, *September* 25, 1780.

GENTLEMEN: I did myself the honor of addressing you the 6th and
h instant, and in the latter expressed an apprehension that Congress
ould not receive the pecuniary aid they expected in this country. I

* MSS. Dep. of State; 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 32, with verbal corrections.

am now sorry to inform you that on the 13th instant Mr. Jay was to by order of the minister, that their own exigencies would not permit t king to provide funds for the payment of more of the bills than had be already accepted. I make no reflections on this event, and hope t committee will suspend theirs until Congress shall have received fr Mr. Jay a relation of all that has passed here since the month of Ju last, with the papers necessary to elucidate it. In a day or two af the above information his majesty was pleased to offer his responsil ity to facilitate a loan of one hundred and fifty thousand dollars favor of the United States and to promise some clothing, etc.

On the 23d Mr. Jay had a long conference with the Count de Flori Blanca, the particulars of which I immediately reduced to writing, I have done with respect to others which preceded this, copies of t most material part of which Mr. Jay will probably forward to Congr with his other despatches. In this conference the count spoke wi much pleasure of a resolution of Congress permitting the exportati of flour for the use of the Spanish fleets and armies in the West Indi as also for measures taken by them to make a diversion to the sou ward, to facilitate their operations against Pensacola, etc. He told M Jay that the king had directed him to desire him to convey his than to Congress for those marks of their friendly disposition, and gave t strongest assurances that his majesty would never consent to a pac cation which did not include the interests of America; declaring at t same time that the negotiations for peace were more remote than ev although, as he observed, the king had been offered all he could des from England in order to induce him to a separate peace. He inform Mr. Jay he had received intelligence that Great Britain once more p posed to send commissioners to treat with Congress; that this measu was under the consideration of the privy council, and would probal be adopted.

I seize the earliest safe opportunity of conveying to the commit thus much of the conference as most important for Congress to kno to which I add that the minister promised to take immediate measu for putting it in Mr. Jay's power to evidence and avail himself of t responsibility of the king, and forwarding from Cadiz clothing for t regiments for the use of the American army. In the course of th conference the Count de Florida Blanca asserted with warmth that t king would never relinquish the navigation of the Mississippi, a that the ministry regarded the exclusive right to it as the princip advantage which Spain would obtain by the war. This being the b to the treaty, it seems not improbable that this court will not be a hurry to treat with us, but rather trust to her interest in a gene congress for peace to obtain her favorite objects, preserving in t mean time such a line of conduct as will enable her in some measu to be a mediator of it, with which idea she has been, and still is, fl tered by England.

Mr. Cumberland, whom I have frequently mentioned in former letters, ll remains at Madrid. The Abbé Hussey, his coadjutor, has just re-ived a passport to go to Lisbon, from whence he will probably embark London, and return with the ultimatum of that court and intelli-nce for the Spanish ministry; for it is not improbable he may prove better spy than negotiator. All this, however, is conjecture. In all obability great efforts will be made early next campaign in America, the war continues, as we are told that it will. The great objects of e war are in that part of the world. France is engaged at all hazards support our independence, and will do it; and Spain is desirous to ssess the entire navigation of the Gulf of Mexico. I take the liberty repeating these reflections to the committee, as they are in conse-ence of conversations on this subject with persons in a situation to well informed.

The different powers at war will, however, find some difficulty to ocure money. England has not completed their last year's loans. ance has begun to tax, and must continue to do so notwithstanding e great economy of their minister of finances. The last operations this court to procure money, of which I gave you a sketch in my last ter, and the state of the revenues, which I gave Mr. Jay in answer to s instructions, will show the committee the wants of this country. The terference of M. Necker in the operation above mentioned deprived this urt of near two millions of pesos, and greatly irritated the ministry. hope, however, their resentments have subsided. This failure they ve as one reason for not being able to advance us the money we ex-cted to enable Mr. Jay to pay the bills drawn on him by Congress. r. Jay has, however, at all hazards accepted those which have been esented, and is taking every step in his power to provide money to y them, as also those that may be disposed of in America previous to e acception of the advice he has given Congress on this head.

The English ministry are likely to have a large majority in the new rliament, which is generally the case in time of war. The great neu-l maritime powers of Europe seem to regard the present war as an ent favorable to the augmentation of their commerce, and will prob-ly do so until one or the other of the contending parties engaged in appear to have a decided superiority. Portugal seems better dis-sed to the allies than heretofore. This change is probably more the sult of fear than of affection. The combined fleet at Cadiz con-ts of forty-three sail of the line, besides frigates, etc. The Count Estaing commands the French part of the fleet, and the whole is in adiness to put to sea. During his residence at this court I was fre-ently with him, and he professes the same ardent desire to serve us ever.

I can not forbear mentioning to the committee my sense of the friendly d polite conduct of the Count de Montmorin to me ever since my ar-val here, nor can I conclude without remarking the good effects that

our union, vigor, and perseverance have generally had in Europe. A continuance of these will render us respectable to our enemies and of consequence to our friends.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

WILLIAM CARMICHAEL.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.*

AMSTERDAM, *September* 28, 1780.

SIR: On the 5th of this month the Barons of Wassenaar and Heekeren, ministers plenipotentiary of the States-General, had their first audience of the empress of Russia, presented their letters of credit, and were graciously received. The Baron de Wassenaar, in presenting his letters of credit, addressed to the empress the following speech:

MADAM: The States-General, our masters, having received with a lively gratitude the invitation which your Imperial majesty has been so good as to make to them to take, in concert with you, the measures the most proper and the most effectual for the maintenance of the rights of their respective subjects and of the dignity of their states, have thought that they could not answer thereto with more promptitude than by ordering us to your court, to the end to endeavor to conclude a project as great as it is just and equitable, the honor of which is solely due to your Imperial majesty, and which apparently must complete the glory of your reign, already famous by so many illustrious events, and immortalize your name by rendering you the support and the protectress of the most sacred rights of nations.

Their high mightinesses will esteem themselves happy if they may on this occasion strengthen still further, and by indissoluble ties, the union which already subsists between your empire and their republic, and make themselves regarded by you as your most faithful and sincere allies, while they shall always esteem it an honor to give marks of the respectful regard and perfect veneration which they have for your person and eminent qualities. Our wishes will be complete, madam, if in succeeding to serve our masters in so desirable an object, and upon which they have founded the greatest hopes, our ministry might be agreeable to you and procure us the approbation and the high benevolence of your Imperial majesty.

The empress made to this discourse a very gracious answer, in saying that it was very agreeable to her that their high mightinesses considered the project upon this foot, and that she should act in this affair by giving proofs of the rectitude which she discovered in all her actions.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

Franklin to Dumas.†

PASSY, *October* 2, 1780.

DEAR SIR: I received duly your several letters of the 12th, 15th, 17th, 19th, and 21st of September. I am much pleased with the intelligence you sent me and with the papers you have had printed.

---

* MSS. Dep. of State: 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 243, with verbal changes.

† 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 124; 8 Sparks' Franklin, 498; 7 Bigelow's Franklin, 126.

Mr. Searle is a military officer in the Pennsylvania troops and a ember of Congress. He has some commission to execute for that rovince, but none that I know of from Congress. He has an open let- r for you from Mr. Lovell, which he has shown me. It is full of ex- ressions of his esteem, and I understand from Mr. Searle that you and exceedingly well with the committee and with the Congress in eneral. I am sorry to see any marks of uneasiness and apprehension your letters. M. Chaumont tells me that you want some assurance being continued. The Congress itself is changeable at the pleasure their electors, and none of their servants have, or can have, any such surance. If, therefore, anything better for you, and more substantial, ould offer, nobody can blame you for accepting it, however satisfied ey may be with your services. But as to the continuance of what you ay enjoy, or of something as valuable in the service of the Congress, think you may make yourself easy, for your appointment seems more xely to be increased than diminished, though it does not belong to me promise anything.

Mr. Laurens was to sail three days after Mr. Searle, who begins to ar he must be lost, as it was a small vessel he intended to embark in. e was bound directly to Holland.

I enclose some extracts of letters from two French officers of distinc- on in the army of M. de Rochambeau, which are pleasing, as they ark the good intelligence that subsists between the troops, contrary to e reports circulated by the English. They will do, perhaps, for your eyden Gazette.

With great esteem and affection, I am, ever, etc.,

B. FRANKLIN.

Franklin to J. Adams.

PASSY, *October* 2, 1780.

SIR: By all our late advices from America the hopes you expressed at our countrymen, instead of amusing themselves any longer with lusive dreams of peace, would bend the whole force of their minds find out their own strength and resources and to depend upon them- lves are actually accomplished. All the accounts I have seen agree at the spirit of our people was never higher than at present, nor eir exertions more vigorous.

Enclosed I send you extracts of some letters from two French officers, colonel and lieutenant-colonel in the army of M. de Rochambeau, hich are the more pleasing, as they not only give a good character of ir troops, but show the good understanding that subsists between em and those of our allies. I hope we shall soon hear of something ecisive performed by their joint operations, for your observation is

* 7 J. Adams' Works, 262; 7 Bigelow's Franklin, 131.

just that speculations and disputations do us little service. Our credi and weight in Europe depend more on what we do than on what we say; and I have long been humiliated with the idea of our running about from court to court begging for money and friendship, which are the more withheld the more eagerly they are solicited, and would perhaps have been offered if they had not been asked. The supposed necessity is our only excuse. The proverb says, "God helps them that help themselves," and the world, too, in this sense, is very godly.

As the English papers have pretended to intelligence that our troops and the French disagree, perhaps it would not be amiss to get these extracts inserted in the Amsterdam Gazette.

With great respect, I have the honor to be, sir, your excellency's most obedient and most humble servant,

B. FRANKLIN.

Franklin to Jay.*

PASSY, *October* 2, 1780.

DEAR SIR: I received duly and in good order the several letters you have written to me of August 16 and 19, September 8 and 22. The papers that accompanied them of your writing gave me the pleasure of seeing the affairs of our country in such good hands, and the prospect from your youth, of its having the service of so able a minister for a great number of years. But the little success that has attended your late applications for money mortified me exceedingly; and the storm of bills which I found coming upon us both has terrified and vexed me to such a degree that I have been deprived of sleep, and so much indisposed by continual anxiety as to be rendered almost incapable of writing.

At length I got over a reluctance that was almost invincible, and made another application to the government here for more money. I drew up and presented a state of debts and newly expected demands and requested its aid to extricate me. Judging from your letters that you were not likely to obtain anything considerable from your court I put down in my estimate the $25,000 drawn upon you, with the same sum drawn upon me, as what would probably come to me for payment. I have now the pleasure to acquaint you that my memorial was received in the kindest and most friendly manner, and though the court here is not without its embarrassments on account of money, I was told to make myself easy, for that I should be assisted with what was necessary. Mr. Searle arriving about this time, and assuring me there had been a plentiful harvest and great crops of all kinds; that the Congress had demanded of the several States contributions in produce which would be cheerfully given; that they would therefore have plenty

*2 Jay's Life, 62; 1 Corr. and Pub. Papers of John Jay, 432.

provisions to dispose of; and I being much pleased with the gener-
s behavior just experienced, I presented another paper, proposing,
order to ease the government here, which has been so willing to ease
, that the Congress might furnish their army in America with pro-
sions in part of payment for the services lent us. This proposition,
vas told, was well taken; but it being considered that the States
ving the enemy in their country, and obliged to make great expenses
the present campaign, the furnishing so much provision as the
ench army might need might straiten and be inconvenient to the
ngress, his majesty did not at this time think it right to accept the
er. You will not wonder at my loving this good prince; he will win
e hearts of all America.

If you are not so fortunate in Spain, continue, however, the even good
nper you have hitherto manifested. Spain owes us nothing; there-
e whatever friendship she shows us in lending money or furnishing
thes, etc., though not equal to our wants and wishes, is, however,
t de gagne. Those who have begun to assist us are more likely to
ntinue than to decline, and we are still so much obliged as their aid
ounts to. But I hope and am confident that court will be wiser than
take advantage of our distress and insist on our making sacrifices
an agreement which the circumstances of such distress would here-
er weaken, and the very proposition can only give disgust at present.
or as we are, yet as I know we shall be rich, I would rather agree
th them to buy at a great price the whole of their right on the Mis-
sippi than sell a drop of its waters. A neighbor might as well ask
e to sell my street door.

I wish you could obtain an account of what they have supplied us
th already in money and goods.

M. Grand informing me that one of the bills drawn on you having
en sent from hence to Madrid was come back unaccepted, I have di-
cted him to pay it, and he has, at my request, undertaken to write to
e Marquis D'Aranda to assist you with money to answer such bills as
u are not otherwise enabled to pay, and to draw on him for the
ount, which drafts I shall answer here as far as $25,000. If you ex-
ct more acquaint me. But pray write to Congress, as I do, to forbear
is practice, which is so extremely hazardous, and may some time or
her prove very mischievous to their credit and affairs. I have under-
ken, too, for all the bills drawn on Mr. Laurens that have yet ap-
ared. He was to have sailed three days after Mr. Searle, that is, the
th July. Mr. Searle begins to be in pain for him, having no good
inion of the little vessel he was to embark in.

We have letters from America to the 7th August. The spirit of our
ople was never higher; vast exertions making preparatory for some
portant action; great harmony and affection between the troops of
e two nations; the new money in good credit, etc.

I will write you again shortly, and to Mr. Carmichael. I shall now

be able to pay up your salaries complete for the year; but as demand unforeseen are continually coming upon me, I still retain the expecta tions you have given me of being reimbursed out of the first remittance you receive.

If you find any inclination to hug me for the good news of this lette I constitute and appoint Mrs. Jay my attorney, to receive in my beha your embraces.

With great and sincere esteem, I have, etc.,

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

Dumas to Franklin.*

THE HAGUE, *October* 3, 1780.

SIR: I have just seen our friend. Their high mightinesses have r ceived a courier from Petersburgh, with a convention drawn up by th empress. Our friend is well satisfied with the conduct of the plenip tentiary of the republic and their despatches, which are—

First. The convention founded on that made between the norther courts, to which are added two articles. One of them has for its obje the restitution of the vessels taken from the republic; the other is, th in case the republic should, on account of this convention, be attacke molested, or injured, the other powers shall take part and make co mon cause with her and will defend her. To this is added a separa article, importing that the design of the armed neutrality is to endeavo as soon as it is perfected, to make peace between the belligerent powe

Second. The despatches inform us that the ministers plenipotentia learned from the minister of Prussia that the English envoy at Pete burgh had declared to her Imperial majesty that his court would p due respect to the armed neutrality of the northern powers provid Holland was excluded from it.

Our friend informed me with great pleasure that this republic will n be able to retreat; that it must sign in spite of the opposition of t temporizers, who have now no pretense for delay, without renderi themselves absolutely odious and becoming responsible for cons quences. The French ambassador has also received despatches fr the French minister at Petersburgh.

Our friend has no doubt but the King of Prussia will accede to t convention; and very probably the emperor will do the same. F the empress was so well pleased with his visit that she made hin present of a man-of-war; and we have no longer any doubts of the a cession of Portugal.

I have it from the best authority that the empress will not relinqui her simple and noble plan to establish for the nations a maritime co

* 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 318.

ally honorable and beneficial to all. Besides, there are two circumces which confirm me in this:

irst. The apparent concert between the northern ministers and those rance, Spain, and Prussia with the cabinet at Petersburgh.

econd. The orders given in Russia and Sweden to fit out immediately ea new fleets equal to those they have already fitted out.

he King of Sweden, in his passage here, as well as his whole journey, overed very little regard for the English. A good deal of pains taken to induce him to accept an invitation to sup with Sir Joseph ke. He supped twice with the French ambassador, who entertained twice with a play, which was acted at a theatre fitted up for the pose. His excellency the ambassador was so obliging as to pre- me himself with six tickets to attend the two plays with my wife daughter.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

DUMAS.

J. Adams to Dumas.*

AMSTERDAM, *October* 4, 1780.

IR: I have just received your favor of the 3d, and thank you for the y information of the arrival of the courier from the plenipotentiaries his republic at Petersburgh. I hope that this republic will agree out delay to the armed neutrality, but I should be glad to see a y of the despatches, if possible, or at least as exact an account of r substance as may be. I should be glad also to learn whether the ct of the congress is simply to form a plan for supporting each r and making a common cause in defense of those principles only ch the three northern powers have already adopted, or whether they e in contemplation a more extensive regulation of maritime affairs. do not see how this congress can have a peace between the belligt powers for its object, when the parties who compose it have aly so positively declared for a neutrality. I wish with all my heart another republic had a minister at the congress, or at least at the t of Petersburgh. Neither the cause nor the country of America are erstood in any part of Europe, which gives opportunity to the Eng- to represent things as they choose. *Onestà è sempre la causa di i che parla solo.*

do not expect peace so soon as next spring, and I should dread the rposition of the congress at Petersburgh in the business. They unstand not the subject. It is impossible they should. America is represented there and can not be heard. If they should take into sideration the affair of peace, I should be apprehensive of some mmendations to save the pride, or what they would call the dignity,

*7 J. Adams' Works, 263.

of England, which would be more dangerous and pernicious to Americ than a continuance of the war. I do not dread a continuance of war I should dread a truce ten times more.

If all the powers at the congress at Petersburgh would agree togethe to acknowledge American independency, or agree to open a free com merce with America and admit her merchant ships and vessels of wa into their ports like those of the other belligerent powers, this, I think would be just; indeed, that perfect neutrality which they profess require it. Refusing admittance to the American flag while they admit tha of England is so far from a neutrality, that it is taking a decided par in favor of England and against one of the belligerent powers—a powe too, which in point of numbers, wealth, industry, capacity, militar and naval power, as well as commerce, is quite as respectable as se eral of those which are or will be represented in the congress at Peter burgh.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

Instructions to Jay.*

IN CONGRESS, *October* 4, 1780.

On the report of a committee to whom were referred certain instru tions to the delegates of Virginia by their constituents, and a letter the 26th of May from the honorable John Jay, Congress unanimous agreed to the following instructions to the honorable John Jay, mi ister plenipotentiary of the United States of America at the court Madrid:

That the said minister adhere to his former instructions respectin the right of the United States of America to the free navigation of th river Mississippi into and from the sea; which right, if an expre acknowledgment of it can not be obtained from Spain, is not by an stipulation on the part of America to be relinquished. To render th treaty to be concluded between the two nations permanent, nothin can more effectually contribute than a proper attention not only to th present but the future reciprocal interests of the contracting powers.

The river Mississippi being the boundary of several States† in th Union, and their citizens, while connected with Great Britain, an since the Revolution, having been accustomed to the free use thereo in common with the subjects of Spain, and no instance of complaint dispute having resulted from it, there is no reason to fear that th

---

* MSS. Dep. of State: 4 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 218; 1 Corr. and Pub. Papers John Jay, 434.

† It is worthy of notice that in Jay's instructions of Oct. 4, 1780, the nation idea was subordinated to that of the States, and he was instructed to insist that t Mississippi River was "the boundary of several States in the Union," and in Ma ison's report of Jan. 8, 1782, this same position was taken.

ure mutual use of the river by the subjects of the two nations, actu-
d by friendly dispositions, will occasion any interruption of that
mony which it is the desire of America, as well as of Spain, should
perpetual. That if the unlimited freedom of the navigation of the
er Mississippi, with a free port or ports below the thirty-first degree of
th latitude, accessible to merchant ships, can not be obtained from
ain, the said minister in that case be at liberty to enter into such
uitable regulations as may appear a necessary security against con-
band; provided the right of the United States to the free naviga-
n of the river be not relinquished, and a free port or ports as above
cribed be stipulated to them.

That with respect to the boundary alluded to in his letter of the 26th
May last, the said minister be, and hereby is, instructed to adhere
ictly to the boundaries of the United States as already fixed by
ngress. Spain having by the treaty of Paris ceded to Great Britain
the country to the northeastward of the Mississippi, the people in-
biting these States, while connected with Great Britain, and also
ce the Revolution, have settled themselves at divers places to the
stward near the Mississippi, are friendly to the Revolution, and being
zens of these United States, and subject to the laws of those to
ich they respectively belong, Congress can not assign them over as
bjects to any other power.

That the said minister be further informed that in case Spain shall
ntually be in possession of East and West Florida at the termina-
n of the war, it is of the greatest importance to these United States
have the use of the waters running out of Georgia through West
orida into the Bay of Mexico for the purpose of navigation; and
t he be instructed to endeavor to obtain the same, subject to such
ulations as may be agreed on between the contracting parties; and
t, as a compensation for this, he be, and hereby is, empowered to
aranty the possession of the said Floridas to the crown of Spain.

Jay to De Neufville and Son.*

MADRID, *October* 4, 1780.

GENTLEMEN: I have lately had the pleasure of receiving your favor
the 7th of September. After the proofs you have given of disinter-
ed zeal in the cause of liberty and America, I can not harbor a doubt
your opposing the measures of a court industriously employed in
empts to destroy both.

Your sentiments respecting the expediency of a connection between
United States and your republic concur with my own, and I am
suaded that those who know and wish well to the interests of both
l assiduously promote it.

---

*MSS. Dep. of State; 4 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 219.

As I have received no further intelligence respecting Mr. Laurens, can add nothing on that subject. I can not doubt but that good reason have detained him, though I do not know what they are. Congress, am sure, will continue their attention to the objects of his appointmen and will be happy in cultivating a friendly connection with a peop whose history exhibits many instances of heroic and glorious exertion in a cause similar to their own. Those among you who know histor and venerate the names and characters of their forefathers, can n consent to be the instruments of despotism, to deprive others of thos rights which were purchased for themselves by the blood of their ow ancestors.

When or how far it may consist with the views of Congress to mak mercantile appointments in your country I can not determine; shoul they ever become necessary, I can not doubt of your being remembere The most powerful recommendation I can give them will be by send ing them our correspondence; and for that purpose copies of all th letters that have passed between us are now preparing, and shall, to gether with duplicates and triplicates, be sent by the first vessels.

As to the late ordinance of Spain establishing a paper currency, is a subject on which I make no remarks, and for this very good reason that the policy and propriety of that measure are objects without m sphere, on which I can have no influence, and which would not be altere by anything I might say or write about them.

The Mexican dollars mentioned in the bills drawn upon me I unde stand to be only another name for Spanish milled dollars which yo know pass here at twenty reals of vellon. How far the sale or paymen of these may be affected by the paper in question I know not, thoug I must confess that I do not apprehend so much evil from it as som others do. These bills will be on an equal footing with all others draw on Spain, and you will readily suppose it not to be in my power to pu them on a better.

The King of Spain has been so kind as to offer to become respons ble to a certain amount for moneys which I may borrow for Congress payable in three years. Be so kind as to inform me whether this coul be done in your country, on their *joint credit*, how far, and on wha terms.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN JAY.

Congress. *

OCTOBER 5, 1780.

On the report of a committee to whom was referred a motion of Mr Adams relative to certain propositions of the congress of Russia re specting the rights of neutral nations Congress passed the following act:

Her Imperial majesty of all the Russias, attentive to the freedom o

* MSS. Dep. of State; secret journals.

nerce and the rights of nations, in her declaration to the belliger- and neutral powers, having proposed regulations founded upon ciples of justice, equity, and moderation, of which their most Chris- and Catholic majesties and most of the neutral maritime powers of ope have declared their approbation, Congress, willing to testify r regard to the rights of commerce and their respect for the sov- gn who hath proposed and the powers that have approved the said lations,

esolved, That the board of admiralty prepare and report instruc- s for the commanders of armed vessels commanded by the United es conformable to the principles contained in the declaration of the ress of all the Russias on the rights of neutral vessels.

hat the ministers plenipotentiary from the United States, if invited eto, be and hereby are respectively empowered to accede to such lations, conformable to the spirit of the said declaration, as may be ed upon by the Congress expected to assemble in pursuance of the ation of her Imperial majesty.

dered, That copies of the above resolutions be transmitted to the ective ministers of the United States at foreign courts and to the rable the minister plenipotentiary of France.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.*

AMSTERDAM, *October* 5, 1780.

R: On the 6th of September the Baron de Wassenaar Starenburg the Baron de Heekeren Brantzenburg, ministers plenipotentiary eir high mightinesses the States-General of the United Provinces, their first audience of their imperial highnesses the grand duke and grand duchess, and the Baron de Wassenaar Starenburg had the r to address on this occasion to the grand duke and the grand ess the following discourse:

LORD DUKE: The states, our masters, in sending us to the court of her Impe- ajesty, your august mother, have directed us at the same time to renew to your ial highness the assurances of their most perfect consideration and their respect- gards. The harmony and good understanding which have subsisted between mpire and their republic make them hope that your imperial highness will be d as to support with your credit the object which makes the subject of their n, and thereby give to their high mightinesses a new mark of the friendship which you have always honored them, and of which they will be zealous in all nstances to insure the continuance. Permit, my lord duke, that after having tted ourselves of these orders of our masters we may have the honor to recom- our ministry and our persons to the high benevolence of your imperial high-

e Baron de Wassenaar then addressed himself to the grand duch- n the following terms:

DAM: Their high mightinesses the States-General, our masters, in accrediting us court of her Imperial majesty, your august mother, have also commanded us to

* MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 244.

assure your imperial highness of their most respectful sentiments, and of the interest which they will not cease to take in everything which may contribute to your prosperity and that of your imperial house. Permit us, madam, to recommend ourselves to the precious benevolence of your imperial highness.

The grand duke answered "That nothing could be more agreeable to him than to see those ministers plenipotentiary acquit themselves happily of their commission; that to this end he should not fail to support it as far as should be in his power, as he considered the republic as the first ally of the empire; charging them to write this to their high mightinesses as his sincere sentiments."

On the 6th of September the Prince of Prussia arrived, and made a magnificent entry into the city of Petersburgh.

Last night I had a letter from M. Dumas, at The Hague, dated the 3d of October, in which he writes that a courier had arrived from their plenipotentiaries at Petersburgh with despatches, which take away all plausible pretext from the temporizers for delaying the accession of the republic to the armed neutrality; that according to appearances the emperor, the kings of Prussia and Portugal, would accede to it likewise, and that all would agree in a maritime code which should be useful to all for the future.

But this intelligence is so general, and has the air of being so conjectural, that I know not how much dependence is to be had upon it.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.*

AMSTERDAM, *October* 5, 1780.

SIR: I have no other information to give Congress respecting the execution of my new commission except that I have been busily occupied ever since my receipt of it in making the most particular inquiries I could concerning the best house, the best terms, etc. I shall delay finishing my contract with any house for a little while, in hopes of Mr Laurens' arrival with a commission as minister plenipotentiary. If he does not arrive in a reasonable time, I shall proceed as well as I can.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

Jay to Franklin.†

MADRID, *October* 5, 1780.

DEAR SIR: Although you have not informed me that you had received my letter from St. Ildefonso, yet I find it has not only come safe to your hands, but that M. Grand (to whom I wrote a few lines by last

* MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 246.

† MSS. Dep. of State.

st) is actually engaged in obtaining the object of it. I thank you
: this in both the capacities of American and friend. How far the
sponsibility of the King of Spain may be a means of opening the
ests of your money-holders I know not, but that nothing on my
rt might be wanting, I applied lately to be furnished with some
idence of it, and to be informed of the manner in which it should be
ven. The answer was that proper instructions on this head should be
nt to the Spanish ambassadors in France and Holland, and that they
ould on application give this responsibility in due form to such per-
ns as might consent to lend money on the credit of it in those coun-
s, and that the ministry would do the same there with respect to
ose in Spain.

By this opportunity I ought to add nothing further than that I am,
c.,

JOHN JAY.

P. S.—I have received Mr. Deane's two last letters and written him
o others. If the paper he sent by the courier in August be the origi-
l, he has in my opinion cut his business short, for to this day all my
quiries about it have proved fruitless.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.*

AMSTERDAM, *October* 6, 1780.

SIR: Her most faithful majesty has published an ordinance forbid-
ng all ships of war and privateers of the powers at war to bring any
ize into the ports of her kingdom. It is as follows:

Experience having demonstrated that several privateers of the nations now at
r have abused the commissions and letters of marque with which they were fur-
hed, notwithstanding the respect and the good reception with which they have been
nitted into the ports of our kingdom in consequence of the system of exact neu-
lity which we have resolved to pursue in the present circumstances; and it being
t to consider of means to put an end to the disorders which have often resulted
en our laws in this regard have not been properly respected, any more than the
ereign freedom of our territory, we have judged proper to ordain that in the
ts of our states and dominions there shall be no more admitted any privateer of
y power whatsoever, nor any prize which the said privateers, ships or frigates of
r may have made or shall make, without any other exception than of such cases
which the law of nations shall render hospitality indispensable, with this condi-
n always, that it shall not be permitted them to sell or unload the said prizes
ich they may bring in in the case before mentioned, and that they shall not stay
ger than the time necessary to avoid the danger or to obtain the innocent relief
which they shall absolutely stand in need. And as to the privateers which are now
our ports, they shall be notified to go out in the term of twenty days, to be com-
ted from that on which such notification shall be made to them. That the council

* MSS. Dep. of State.

of war are thus to understand it, and accordingly to execute it, by expediting forthwith the necessary orders to government and commanders of our provinces, islands, fortresses, and maritime places.

At the palace of Lisbon the 30th of August, 1780.

With the signature of her majesty.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect, sir, your most obedient and most humble servant.

Extract of letters from London to Dumas.*

LONDON, *October* 6, 1780.

Mr. Henry Laurens was brought to town last night rather in better health. He was lodged that night in the messenger's house in Scotland Yard, and denied all sort of communications with his friends or those who wished to speak to him. He was examined at noon at Lord George Germain's, and committed, by a warrant of Justice Addington, a close prisoner to the Tower, with orders that no person whatever should speak to him. These people are so foolishly changeable, that most likely in a few days the severity of his confinement may be relaxed. At present two men are always in the same room with him, and two soldiers without.

OCTOBER 10.

Since my last, of the 6th, there has been no material incident relative to Mr. Henry Laurens' commitment, nor is the rigor of his confinement abated. No person whatever can speak to him but in hearing and sight of the two attendant messengers. It is said that the secretary of state's order will produce admittance to his room, but nothing else. Some of his tory relations, and a Mr. Manning, a merchant of the city, and a correspondent of Mr. Laurens, have made attempts to speak to him, but did not succeed. He is wise enough to be cautious whom he speaks to. It is generally thought that this rigor will be taken off in a few days, and that his friends, who are now backward for fear of any stir that may be disadvantageous to him, will have admittance. Almost every person is crying out shame upon this sort of treatment of Mr. Laurens.

OCTOBER 17.

It was not until the 14th instant that any person whatever was permitted to see Mr. Laurens in the Tower. On that day, after repeated applications for admission, Mr. Manning and Mr. Laurens, junior, a youth of sixteen or eighteen years, who has been some years at Warrington school, were permitted to see him. An order went signed from the three secretaries of state, Hillsborough, Stormont, and Germain,

* 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 319.

the governor of the Tower, permitting the two gentlemen above
ımed to visit Mr. Laurens for half an hour; the warrant expressly
timating that their visit was to be limited to that time, and that they
ould not a second time see him without a new order. The governor
nt a note to Mr. Manning that he had received such an order from
e secretaries of state, and he, with young Laurens, went accordingly
st Saturday morning. They found him very ill, much emaciated, but
ot low spirited, and bitter against the people of England for their
ırsh treatment of him. He spoke very handsomely of Captain Kep-
el, who took him and the lieutenant to London; but from the period
putting his foot on shore he was treated with a brutality which he
ould never expect from Englishmen.

His weakness from sickness and his agitation on seeing his son took
the first ten of the thirty minutes allowed him to converse with his
iends. The rest was filled with bitter invectives against the authors
his harsh treatment. His outer room is but a very mean one, not
ore than twelve feet square, a dark, close bedroom adjoining, both
differently furnished, and a few books on his table; no pen and ink
newspaper has been yet allowed him, but he has a pencil and a mem-
randum book, in which he occasionally notes things. The warden of
e Tower and a yeoman of the guard are constantly at his elbow,
ough they never attempt to stop his conversation. Mr. Manning and
s child being the first visitors he has had, perhaps Mr. Laurens was
d to say everything he could of the severity of his treatment, in order
at it might be known abroad, and contradict the general report of
s being exceedingly well treated. He has hitherto declined any phys-
al advice, or the visits of any of those creatures near him who may
e put in with a view to pump. Mr. Penn is making application and
ill probably see him. It is doubtful if the son will again get leave.
is harsh treatment being now pretty generally known, every one is
ying out shame against it, and they accuse a great personage, known
y the name of White Eyes, as the immediate author of it.*

— — —

A. Lee to the President of Congress.†

PHILADELPHIA, *October* 7, 1780.

SIR: I must trouble your excellency to inform Congress of my ar-
val in this city, and that I shall obey their commands in giving them
y information in my power relative to the conduct of their private
fairs.

* For other particulars on this subject, see Franklin to Cooper, November 7, 1780; ernon to Cooper, November 27, 1780; Cooper to Franklin, November 29, 1780; rke to Franklin, February 28, 1782, *infra*; also Laurens to Committee of Foreign Tairs, September 14, 1780, *supra*.

† 1 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 582.

Your excellency will permit me to deposit with you the picture of the King of France, set with diamonds, which the minister of that monarch presented to me, as a mark of his majesty's esteem, upon my taking leave of the court of Versailles. But as it was in consequence of my having been a commissioner of Congress at that court, I do not think it becomes me to retain this present without the express approbation of Congress.

It is with infinite pain that I feel myself obliged to mention to Congress that the manner of my dismission from the service of the United States implies a censure upon my conduct abroad and is injurious to my character. I have already laid before Congress the fullest evidence of the untruth and malice of the insinuations made against me. And as they all appear at length abandoned by those who made them, and the single assertion maintained of my having been disesteemed at the French court, I desire to lay before Congress a copy of a letter from Count de Vergennes in direct contradiction to that assertion, with two letters from my colleague, Mr. John Adams, as testimonials of my conduct, to which he was witness.*

Should any doubt remain in Congress that the insinuations made against me were groundless and malicious, and that I have discharged the public trust reposed in me with zeal and fidelity, I must beg of their justice to give me a full hearing at their bar upon the whole of the proceedings that concern my public conduct.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

ARTHUR LEE.

P. S.—I have brought with me the original vouchers, to show the manner of the expenditure in public supplies of the money intrusted to me particularly for the public use. These vouchers I shall lay before Congress as soon as it is their pleasure to receive them.

Franklin to J. Adams.†

PASSY, *October* 8, 1780.

SIR: I received the letter you did me the honor of writing by Mr. Andrews, and shall render him every service I can in his application.

We begin to be in pain for Mr. Laurens, who was to have sailed three days after Mr. Searle. If that took place, he has been out ten or eleven weeks. I hope he did not sail so soon, otherwise it is probable that he is either lost or taken.

I do not just now recollect my having written, as from myself, any letter to the grand pensionary. I drew indeed the letter that was sent

* For these letters see J. Adams to Vergennes, February 11; Vergennes to J. Adams, February 13; J. Adams to A. Lee June 10, 1779, *supra*.

† 7 J. Adams' Works, 314; 7 Bigelow's Franklin, 132.

by the commissioners, acquainting him with the treaty of commerce, to which we had no answer. But I will search, and if I can find such a one will send you a copy, with a copy of the other.

I shall be glad to hear if you are like to make any progress in the affair of a loan, which I understand Mr. Laurens was charged with. I send you enclosed a copy of a note of Congress respecting your salaries. I hope you will be able to do without my assistance; if not, I must furnish you. But I have been obliged to accept M. Neufville's bills, on account of his acceptances of those drawn on Mr. Laurens, and I shall with some difficulty be able to pay them; though these extra demands often embarrass me exceedingly.

We hear that the *Alliance* has arrived at Boston. I beg leave to recommend to your civilities Mr. Searle, a member of Congress for Pennsylvania, with whose conversation you will be pleased, as he can give you good information of the state of our affairs when he left America. I ought to acquaint you, *a governo*, as the merchants say, that M. le Comte de Vergennes, having taken much amiss some passages in your letters to him, sent the whole correspondence to me, requesting that I would transmit it to Congress. I was myself sorry to see those passages. If they were the effects merely of inadvertence, and you do not on reflection approve of them, perhaps you may think it proper to write something for effacing the impressions made by them. I do not presume to advise you, but mention it only for your consideration. The vessel is not yet gone that carries the papers.*

With great regard, I have the honor to be, sir, your most obedient and most humble servant,

B. FRANKLIN.

Franklin to Dumas.†

PASSY, *October* 9, 1780.

DEAR SIR: I received yours of the 29th of September and 3d of October. It is a very good addition you have made to your memoir for the ministers of Russia and Sweden. I am glad to find you are again on such good terms with the ambassador as to be invited to his comedy. I doubt not of your continuing to cultivate that good understanding. I like much your insertions in the gazettes. Such things have good effects.

Your information relative to the transactions at Petersburgh and in Denmark are very interesting, and afforded me a good deal of satisfaction, particularly the former. Mr. Searle will have the pleasure of seeing you. I recommend him warmly to your civilities. He is much your

---

* See, as to this correspondence, Introduction, §§ 15, 16; Adams to Vergennes, July 7, 1780; Vergennes to Adams, closing the correspondence, July 29, 1780, *supra*.

† 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 124.

friend, and will advise Mr. Laurens to make you his secretary, which I hope you will accept. I have given it as my opinion that Mr. L. can nowhere find one better qualified or more deserving. The choice is left to that minister, and he is empowered to give a salary of £500 sterling a year. I am in pain on account of his not being yet arrived, but I hope you will see him soon. I request you would find means to introduce Mr. Searle to the Portuguese ambassador. Pray consider the enclosed papers, and, after advising with your friend, give me your opinion as to the manner of the application to the States-General, whether I should make it through their ambassador or directly with a letter to the grand pensionary, or in what other manner. You know we wrote to him formerly and received no answer.

With great esteem, I am, etc.,

B. FRANKLIN.

P. S.—You say nothing of Mr. Adams. How do you stand with him? What is he doing?

Marbois to the President of Congress.*

[Translation.]

PHILADELPHIA, *October* 8, 1780.

SIR: I have received the letter with which your excellency honored me on the 7th instant and the accompanying resolution of Congress. I shall, in compliance with the wishes of Congress, send it in three despatches to his majesty's minister, and shall make use of three different vessels, which will sail for France in the course of this week. I have no doubt that my court is sensible of the attention which Congress shows in communicating to it these measures, and that they will appear equally just, moderate, and prudent.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

MARBOIS.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.†

AMSTERDAM, *October* 11, 1780.

SIR: It may serve to let Congress into the springs and motives which actuate this republic to be furnished with the following sketch of the constitution, so far as it respects the authority of the stadtholder:

The seven provinces of the Low Countries, formerly fiefs of the German empire, but now for near two centuries so strictly united and confederated by the celebrated treaty of Utrecht, were before their union long governed by dukes, earls, bishops, and other lords, who with a limited power were the sovereigns of them. When this country fell to the house of Burgundy, and afterwards to that of Austria, these princes,

* 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 706. † 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 246.

their own absence, established here stadtholders or governors, to whom they were liged to give ample powers. These stadtholders or lieutenants had the administion of government, and presided in the courts of justice, the department of which s not then confined to judge of the lawsuits of the citizens, but extended itself to airs of state, in which the states themselves had little to do under the last earls, o did not consult them, but when there was a question concerning taxes or the ety of navigation and the fishery, and when it was necessary for such purposes to se money.

The stadtholders also took an oath to the states, by which they promised to main- n their fundamental laws and their privileges; at the inauguration of princes y received their oath at the same time with the states of the provinces of which y were stadtholders.

t was upon this footing that William the First, Prince of Orange, was made vernor and lieutenant-general of Holland, Zealand, and Utrecht by Philip the cond when he was upon his departure for Spain. This commission is dated the of August, 1559. It contains, among other things: "We establish him in the state governor and lieutenant-general of our counties of Holland, of Zealand, of the untry of Utrecht, West Friesland, Voorne, and the Brille, lands adjacent and an- xed to our said earldoms of Holland and Zealand." The troubles arising soon er, he accomplished in 1576 a particular union between Holland and Zealand, states of which conferred upon him, as far as in them lay, the sovereign author- for all the time that these two provinces should be at war and in arms, as the ner had invested him with the same authority the year before.

n 1581 the same thing was repeated by Holland, and soon after by Zealand; and 1584, already elected Earl of Holland upon certain conditions, he would have n invested with the sovereignty in all its forms if he had not been assassinated a villain hired and set to work by the court of Spain. During the troubles the tes declared more than once that they acknowledged the Prince of Orange in quality of their governor-general and lieutenant of the king in the provinces of lland, Zealand, West Friesland, and Utrecht upon the same footing as these offices l been conferred upon him by his majesty, there having been since no change or eration of anything which was conformable to the laws and customs of the country. lland was the first which, in 1575, gave him a greater authority, but we do not find where that the states ever declared him stadtholder in their name; and Maurice, son, ought to be considered as the first governor and stadtholder of their creation. first instructions are extant; they were very confined; but they gave him more hority in 1587, after the departure of the Earl of Leicester. His successors in the itholdership have had no instructions, but only commissions, and since that time ir authority is very much augmented.

he commission given the 12th of May, 1747, to his serene highness William the rth, father of the present stadtholder, by the states of Holland, who conferred n him "The power, the authority, and the command to exercise the office of gov- or, captain-general, and admiral; to protect, to advance, and to maintain the hts, the privileges, and the well-being of the province, and of its members, cities inhabitants, as well as the worship of the true reformed Christian religion, such is taught in the public churches, and to preserve and defend it against all moles- on, oppression, disorder, disunion, detriment, and damage. Moreover, to admin- r justice in the said province of Holland and West Friesland, to obtain and duly rant the provisions of justice to all those who shall require it, and to put them in cution; the whole, as far as regards the affairs of justice, by the advice of the presi- and counselors of the court of Holland and West Friesland. To him, moreover, ven the power of granting, after having taken the advice of the court of justice, ers of grace, remission, pardon, and abolition, provided the said letters be duly , it being well understood, nevertheless, that they shall not be granted for mur- , unpardonable in their nature, or for enormous crimes committed, ——, or by pre-

meditated design; and for what concerns the military and the police, to act in th respect with the approbation of the states and the advice of their counselors an deputies, conformably to their instructions; and to change the burgomasters and th sheriffs of the cities and places of the province, as may be convenient, conformably t the privileges of each city and of each place; moreover, both by land and sea, t watch over the safety and the good order of places and fortresses of the provinc where there shall be occasion."

The conditions upon which William the First was elected Earl of Holland are r lated in the seventh volume of the history of the country, according to the resol tions of the states of Holland of that time. The prince had agreed to them. All th cities of Holland, excepting Amsterdam and Gonda, had consented to them; and th provinces of Zealand and Utrecht would without doubt have followed this exampl These conditions contained, among others,

First, That if the prince contravened in any points, and did not redress the grie ances at the requisitions of the states, these should be free from all engagements t him, and should have a right to provide of themselves for the government. Secondl That after the death of the prince, such of his sons as the states should judge th most capable, should be made earl on the same footing. Thirdly, That the prin should engage himself by oath to the observation of these conditions stipulated, an that the States on their part should do the same towards him.

In the preamble of the acts by which the states confer the sovereign authorit upon Prince William the First is found these remarkable words, which are the laid down for a fundamental rule:

"That all republics and communities ought to preserve and maintain themselv and fortify themselves by unanimity, which can not take place among so many men bers, often different in will and in sentiments; it was by consequence necessary th the government should be conferred upon one single chief." From the establishmen of the republic the good politicians and the greatest part of the inhabitants o these provinces have regarded the stadtholderian government as an essential part o the constitution. Accordingly, it has not been but twice without a stadtholder, th is to say, from the year of 1650 to 1672, and again from the month of March, 1702, April, 1747.

The stadtholdership has not been interrupted in Friesland, nor in the provinces Groningen and Ommelanden; but heretofore the power of the stadtholders of the two provinces, whose ancient instructions are to be found in Aitzema and elsewher althongh they have no place at present, was confined in more narrow bounds, an until William the Fourth there never was a stadtholder of all the seven provinces t gether.

The stadtholdership and the offices of captain-general and admiral-general of ca of the seven provinces of the country of Drenthe and of the Generality, are at prese hereditary not only in the male line but also in the female. The stadtholder can n declare war nor make peace, but he has, in quality of captain-general, the comman in chief of all the forces of the state; and the military men are obliged to obey hi in all that regards the military service. He is not restrained by instructions, and h disposes of the patents, an article very important in all that concerns the militar

In this republic they call patents the orders in writing which the captain-general sen to the troops to march. He orders the marches, provides for the garrisons, and chang them at his pleasure. The ordinances and military regulations proceed from hi alone; it is he who constitutes and authorizes the high council of war of the Unite Provinces, and who, as captain-general of each province, disposes of all military offic as far as that of colonel inclusively. The highest posts, as those of field marshals, generals, and lieutenant-generals, are given by the States-General, who choose thos to fill them whom his highness recommends. It is he also who gives the government commandants, etc., of cities and places of arms of the republic and those of the ba rier. The persons named present their acts to their high mightinesses, who provi

em with commissions. In disposing of civil employments which are in their depart-nts, the States-General have always a great deal of regard also to the recommend-ons of his highness. The power of the stadtholder as grand admiral extends itself er everything which regards the naval forces of the state and the other affairs of e departments of the admiralties. These councils, called the admiralties, preside er the perception of the duties of entries inwards and outwards, and have the ection of the custom-house, as well as that of the admiralty. He presides here in rson or by his representatives; and as chief of all these councils in general, and of h one in particular, he is able to cause to be observed and executed their instruc-ns, both by themselves and what concerns them. He disposes of the employés of ıtenant-admirals and others who command under him, and creates also the captains *haut bord*). The grand admiral, who has his part in all the prizes which are made, h by the vessels of the state and by privateers, establishes, when it is necessary, ritime councils of war, who do right in the name of their high mightinesses and his highness, but whose sentences are not executed until after he has approved and ıfirmed them. It is the same in those of the high council of war of the United ovinces.

Here follows the commission of the prince, exactly translated from e Dutch:

"The States-General of the United Provinces of the Lower Countries to all those who ll see or hear these presents, greeting: We make known, that it being necessary to thorize and establish one person capable and qualified as captain-general and ad-ral-general of the people of war, by sea and land, who are in our service, for the intenance of the state and of the government of this country, and for the direc-n of the affairs of war; for these causes, considering the good qualities and the pacity of his highness the Prince William Charles Henry Friso, by the grace of d Prince of Orange and of Nassau, Earl of Catzeneltebogen, Vianden, Deitz, etc., l relying upon his firmness, valor, and inclination for the prosperity of these ntries, we have established and authorized, and we do establish and authorize, most serene highness, the said Prince William Charles Henry Friso captain and miral-general over the people of war who are in our service by sea and by land, ring to his highness full power and authority to command in that quality all the d troops, and order them all that is convenient for the conservation and the main-ance of the union, for the safeguard and the defense of the state, for the tranquil-y, the rights, and privileges of the country, both in general and of each province in rticular, and for the protection of the inhabitants, as also for the conservation of true reformed religion, in the manner that it is at present exercised, and under public authority in the associated provinces and cities; in fine, for the mainte-ıce of the present form of government; the whole with the authority, the rights, honors, and pre-eminence thereto annexed. We have, moreover, conferred on his ene highness, as we hereby confer upon him, by these presents, until we shall have de known that we have disposed otherwise, the free power to dispose of patents l other things which relate to war, as the Lords Princes of Orange, glorious an-tors of his serene highness, have done, in quality of stadtholders with relation to troops. We command and ordain most expressly, to all and every one, particu-ly to the officers of the troops, colonels, captains of cavalry and of infantry, and ther people of war in our service and pay, to acknowledge, respect, and obey his ene highness in that quality, giving him all succor, favor, and assistance in exe-ing his orders. His serene highness as captain-general of the state shall take the inary oath to us, or to those whom we shall depute for that end, upon the in-ıctions which we shall judge proper to prepare in this respect. Done in our as-bly at The Hague, the 4th of May, 1747."

The Stadtholder grants, likewise, letters of grace, of pardon, and abolition, both the crimes which they call *communia delicta*, and of military offenses. In Holland

and Zealand these letters are made out for the former, in the name of the states, wit the advice of his highness; in cases of common crimes he consults the courts of justic the counselors deputies of the provinces, the council of state, and the tribunals justice of the cities respectively, according to the nature of the case, and concernin the others, the high council of war, etc.

In the provinces of Holland and Zealand the stadtholder makes every year an ele tion of the magistrates of the cities, upon a representation or nomination of a doubl number, which the cities themselves send to him. He has the choice of two, and i some cases of three, candidates, whom the states of Holland name to fill th offices, which their noble and grand mightinesses, and formerly the chamber of a counts of their dominions, had the disposition or election of when there was no go ernor. In some cities the stadtholder elects only the sheriffs, in others the burg masters and sheriffs, and in some the counselors of the cities also. The magistrate in taking possession of their offices, promise, by oath, to maintain the rights, priv leges, and immunities of their cities and citizens, and they take an oath also of fidelit to the states of Holland and Friesland. In 1672 the magistrates of Dort added, "a also to his serene highness the Prince of Orange, stadtholder of the province," an the same thing was done in 1747, but only in Dort. When the states, in extraord nary cases which require it, judge proper to invest him with an act of authority, h can dismiss all these magistrates and replace them by others. This was done upo this footing in 1672 and 1748. "Saving their honor, and without its being permitte to suspect them of having ill-conducted in the exercise of their offices, the stad holder promising to take, in case of need, their persons and their families under h protection and safeguard," etc. The Prince of Maurice having changed, in 1718, th magistrates of the greatest part of the cities, was thanked for it by the states of Ho land, who, by their resolution of the 16th of November of the same year approve unanimously of what his excellency had done.

There are some few offices which, by the constitution, the states have the disp sal of, but, in effect, the stadtholder disposes of all offices, and is by this means in capacity to oblige and attach to him the magistrates of the cities, and other perso whom he pleases to gratify with them. He elects the counselors and inspectors the dikes of Rhynland, of Delfland, and of Schieland, etc., upon a presentation three persons which these colleges, established in Holland for many centuries, sen directly to him. Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy, in an old ordinance, calls the officers counselors of the dikes. Their offices are for life; and besides these thr colleges, there are still several others in Holland, but the three above mentioned a the most considerable.

In virtue of the regulations made in 1674 and 1675, and renewed since the acce sion of the prince to the stadtholdership, he has a great power in the provinces Guelderland, Utrecht, and Overyssel. The decision of the differences which ma there arise among the respective members and quarters belong to him; all the offic and commissions which are exercised both in the provinces and without. The stat of Guelderland had, in 1748, conferred on the prince stadtholder the power of co recting, changing, and augmenting the regulation of the regency of the year 167 as his highness should judge necessary for the good and advantage of the provinc in case that in this regulation he should find articles which, according to the constit tion of the present form of government, have occasion to be altered. But his high ness, in re-establishing it, did not judge proper to avail himself of this concession, whic he nevertheless accepted in 1750. (See the last article of the regulation publishe that year.) In 1748 the quarter of Nimeguen made a present to the prince of th earldom of Culembourg, and the states of Overyssel did the same with regard to th lands which they possessed in the earldom of Bantheim. By this he is the firs member of the states and sovereign lord of the lower earldom.

He has at his disposal all the offices and commissions in the provinces of Groninge and Ommelanden since the regulation of the year 1748, and the prince stadthold

also acquired the greatest prerogatives in Friesland by the regulation of Decem- 1748. As stadtholder of the country of Drenthe and of the territory of the Gen- ity, he has also very fair prerogatives and annual appointments. The council of e of the United Provinces, as well as the councils deputies of Holland and West sland, have, of their own motion, offered and at last conceded to his highness all employments which were in their disposal. By the articles ninth, sixteenth, and nty-first of the treaty of union of Utrecht, the stadtholders of that time had been ed provisionally arbiters of the differences which contrary sentiments and op- te views might occasion among the confederates who in thus submitting to an tration of points so important had considered, no doubt, that in fact there could be any union or confederation among allies who united themselves so closely nout agreeing upon means of coming to a conclusion in cases in which the plu- ty of voices did not take place.

nce the re-establishment of the stadtholdership on the footing where it is at ent, similar differences between the provinces are no longer to be feared; the ce stadtholder being fortified with a power sufficiently great to maintain the n by preventing the consequences of all which might disturb it, or being a preju- to the state in general, or to the provinces, or their quarters, or their members articular; finally, to take and put in execution the measures and resolutions nec- ry, etc. His highness presides in the court of Holland and in the courts of jus- of the other provinces, and his name is placed at the head of their command- ts, ordinances, and bills. In Overyssel and in the province of Utrecht the fiefs held in the name of the prince stadtholder. He is supreme curator of the univer- s of Guelderland, of Friesland, and Groningen, grand forester and grand hunter uelderland, Holland, and other places.

the province of Utrecht his highness, by virtue of the regulation of the year , disposes of the provostship and other benefices which have remained attached he chapters, as also the canonical prebends which have fallen vacant in the ths which were formerly called popish.

nformably to the first article of the instructions of the council of state of the ted Provinces the stadtholder is the first member of it, and has there the right uffrage, with an appointment of 25,000 florins a year, In virtue of a resolution he States-General of the 27th of February, the Prince of Orange had enjoyed it re his elevation to the stadtholdership, having been placed, from the year 1670, ne council of state. The 26th of July, 1746, their high mightinesses granted the e appointments to the prince stadtholder.

e assists also, whenever he judges proper for the service of the state, at the de- rations of the States-General, there to make propositions, etc., and sometimes at the conferences held by the deputies of their high mightinesses in the several rtments, according to the order established at the assemblies of the states of icular provinces, and at those of their counselors or states deputies. In Gueld- nd, in Holland, and in the province of Utrecht his highness participates of the reignty as chief or president of the body of nobles; and in Zealand, where he esses the marquisate of Veere and of Flessingue as first noble, and representing e all the nobility. In his absence, he has in Zealand his representatives, who the first place, who have the first voice in all the councils, and the first of whom ways first deputy from this province at the assembly of their high mightinesses. three quarters of the province of Guelderland conferred the dignity of chief or ident of the body of nobles on his serene highness in 1750. None of his prede- ors had it; but Basnage says, in his Annals of the United Provinces, that the ce William the Second, a little before his death, had a design to get himself ted first noble in Guelderland, where the nobility had been at all times devoted im.

he body of nobles of Holland, having prayed, in 1635, the Prince Frederick Henry o them the honor of being their chief, his highness, who, as stadtholder, had

neither seat nor voice in the assembly of the states of the province, graciously accepted of this offer, and became thereby a permanent member of it. The body of nobles have done the same with regard to the successors of this prince.

Veere and Flessingue are two of the six cities which, with the first noble, compose the assembly of the states of Zealand. The councils in Zealand, in which the prince or his representatives have the first voice, are the assembly of the states and of the counselors deputies; in the council of the admiralty, in the chamber of accounts, and in the assembly, that they name the states of Walcheren, a college, which has the care of the dikes of this part of the province. It appears that under the precedent stadtholders the assembly of the states of Zealand, composed, as at present, of the first noble and the six cities, disposed of all provincial offices and commissions, and one may see, by the resolution of the states of Zealand of the 15th of June, 1751, how this affair has been regulated.

In 1749 the prince stadtholder was created by the States-General governor-general and supreme director of the companies of the East and West Indies, dignities which gave him a great deal of authority and power, and which had not been conferred upon any of his predecessors. They have not yet been rendered hereditary. He has his representatives in the respective chambers, and chooses the directors of the two companies, upon a nomination of three persons who have the qualifications necessary to be elected. From his elevation to the stadtholdership the prince enjoyed in Zealand this prerogative. His serene highness enjoys, without paying taxes, as the precedent stadtholder might have enjoyed, the thirtieth part of all the divisions which the East India Company makes; that is to say, the dividends of thirty-six actions and two-thirds, each action being reckoned at 3,000 florins, old capital. (See the resolutions of their high mightinesses of the 27th of November, 1747; when the company gives to the interested a dividend of 50 per cent., the portion of the stadtholder amounts to 50,000 florins.) The prince stadtholder represents the dignity and the grandeur of the republic, and without bearing the name of sovereign, and doing all in the name of the states of which he is the lieutenant-general, he enjoys in several respects even the effects of the sovereignty. We have already seen what are his principal prerogatives, his authority, his great credit, and his influences in all affairs.

The ambassadors and other ministers in foreign courts hold their commissions and receive their instructions from the States-General, who nevertheless do not name to these employs, excepting such as are agreeable to the prince stadtholder and recommended by his highness. These ministers address their despatches to their high mightinesses, or to their register, and correspond also with the counselor pensionary of Holland. They also render an account to the prince stadtholder of the negotiations with which they are charged and of all important and secret affairs.

Treaties, alliances, conventions, etc., are negotiated, signed, and ratified in the name of the States-General, after having been communicated to the provinces and ratified by them. The name of the prince stadtholder does not appear, but he can, when there is a question concerning his particular affairs, enter into negotiations with foreign courts, and conclude with them treaties, as it was done with Spain in 1646 and 1647.

Some of the foreign ministers who reside at The Hague are also accredited with the prince stadtholder. The prerogatives of the prince stadtholder of the republic are at present sufficiently fixed; but they are not precisely the same in all the provinces. The appointments and revenues of the stadtholder and captain-general, to consider them even in proportion, can not be put in parallel with those of a king of England. Nevertheless, it is reckoned that the revenues of the stadtholdership of the seven united provinces of the country of Drenthe, and the territority of the Generality, comprehending the 25,000 florins which the prince enjoys annually as first member of the council of state and the dividends of the company of the East Indies, amount to 300,000 florins a year. The stadtholder pays neither imposts nor taxes, excepting those which they call in Holland *Odinarés Verponding*, which is raised in this province

the lands and upon the houses, etc. The body guards and the aid-de-camp of
ost serene highness are entertained at the expense of the union. Holland alone
the company of a hundred Swiss, and makes good the hire of the houses which
rince stadtholder and some of the principal officers of his house occupy at The
e, who enjoy also a freedom from excises. On some occasions the counselors
ties of Holland and West Friesland dispose, upon the proposition of the stadt-
er or of the counselor pensionary in his behalf, of certain sums necessary for
ervice of the state, and upon an act of this council they pass them in account
e receiver-general of the province.

captain-general of the union, his highness has a hundred thousand florins of ap-
tments a year, besides 24,000 from Friesland and 12,000 from Groningen, in
ity of captain-general of these two provinces. In time of war the state grants
ordinary sums to the captain-general for the expense of each campaign.

e prince stadtholder, as the eminent head of the republic, is revered, honored,
respected by all the world. The princes of Orange, by the great revenues of
patrimonies, both of their principalities and of their seignorial lands in France,
nany, and Burgundy and in divers places of the United Provinces, have fre-
tly been a great support to the state. William the First, the father of his coun-
who always preferred the prosperity of the republic to his own and that of his
e, raised twice, and led an army, in a great part at his own expense, as we may
y the public declaration which the States-General made of it in the inscription
e mausoleum which they raised to the memory of this great man in one of the
ches of Delft.

fers the most tempting for them and for their houses have been made to the stadt-
ers, provided they would depart ever so little from the engagements which they
taken with their country; but they have rejected them all with disdain, and
ld not have other friends nor other enemies than those of the republic. As she
in some sort their daughter, they could not but have a lively affection for her,
ch a degree as to be at all times ready to sacrifice their lives and all things to
defense. Thus they have been the authors and conservators of her liberties, in
irst place against the Spanish tyranny, and since against an enemy still more for-
able, who opened to himself in 1672 a passage into the heart of the republic. The
e thing was near happening in 1748.

have translated this from the French, because it is not often to be
nd, and is the shortest and best account of the stadtholdership I
find. It is full of instruction to the United States of America, and
serve to explain many political phenomena. As all these powers
in possession of a family connected by blood and by ancient habits
political alliances to that of Hanover, we may easily see that the
erican cause will meet with powerful obstacles. I am still, however,
pinion that it would be good policy to send a minister plenipoten-
y here, accredited both to the States-General and to the prince stadt-
der; without this even a loan of money will scarcely succeed. Mr.
rens is taken and carried to England.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

J. Adams to Franklin.*

AMSTERDAM, *October* 14, 1780.

SIR: The extract of letters you were so good as to send me have been inserted in the papers, and I should be obliged to you for future communications of the same kind. Notwithstanding the flow of spirits, and the vigorous exertions of our countrymen this year, I am sorry to say I can not see a prospect of anything decisive this campaign. The fatal defect in the plan of the campaign in not sending a sufficient number of ships with M. de Ternay, or soon after him, will render abortive all the great exertions and immense expenses of the year. And at the same time Cornwallis will spread too much devastation at the southward, where the want of numbers of whites, the great numbers of blacks, and above all the want of discipline and experience, will make the people long unhappy and unfortunate.

The ill-luck of Carolina pursues her citizens even to sea, and to Europe, I think. Can nothing be done for the relief of Mr. Laurens? Will you be so good as to apply to court and see if they will send us somebody suitable to exchange for him? After exchanging so many military men as prisoners of war it is pitiful to use Mr. Laurens as they do.

I have felt the mortification of soliciting for money as well as you. But it has been because the solicitations have not succeeded. I see no reason at all that we should be ashamed of asking to borrow money, after maintaining a war against Great Britain and her allies for about six years withoutborrowing anything abroad. When England has been all the time borrowing of all the nations of Europe, even of individuals among our allies, it can not be unnatural, surprising, or culpable, or dishonorable for us to borrow money. When England borrows annually a sum equal to all her exports, we ought not to be laughed at for wishing to borrow a sum annually equal to a twelfth part of our annual exports. We may and we shall wade through if we can not obtain a loan; but we could certainly go forward with more ease, convenience, and safety by the help of one. I think we have not meanly solicited for friendship anywhere. But to send ministers to every great court in Europe, especially the maritime courts, to propose an acknowledgment of the independence of America and treaties of amity and commerce, is no more than becomes us, and in my opinion is our duty to do. It is perfectly consistent with the genuine system of American policy, and a piece of respect due from new nations to old ones. The United Provinces did the same thing, and were never censured for it, but in the end they succeeded. It is necessary for America to have agents in different parts of Europe to give some information concerning our affairs, and to refute the falsehoods that the hired emissaries of Great Britain circulate in every corner of Europe, by which they keep

* 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 259; 7 J. Adams' Works, 316.

their own credit and ruin ours. I have been more convinced of this
e my peregrinations in this country than ever. The universal and
found ignorance of America here has astonished me. It will require
e and a great deal of prudence and delicacy to undeceive them.
method you have obligingly begun of transmitting me intelligence
n America will assist me in doing, or at least attempting, something
his kind; and I therefore request the continuance of it; and have
honor to be, with respectful compliments to Mr. Franklin and all
nds, sir, your most obedient servant,

JOHN ADAMS.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.*

AMSTERDAM, *October* 14, 1780.

IR: Repeated letters from London confirm the account of Mr. Laurens
ng confined to the Tower so close a prisoner, that neither his old
respondents nor even his refugee relations are suffered to speak to
.

here have been so many precedents of exchanges—Mr. Lovell, as well
he Major-Generals Sullivan, Stirling, Lee, and others having been
anged as prisoners of war—that it is very extraordinary that they
uld treat Mr. Laurens as a prisoner of state. It is not, however,
ely a proof that passion and caprice govern their councils. I con-
e it is intended to signify to the tories in America, whom they be-
e to be more numerous than they are, and to their officers and troops
ing in that country, that now they have obtained an election of Par-
ent to their minds they are determined to prosecute the war with
r and to bring America still to unlimited submission. For how-
our countrymen may have flattered themselves with hopes of
e, there is nothing further from the thoughts of the King of Eng-
, his ministers, Parliament, or nation, for they are now all *his*, than
e upon any terms that America can agree to. There is no future
t more certain in my mind than that they never will acknowledge
erican independence while they have a soldier in the United States.
, they would not do it even after their troops should be all driven
the continent.

think I see very clearly that America must grow up in war. It is
nful prospect, to be sure. But when I consider that there are
people in America than there are in the United Provinces of the
Countries, that the earth itself produces abundance in America
for consumption and exportation, and that the United Provinces
uce nothing but butter and cheese, and that the United Provinces
successively maintained wars against the formidable monarchies
pain, France, and England, I can not but persuade myself it is in
power of America to defend herself against all that England can do.

---

*MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 260, with verbal changes and
sions.

The republic where I now am has maintained an army of a hundr and twenty thousand men, besides a formidable navy. She maintai at this day a standing army of thirty thousand men, which the prin is desirous of augmenting to fifty thousand, besides a considerab navy; all this in a profound peace. What cause, physical or politica can prevent three millions of people in America from maintaining f the defense of their altars and firesides as many soldiers as the sa number of people can maintain in Europe merely for parade I know n

A navy is our natural and our only adequate defense. But we ha only one way to increase our shipping and seamen, and that is priv teering. This abundantly pays its own expenses and procures its ow men. The seamen taken generally enlist on board of our privateers; a this is the surest way of distressing their commerce, protecting o own, increasing our seamen, and diminishing those of the enemy. A this will finally be the way, by capturing their supplies, that we sh destroy, or captivate, or oblige to fly their armies in the United Stat

A loan of money in Europe would assist privateering, by enabli us to fit out ships the more easily, as well as promote and extend o trade, and serve us in other ways. I wish I could give hopes of spee success in this business; but I fear that Cornwallis' account of his d feat of General Gates, whether true or false, will extinguish the ve moderate hopes which I had before for a time.

There is a prospect, however, that the English will force this repu lic into a war with them; and in such case, or indeed in any case, there were a minister here accredited to the States-General and to t Prince Stadtholder of the United Provinces of the Low Countries, would assist a loan. There is another measure which may be taken Congress to the same end; that is, sending some cargoes of produ upon account of the United States, directly here or to St. Eustatia be sold for the payment of interest. The sight of a few such vess and cargoes would do more than many long reasonings and negot tions.

Another method may be taken by Congress: Make a contract wi private merchants in Philadelphia, Boston, Maryland, Virginia, or el where to export annually produce to a certain amount to Amsterdam St. Eustatia, or both, to be sold for the payment of interest. The m chants or houses contracted with should be responsible and known Europe—at least some of them.

This country has been grossly deceived. It has little knowledge the numbers, wealth, and resources of the United States, and less fa in their finally supporting their independence, upon which alone credit depends. They have also an opinion of the power of Engla vastly higher than the truth. Measures must be taken, but with gre caution and delicacy, to undeceive them.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

Carmichael to the Committee of Foreign Affairs.*

MADRID, *October* 15, 1780.

GENTLEMEN: My last to the committee was of the 25th ultimo, since nich time Mr. Jay has received a letter from Dr. Franklin, to whom, well as to the Count de Vergennes, he wrote on the subject of his sappointment in money matters here. This letter has given us very eat pleasure. The court of France continues to manifest the same nerous conduct towards us as ever, notwithstanding its own embar-ssments for money. It has in fact agreed to furnish another million livres to answer new demands and old claims. Among the former r. Franklin comprised the $25,000 drawn by order of the Congress on r. Jay. Only two bills of that sum have as yet been presented, and tween eighty and one hundred thousand of those first drawn, all of nich have been accepted.

Every post augments the sum, and we are still uncertain whether oney will be procured in time to pay them, particularly should the lls for the whole soon come to hand. The minister apparently has deavored, and is endeavoring, to procure money for this purpose. Gardoqui, who will probably succeed M. Miralles, and a gentleman no planned the loan I mentioned in my letter of the 9th ultimo, are teresting themselves in this business. If either of these gentlemen n procure money, or if the crown can obtain it by other means, it is obable that Mr. Jay will be furnished with a part, if not the whole, the money necessary for this use. But I am still afraid its ability ll not correspond with our wants and our wishes. The court has ven orders to enable Mr. Harrison, at Cadiz, to obtain and ship the othing for ten regiments mentioned in my last. This gentleman is a tive of Maryland, is well known in that State, and has on this as on l occasions manifested a disinterested zeal in the service of his untry.

There is no alteration in the political state of Europe since my last, d no event of consequence in the operations of the war. The con-ntion for the armed neutrality is not finally concluded, but I am told e Empress of Russia is determined to maintain the system proposed r her. The United States of Holland have not yet acceded to it. eir plenipotentiaries were instructed to add some articles, one of nich is to procure restitution of their vessels unlawfully captured by e English, another to make it a common cause in case the republic ould be molested in consequence of her accession, and also that her ssessions in all parts of the world should be guarantied by the con-acting parties. Their mediation is also proposed to bring about an commodation between the powers at war. These articles in the in-ructions were inserted by the friends of England in order to retard, not defeat, the measure so far as it respected the States. It has

* MSS. Dep. of State; 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 35, with verbal corrections.

leaked out from the court of Petersburgh, perhaps expressly, that the English minister at that court declared to the empress that the king was disposed to respect the neutrality provided Holland was excluded. This has come to the knowledge of the plenipotentiaries, and it is supposed will, on being known to the States, hasten the conclusion of the affair, which must put an end to the piratical rapacity of Great Britain or involve her in new and great difficulties.

Two Russian vessels captured and carried into England have been released, while Dutch vessels with similar cargoes are condemned. The court of Portugal has given orders to equip several vessels of war and seems inclined at present to preserve a strict neutrality, prompted to this more by fear than inclination. The combined fleet is still at Cadiz; it consists of between forty and fifty sail of the line, and has provisions on board for six months. The Count d'Estaing has provided clothing for the winter for his seamen and marines, and M. de Guichen is expected with much impatience. His destination is a secret, but I think he has a strong desire of visiting our part of the world once more. He will not be inactive if he can avoid being so.

The committee will probably take notice of an article in the foreign papers which mentions a revolt in Peru. This, if true and serious as represented, would be an event as important as disagreeable. I have as yet no reason to believe it of the nature represented, if true. The ministry have taken no extraordinary measures in consequence of this intelligence, except the fitting out some packet boats for that part of the world, which may be done to obtain more regular advice than they have had from thence for some time past. If it should appear, however, that there is any foundation for this report, you may depend on my endeavors to give the earliest and most accurate information I can obtain with respect to the causes and consequences of such an event.

Mr. Jay means to send soon large packets to Congress, to which I beg leave to refer the committee for more minute details on the subject of this and my other letters than I can furnish it, from not being in possession of the various papers and communications which respect the mission.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

WILLIAM CARMICHAEL.

Congress.*

OCTOBER 18, 1780.

On the report of a committee to whom were referred the letters of 23d and 24th March last from the honorable John Adams, minister plenipotentiary of the United States for negotiating a treaty of peace and a treaty of commerce with Great Britain,

* MSS. Dep. of State; printed secret journals of Congress.

esolved, That the said minister be informed it is clearly the opinion
ongress that a short truce would be highly dangerous to these
ted States.

hat if a truce be proposed for so long a period or for an indefinite
od requiring so long notice previous to a renewal of hostilities as
vince that it is on the part of Great Britain a virtual relinquish-
t of the object of the war and an expedient only to avoid the mor-
ation of an express acknowledgment of the independence and sov-
gnty of these United States, the said minister be at liberty, with
concurrence of our ally, to accede thereto, provided the removal of
British land and naval armaments from the United States be a
lition of it.

hat in case a truce shall be agreed on by the belligerent parties,
gress rely on his attention and prudence to hold up the United
es to the world in a style and title not derogatory to the character
n independent and sovereign people.

hat with respect to those persons who have either abandoned or
banished from any of the United States since the commencement
he war, he is to make no stipulations whatsoever for their readmit-
e; and as to an equivalent for their property, he may attend to
positions on that subject only on reciprocal stipulation that Great
ain will make full compensation for all the wanton destruction
h the subjects of that nation have committed on the property of
citizens of the United States.

hat in a treaty of peace it is the wish of Congress not to be bound
ny public engagements to admit British subjects to any of the
ts or privileges of citizens of the United States, but at all times to
t liberty to grant or refuse such favors according as the public in-
st and honor may dictate, and that it is their determination not to
it them to a full equality in this respect with the subjects of his most
stian majesty unless such a concession should be deemed by the
minister preferable to a continuance of the war on that account.

Franklin to J. Adams.*

PASSY, *October* 20, 1780.

R: Understanding that in case of Mr. Laurens' absence you are
ged with the affair of procuring a loan in Holland, I think it right
quaint you that by a letter from Mr. Jay of the 12th instant, from
rid, we are informed that the King of Spain has been so good as to
his guaranty for the payment of the interest and principal of a
of money for the use of the United States. M. Grand thinks that
nsiderable use can be made here of that guaranty on account of
onsiderable loan M. Necker is about to make, but that possibly it

* 7 J. Adams' Works, 318.

may have weight in Holland. Orders will be sent to the Spanish ambassador here by the next post respecting this matter. I regret much the taking of Mr. Laurens. His son, I understand, sailed a fortnight after him for France, but has not yet arrived. The *Ariel* has been at sea, but meeting with a terrible storm, which carried away all her masts, has returned into port to refit.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

B. FRANKLIN.

P. S.—By a former letter from Mr. Jay I find the sum to be $150,000 for which the King of Spain would be answerable, payable in the space of three years.

J. Adams to Capellen.*

AMSTERDAM, *October* 22, 1780.

SIR: I have this day received the letter which you did me the honor to write me on the 16th instant.† I beg you, sir, to accept my sincere thanks for this instance of your attention to the United States of America. I have long desired the honor of an acquaintance with the Baron van der Capellen, whose virtuous attachment to the rights of mankind and to the cause of America, as founded on the clearest principles, has been long known and admired in America.

I beg leave to communicate to you in confidence, as I have done to a very few as yet in this place, that although Mr. Laurens was destined to this country on an important negotiation for the United States, yet the Congress, lest an accident might happen to Mr. Laurens, have been pleased to send to me a commission in part at least of the same import, although I had before a commission for another service. I have kept my commission secret, in hopes of Mr. Laurens' arrival. But all hopes of this, by the barbarous severity of the English, are now at an end, and I must set myself in earnest about the business of my commission.

I have not yet settled the conditions, nor determined upon a house. I should be happy, sir, to have your advice in respect to both.

You give me great pleasure by informing me that a relation of yours has discovered an inclination to place 20,000 florins in the American funds. As soon as a house is chosen and the terms fixed I shall with pleasure accept the offer.

I shall give great attention, sir, to the gentlemen you are so good as to recommend to me.

Mr. Trumbull is, as I believe, in London. He will doubtless pay his respects to you when he comes this way.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

---

* 7 J. Adams' Works, 319. † Not found.

J. Adams to Franklin.*

AMSTERDAM, *October* 24, 1780.

IR: I have this moment the honor of your letter of the 20th of this
nth, and it is as cold water to a thirsty soul. I have been busily
ployed in making inquiries, in forming acquaintances, and in taking
ice. In hopes of Mr. Laurens' arrival, and wishing him to judge for
self, I have not decided upon some questions that necessarily arise.
n not able to promise anything, but I am led to hope for something.
contents of Mr. Jay's letters will certainly be of great weight
use. I am assured of the good-will of a number of very worthy
considerable people, and that they will endeavor to assist a loan.
et me entreat your excellency to communicate to me everything
may further learn respecting the benevolent intentions of the
rt of Madrid respecting this matter. I will do myself the honor to
uaint you with the progress I make. I was before in hopes of as-
ing you somewhat, and your letter has raised these hopes a great
l, for the English credit certainly staggers here a little.

he treatment of Mr. Laurens is truly affecting. It will make a deep
lasting impression on the minds of the Americans; but this will
be a present relief to him. You are, no doubt, minutely informed
is ill-usage. Can anything be done in Europe for his comfort or
ef?

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.†

AMSTERDAM, *October* 24, 1780.

IR: I have received several letters from London concerning Mr.
rens. It is certain that he has been treated with great insolence
the populace in his journey from Dartmouth to London, and that
s confined to a mean apartment in the Tower, denied the use of pen
ink, and none of his friends have been able to obtain leave to visit
excepting his son and Mr. Manning, and these positively limited
alf an hour. He is ill of a lax, much emaciated, and very invective
inst the authors of his ill-usage. I saw last night a letter from Mr.
ming himself, so that there is no doubt of the truth of this account.
s deliberate, this studied manifestation to all the world of their con-
pt and hatred of all America, and of their final determination to
sue this war to the last extremity, can not be misunderstood. The
or, the dignity, the essential interests, and the absolute safety of

* 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 263; 7 J. Adams' Works, 320.
† MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 263, with verbal changes.

America require that Congress should take some notice of this event. I presume not to propose the measures that might be taken, because Congress are in a much better situation to judge.

I have waited in hopes of Mr. Laurens' arrival, but now all hopes of it are extinguished. I must fix upon a house, and settle the conditions, in pursuance of my commission. No time has been lost; it has all been industriously spent in forming acquaintances, making inquiries, and taking advice of such characters as it is proper to consult. The present state of things affords no hopes but from a particular order of men. These I have endeavored to gain, without giving offense to any others, and I am not without hopes of obtaining something, though I much fear it will be short of the expectations of Congress. I am not at liberty as yet to mention names; hereafter they will be known. I can not with too much earnestness recommend it to Congress to take measures, if possible, to send some cargoes of produce to Amsterdam or St. Eustatia for the purpose of paying interest; a little of this would have a great effect.

I ought not to conclude without repeating my opinion that a commission to some gentleman of minister plenipotentiary is absolutely necessary.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

Jay to Franklin.*

MADRID, *October* 25, 1780.

DEAR SIR: Your very agreeable and friendly letters I have received and shall take an early opportunity of answering fully. I have no reason as yet to think a loan here will be practicable. Bills on me arrive daily. Be pleased to send me a credit for residue of our salaries. America rises in the general estimation here.

Tell Mr. Deane I have received four of his letters and written three to him. He may expect to hear from me again soon.

Prince Massarano sets out for France early in the morning. I had intended to devote this afternoon and evening to writing by him, but have been prevented by company. It is now late at night and can see little. I am much indebted to the politeness of this nobleman, and except at his table have eaten no Spanish bread that I have not paid for since my arrival in this city. This circumstance will, I flatter myself, recommend him to your particular attention, which I have reason to think would be very acceptable, from the respect and esteem which he frequently expresses for you. The Duke of Crillon, who accompanies the prince, has also been polite to us, and I fancy they will both receive pleasure from finding me sensible of their attentions. The princess ap-

* MSS. Dep. of State.

ars to me to have much merit. I regret her absence, and the more perhaps as it will not be supplied. She is a lady of much observa- n and discernment. God bless you, my dear sir.

I am, etc.,

JOHN JAY.

Jay to Lovell.*

MADRID, *October* 27, 1780.

DEAR SIR: Your letter of the 11th July gave me much pleasure. ere is a degree of ease and cordiality in it which as a mere letter of siness it did not require I am the more obliged to you for.

t is true that I might write to Congress very often, indeed by every ssel, and there are many of them. But how are my letters to get to seaside? By the post? They would be *all* inspected, and many pressed. There is scarce a man in any of the ports, except Mr. Har- on, at Cadiz, with whom I would trust them; so that if under different rers I should get them there the danger would not end. To write en, and write nothing material, would be useless; and when you see public letter by this opportunity you will perceive that, to be well derstood, I must write a great deal.

would throw stones, too, with all my heart if I thought they would only the committee without injuring the members of it. Till now I ve received but one letter from them, and that not worth a farthing, ough it conveyed a draft for one hundred thousand pounds sterling the bank of Hope.

One good private correspondent would be worth twenty standing mmittees, made of the wisest heads in America, for the purpose of elligence. What with clever wives, or pretty girls, or pleasant lks, or too tired, or too busy, or do you do it, very little is done, ch postponed, and more neglected. If you, who are naturally indus- ous and love your country, would frequently take up your pen and your bers and tell me how the wheel of politics runs and what measures s from time to time turning out, I should be better informed and ngress better served. I now get more intelligence of your affairs m the French ambassador than from all the members of Congress t together.

had written thus far when I received a letter from M. Le Couteulx, Cadiz, enclosing a letter of the 16th September, written at St. Ilde- nso from me to Congress. It had been enclosed in one to Mr. Har- on, and that again put under cover to M. Le Couteulx, and under se two covers it was put into the post-office. Now mark its fate. e director of the post-office at Cadiz showed it to M. Le Couteulx ked and stripped of its two covers, of which he made no mention.

---

*MSS. Dep. of State; 4 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 221, with many changes; 2 Jay's e, 57; 1 Corr. and Pub. Papers of John Jay, 440.

He said it came from Bayonne, but M. Le Couteulx, knowing my handwriting, paid the postage, and returned it to me. This is only one among many instances of the fate to which my letters are subjected. To avoid it I must now be at the expense of sending Colonel Livingston to the seaside with my despatches.

When at Cadiz I heard some of our countrymen, who had been prisoners at Lisbon, speak handsomely of M. Dohrmer. They mentioned his having supplied them with necessaries, but at the same time told me that he had been employed for the purpose by Dr. Franklin. Hence it happened that I declined mentioning his usefulness to Congress. I considered him as an agent of Dr. Franklin, who did his duty faithfully, and thought it would be more proper for him to recommend his services to the notice of Congress than for me.

I am, dear sir, etc.,

JOHN JAY.

Marbois to the President of Congress.*

[Translation.]

PHILADELPHIA, *October* 27, 1780.

SIR: In obedience to an order which the captain of the store-ships in this port has just received, he will sail for Boston or Rhode Island on Monday or Tuesday next. Will your excellency have the kindness to inform me if he can be convoyed to the mouth of the Delaware, or to any other distance, by one of the Continental frigates?

I have the honor to be, etc.,

MARBOIS.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.†

AMSTERDAM, *October* 27, 1780.

SIR: It seems to be now certain that some of Mr. Laurens' papers were taken with him.

There have been sent to his most serene highness the Prince of Orange copies of letters from M. de Neufville, Mr. Gillon, Mr. Stockton, and Colonel Derrick, and a copy of the plan of a treaty projected between the city of Amsterdam and Mr. William Lee.

The prince was much affected at the sight of these papers, and laid them before their noble and grand mightinesses the States of Holland and West Friesland. One gentleman, at least, was present who was concerned in the transaction with Mr. Lee, who handsomely avowed the measure. The regency of Amsterdam have since given in writing a unanimous avowal of it and of their determination to support it.

---

* 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 706.

† 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 264; 7 J. Adams' Works, 320.

e letters of M. de Neufville and Mr. Gillon are said to be decent and l guarded. So that upon the whole it seems to be rather a fortue event that these papers have been publicly produced. I wish I ld say the same of Mr. Laurens' captivity, but I can not. The or of his imprisonment and the severity of their behavior towards n are not at all abated.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

Lovell to J. Adams.*

PHILADELPHIA, *October* 28, 1780.

SIR: I shall endeavor to write largely to you, but I will not at this ment risk the sailing of the vessel for that purpose. It is reported t Mr. Searle is taken. Our affairs in Holland must, in such case, very bad, as you will not have received any powers for acting instead Mr. Laurens, who is, too, probably taken, and carried to England n Newfoundland. And I also know of other fatalities of my letters.

Your obedient servant,

JAMES LOVELL,
For the Committee of Foreign Affairs.

N. B.—Copies of your commission and instructions for a loan are losed.

Lovell to Franklin.†

PHILADELPHIA, *October* 28, 1780.

SIR: A committee was appointed on the 6th to draft "a letter to our nisters at the courts of Versailles and Madrid, to enforce the instrucns given by Congress to Mr. Jay, by their resolutions of the 4th tant, and so to explain the reasons and principles on which the same founded that they may respectively be enabled to satisfy those rts of the justice and equity of the intentions of Congress."

That committee reported a draft of a letter to Mr. Jay, "and that a y of it be communicated to Dr. Franklin, together with the resolun directing the draft."

There is no member of the committee for foreign affairs attending ngress but myself, nor have the committee had a secretary or a clerk ce T. Paine's resignation. I must entreat you, therefore, sir, to exe the economy of my request that you will transmit to Mr. Jay all papers which happen to reach you directed for him, taking copies such as are left open for your information. I persuade myself you

* MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 265; 7 J. Adams' Works, 321.
† MSS. Dep. of State; 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 125, with verbal changes.

will readily communicate to Mr. Adams what appears so much connected with his commission, though it has not been specially ordered by the report of the committee on the draft.

I am, sir, your most humble servant,

JAMES LOVELL,
For the Committee of Foreign Affairs.

Jay to Franklin.*

MADRID, *October* 30, 1780.

DEAR SIR: The pleasure given me by your letter of the 2d instant may more easily be conceived than expressed. I am greatly obliged by your attention to my embarrassments. In my last on that subject which you received was a copy of my letter to Count de Vergennes, from which it appeared that the sum I should have occasion for would probably be considerable, and far exceed $25,000. Bills to the amount of $100,000 have arrived. A loan can not be effected here. What the court will do is as yet uncertain, and will long continue so. I should have replied to your letter before, but as I daily expected to hear from Count de Vergennes, I waited with a view of mentioning the import to you. The enclosed copy of a note I received from Count Montmorin contains all the advices I have on that head. My situation continues unpleasant, and though my endeavors are not wanting to better it, future events are too uncertain to be relied upon. To be active, prudent, and patient is in my power; but whether I shall reap as well as sow and water, God only knows.

I have often been told of the former supplies, and asked how they were to be reimbursed. My answer has uniformly been, that I knew neither their amount nor terms, and that I wished to be furnished with an account of both, etc. As yet I have not been able to obtain it.

Some mistake must have given occasion to any of the bills drawn on me being returned without acceptance. The fact is, that though I often delayed (with the consent of the holders), yet I never refused to accept any of them.

I have written several letters to Congress, requesting them to forbear drawing further bills till proper funds should be established for their payment. Mere contingent assurances, or flattering inferences drawn from flattering expressions, ought never to be considered as a sufficient foundation for such serious measures.

Cornwallis, it seems, has cropped some of ——— Gates' laurels; and Mr. Laurens is in the Tower. European politicians will, I suppose, though often deceived in the same way, again think America on her knees in the dust. Had Ternay been supported the campaign would

* 2 Jay's Life, 65; 1 Corr. and Pub. Papers of John Jay, 442, with verbal corrections.

ve had a different termination. Much money and spirit has been sted by this disappointment. Of the latter, indeed, we shall never in want, and I should be happy if the like could be said of the former. e conduct of France towards us has been friendly; and though I not forbear to think she has been too inattentive to this object, gratitude towards her is not impaired by it. I regret it as a mis- tune, not blame it as a designed omission.

wrote to you last week, and now enclose a duplicate of another let- . You may rely on my reimbursing you the advances on account of salaries out of the first remittances I receive.

have often congratulated my country and myself on your being at sent in France. I once expected to have seen you there, and to have fited by the lessons which time and much experience have brought n. Miracles have ceased, and my constitution does not promise gth of days, or I should probably desire you, when you ascend, to p me your mantle. That you may long retain it is one of the prayers of

Your friend and servant,

JOHN JAY.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.*

AMSTERDAM, *October* 31, 1780.

SIR: The British ministry, by the terrible examples of the rioters, ve so intimidated the nation, and by their success in the late elec- ns have so great a majority in Parliament, that they think them- ves secure for seven years, and seem determined to go on with more ror than ever.

The letters from their generals, Clinton, Cornwallis, etc., show they now adopting a new system. These letters are full of panegyrics on the tories and refugees. Gage and the two Howes and Bur- yne made light of these auxiliaries, which made Mr. Galloway their emy, who has been very industrious in exposing their characters. deed, the ministry seem to be wholly governed now by Mr. Galloway, l their generals seem to have adopted the same sentiments. The nsequence is that in America, at least where the British army rules, refugees are cherished. Cornwallis, in his last letter, in which gives an account of his battle with General Gates, assures the nistry that he is determined to make some examples among his pris- ers. But none of these are more decisive proofs of their present tem than their treatment of Mr. Laurens, whom they are holding to that nation in the frightful character of a rebel, knowing that this rd and this idea is enough to inflame them beyond all degrees of son.

t is not only in England and America that they mean to spread a ter- ; they think that they can terrify all nations; this in particular.

---

* MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 265.

They have sent over to his most serene highness the Prince of Orange some copies of letters taken with Mr. Laurens. I can not learn that there are any but from M. de Neufville and Mr. Gillon, who are here. But it is propagated that there are many more, and M. van Berckel and the Baron van der Capellan are named. But I have very good reason to believe that they have not a line of either.

The English are giving out, as is their practice every Fall, that they are determined to send great forces to America. Fourteen regiments are talked of—ten thousand men; but these threats will be executed as usual. Fourteen regiments, if they send them, will not produce four thousand men in America, to repair all their losses in North America and the West Indies.

We have one enemy more pernicious to us than all their army, and that is an opinion which prevails in too many American minds that there is still some justice, some honor, some humanity, and some reason in Great Britain, and that they will open their eyes and make peace. That there are individuals who have these virtues can not be doubted. Rome had many such, even after the *ultimi Romanorum*. But they were so few in comparison to the whole and had so little share in government that they only served by their endeavors to bring things back, to make the nation more miserable.

I am so fully convinced that peace is a great way off, and that we have more cruelty to encounter than ever, that I ought to be explicit to Congress. We shall be forced to wean ourselves from the little remainder of affection and respect for that nation. Nay, even from our curiosity. I can not think it decent that any American should voluntarily set his foot on British ground while we are treated as we are. The practice is too common to step over upon motives of curiosity, pleasure, or business, and I can not but think it ought to be discountenanced.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

Franklin to Samuel Wharton.*

PASSY, *November* 1, 1780.

DEAR SIR: I received your favors of the 14th and 20th past, but have been so continually harassed by the gout as to be unable to write or think. I congratulate you on your miraculous escape; but am extremely concerned at the various accidents that have so long delayed and prevented your happy return to your family, friends, and country. I thank you for the information relating to the passengers arrived from Maryland. I have empowered Commodore Jones to receive their oath

* MSS. Dep. of State.

the State, and then to give them passports under such restrictions as the time of their departure as he may think the public good shall require. I write in much pain, and can only add that I am, dear sir,

Yours, etc.

Luzerne to the President of Congress.*

[Translation.]

PHILADELPHIA, *November* 1, 1780.

SIR: The governors of the West India islands express a wish that Congress would be pleased to take into consideration the various inconveniences resulting from the abuse by the English of the papers which they find on board of the American prizes which fall into their hands. They make use of these papers to enable themselves to commit the most daring actions, and it is the more difficult to prevent them, as they sometimes have subjects of the United States on board, and as the English language is spoken by them in common with our allies.

The undersigned, minister plenipotentiary of his most Christian majesty, has the honor to propose to Congress *that henceforth every captain bound to the French colonies shall sign his own papers in presence of the commissioners of the American admiralty, in order that, on his arrival in the French islands, it may be ascertained whether this signature is the same as that which shall be made by him as captain of the American vessel. It would be of equal use to indorse the signature of the captain on the papers.* If Congress think of any other form equally adapted to fulfill the object desired, the undersigned will endeavor to have it adopted by the governors of the French islands.

LUZERNE.

J. Adams to Franklin.†

AMSTERDAM, *November* 4, 1780.

SIR: M. de Neufville this morning brought me a number of bills of exchange drawn upon Mr. Laurens in the month of July, amounting to seven or eight hundred pounds sterling, and informed me that your excellency had declined becoming responsible for them, and referred him to me. I have inquired of Mr. Searle, who informs me there are about twenty thousand pounds in such bills now on their way. If there were only seven or eight hundred pounds I would accept them for the honor of the United States, and run the venture of being able to pay them by borrowing, or some way or other; but twenty thousand pounds is much beyond my private credit. I have been and am pursu-

---

*5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 706.

†3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 267; 9 Franklin's Works, 513.

ing all those measures to which I am advised by gentlemen in whose judgment I can justify placing confidence, and am not without hopes of succeeding in some measure; but I have not as yet been able to obtain any money, nor any certainty of obtaining any in future. I write this, therefore, to your excellency, that if you could see your way clear to become responsible for these bills for the present I will engage to see them paid with the money I may borrow here, if I borrow enough before the term for their payment expires, or as much of them as I shall be able to borrow; but in this case, if I should not succeed in obtaining the money, your excellency will be answerable. I should be sorry that the credit of the United States should suffer any stain, and would prevent it if I could; but at present it is not in my power.

The successes of the English at the southward, added to the many causes that obstructed our credit in this republic before, some of which it would not be prudent to explain, will render a loan here difficult, but I still hope not quite impracticable.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

Jay to the President of Congress.*

MADRID, *November* 6, 1780.

SIR: The last particular letter I had the honor of writing to your excellency was dated the 26th May, and, with a duplicate, was carried to Cadiz by Mr. Harrison, who sent one by the *Peacock*, Captain Davis, to Boston, and the other by the *General Arnold*, Captain Jenkins, to Alexandria, in Virginia. They both sailed in June last, and the former, I hear, arrived safe after a short passage.

I have since written several letters to your excellency, but as they went to the seaports by the post, none of them contained anything material, except one from St. Ildefonso of the 16th September, advising Congress of the necessity of suspending further drafts on me for the present.

Congress will recollect that my letter of the 26th May contained notes of a conference I had with the minister on the 11th of that month on the subjects of my two former letters to him, the first in answer to his questions and the latter relative to the resolution for drawing bills on me. It may be remembered, also, that in this conference the minister promised me his sentiments in writing in a few days, as well on the subject of the proposed treaty, as on the bills which were daily expected. The first I have not yet received, and it was not before the 7th June that I was favored with the latter.

In this interval there arrived here from England, by the way of Lisbon, an Abbé Hussey. He came to Lisbon in company with Mr. Cum-

* MSS. Dep. of State; 4 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 222, with verbal changes.

rland, one of Lord George Germain's secretaries, who, with his family, rposed, on obtaining permission, to come to Madrid. This priest was own to many, being a pensioner of the Spanish court and formerly the late Prince Massarano's family. Indeed, he took no pains to ıceal himself or his business, which was to obtain permission for his end to proceed on account of the bad health of a daughter. Mr. rmichael watched his motions with success and industry, and was the st who mentioned his arrival to me. He hired lodgings and a ach for Mr. Cumberland, and visited several persons about the court, rticularly M. del Campo, first secretary of the minister.

On the 1st of June I received a card from the minister, desiring to see e at nine o'clock the next evening. I waited upon him accordingly. e following are notes of what passed upon that occasion.

TES OF A CONFERENCE BETWEEN HIS EXCELLENCY THE COUNT DE FLORIDA LANCA AND MR. JAY, IN THE OFFICE OF THE FORMER, AT ARANJUES, 2D JUNE, 780, REDUCED TO WRITING IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE CONFERENCE ENDED, BY IR. CARMICHAEL, WHO WAS PRESENT AT IT.

n consequence of a card received by Mr. Jay yesterday from his excellency the ınt de Florida Blanca, appointing him a meeting at nine this evening, Mr. Jay ited on him at that hour. The conversation commenced on the part of the min- er with polite inquiries for the state of Mr. Jay's health which he said had uced him not to send the notes promised on the former meeting at the time when pointed, as he had been informed that he was indisposed. He attributed to his n frequent ill state of health (a disorder of the nerves, occasioned by his necessary plication to business) the disappointment and delay to which, without intending the business that passed through his hands was sometimes subjected. He then l that on Sunday following, at 11 o'clock in the forenoon, if Mr. Carmichael uld wait on him, he would send Mr. Jay the notes formerly promised him.

He added that his reason for desiring to see him at present proceeded from some- ng mentioned to him by the French ambassador, of which he supposed he was ormed. He recapitulated what he had before mentioned of the king's good faith l favorable disposition towards America, and entered more fully into his conduct the negotiation with Great Britain when the court of Spain proposed a truce be- een that country and the United States, observing, that as the king at that period s determined not to sacrifice our interests, it could not be supposed that now, en at war with Great Britain, his majesty would be less disposed to maintain m. After these reflections and assurances he told Mr. Jay that the person ely from England, by the way of Portugal, was the chaplain of their former em- ssy at London; that he had been there for some time on his private affairs, and l at the same time instructions concerning an exchange of prisoners, which their ferings rendered expedient; that the death of an uncle, a chaplain of the court, l obliged him to return; that an English gentleman and his family had come to sbon with him, under the pretext, or really on account of the ill health of a ughter, to whom the Duke of Dorset was much attached; that the opposition made his friends to the marriage had affected her health, and that his family was de- ous of passing through Spain to Italy. He added that this gentleman was one of rd George Germain's secretaries, and would perhaps have some proposals to make an exchange of prisoners, and possibly others of a different nature, which he ured Mr. Jay should be communicated to him as candidly as he had communicated extravagant scheme presented by Sir J. Dalrymple. He desired Mr. Jay, there- e, to make himself easy on this subject, giving new assurances of the king's strict gard to justice and good faith and of his disposition to assist America.

Mr. Jay begged him to be persuaded of the perfect confidence of America and his own and of their reliance on the good faith, justice, and honor of his Catholic majesty; that he had no other apprehension from the circumstance of Englishmen resorting to this court than that the enemy would on this, as on former occasions, avail themselves of it by endeavoring to alarm and deceive our people.

The Count de Florida Blanca assured Mr. Jay that he would shortly give him such proofs of the king's intentions as would enable him to prevent any bad effects from such misrepresentations and convince America of his majesty's favorable disposition and good faith. After repeating assurances of his full confidence, Mr. Jay mentioned that he had received two bills of exchange, drawn by order of Congress on him, and that he should take no measures on that subject, as he had had before the honor of telling him, till he consulted his excellency. The count, having asked the amount, and being told that the bills were for between six and seven hundred dollars, told him, smiling, that he might accept them, and he hoped so to arrange matters as in a short time to make him easy on that head. He then said that an expedition had been suggested to him in which the Americans might co-operate, but without entering into particulars he recollected himself, and said he would send the project to Mr. Jay by Mr. Carmichael at the same time he should give him the other papers. The conference ended with mutual compliments.

June 4.—This morning the Chevalier de Burgoing, secretary of the French embassy, waited on Mr. Jay and afterwards on Mr. Carmichael, and told them the ambassador had informed him that the Count de Florida Blanca had received despatches from Versailles which demanded his instant attention, and that therefore he could not see Mr. Carmichael until the fifth at the hour mentioned in the conference of the second. Mr. Jay, however, having received no direct message from the minister, thought it proper for Mr. Carmichael to wait on him at the place and hour appointed. Accordingly he went to the bureau of foreign affairs, and was told, by order of the minister, that he had desired the ambassador to acquaint Mr. Jay that he could not see Mr. Carmichael that day, but desired to see him next Monday at eleven.

June 5.—Mr. Carmichael waited on the minister agreeable to appointment, who, on his entrance, immediately expressed his concern that the arrival of a courier, which informed him of the intentions of the court of Great Britain to expedite the sailing of their grand fleet, had engaged his attention so much as to prevent him from fulfilling his promise of sending the notes mentioned in the former conferences; that he would certainly do it on the Wednesday following, and desired Mr. Carmichael to wait on him that day at the same hour to receive them. He then mentioned an expedition which had been proposed to him from Bilboa, to intercept the homeward-bound ships of the East India Company, by equipping some frigates in America at the expense of his Catholic majesty, desiring Mr. Carmichael to communicate this to Mr. Jay, that he might turn his attention to that object, to enable him to judge of the probability of its success. He touched slightly on the subject of bills of exchange, and on the only difficulty of the treaty, viz, the navigation of the Mississippi, which he said he hoped some middle means might be hit on to obviate. He concluded with saying that he would give his sentiments on that and other subjects to Mr. Jay in writing at the time above mentioned, and hoped that he would believe the delay hitherto proceeded from no other motives than those he had mentioned. Mr. Carmichael assured him that Mr. Jay was too sensible of the importance of his other occupations and of his candor to impute the delay to any other cause, and after other common civilities he withdrew.

WILLIAM CARMICHAEL,
Secretary.

This conversation needs no comment. It promised well. On or about the 19th of June Mr. Cumberland, his wife, and two daughters arrived, appeared publicly, and were openly visited and received by persons of

istinction. But although it was not difficult to know who he was and ith whom he associated, his business and measures continue to this ay mere objects of conjecture, further than he or the minister have ought proper to communicate them.* The impression made by his rrival on the minds of the people is worthy of remark. They supposed is errand to be secret overtures for peace, and as far as I can judge ere very glad of it. There is reason to believe that he favored these onjectures from the first. He has since said publicly that he was au-orized to offer Spain Gibraltar and other advantageous terms.

On the 7th June I received from the minister his notes on the subject f aids. It is in these words:

[Translation.]

ARANJUES, *June* 7, 1780.

His Catholic majesty would be very glad to be able to furnish at the present crisis unds for the payment of the one hundred thousand pounds sterling proposed to be ldressed to Mr. Jay, in order to evince the concern which the king takes in the rosperity and relief of the United States of North America, as well as in the per-onal satisfaction of the above-mentioned gentleman. But the demands of the pres-nt war, and the great difficulty there would be to transport hither the treasures of he king's possessions in that part of the world, render it impracticable to furnish ere the said sum in specie as could be wished. Some expedient, however, may be ound to remedy this inconvenience. For example, if the owners of the bills of ex-hange would be content with the security or responsibility of his Catholic majesty o pay the sum already mentioned in the term of two years, the king will readily gree to such an arrangement, even if it shall be found necessary to add a moderate nterest. This security given by such a sovereign as the King of Spain would induce he owners of those bills of exchange and the creditors of Congress to consent to a easure so advantageous, and would equally serve to sustain the credit and good ith of the same body.

Mr. Jay, therefore, is entreated to reflect on the idea just stated to him, and in nswer to inform us what measure he thinks suitable to this scheme, in order that ey may be laid before the king and his orders taken thereon. If the expedient in uestion should be adopted, it will at the same time be necessary to take measures in oncert to reimburse to the king this considerable sum, as well as others already ex-ended in favor of the United States. The first idea which offers for reciprocal con-enience is that Congress should engage to build without delay some handsome frig-tes and other smaller vessels of war, fixing the price of each and the time when they ill be finished.

This point once settled, it will be proper immediately to take measures to equip ese vessels as fast as they are ready; to point out what articles will be necessary o send from Spain for this purpose, and in what port they will have notice to receive em. After this it is expedient to be informed whether the Americans themselves ill engage to come to the ports of Bilboa, St. Ander, Ferrol, or Cadiz for the said rticles, which they will find ready, and afterwards transport them in their own essels of war or letters of marque to America. On this supposition it is conjectured at it would be easy to find hands enough in America to man these new-built ves-ls, which will sail under Spanish colors. There are certainly among the subjects of

* A full account of Mr. Cumberland's proceedings in Spain may be found in his emoirs, published many years afterwards.—SPARKS.

According to these memoirs he was a secret confidential agent of the British minis-y, who afterward were inclined to disown him and did not pay his debts.

the said United States many who have made the voyage and are acquainted with the usual route of the ships of the English East India Company, and who know perfectly well the ports and places at which they stop. This fact established, it is proposed to equip in the ports of the United States four good frigates and some other lighter vessels with the effects which shall be sent from hence on account of Spain. This small squadron under Spanish colors shall be employed to intercept the convoys of the said company by cruising in the proper latitudes. The measures just pointed out appear to be the most proper to reimburse in some shape the expenses already incurred by his Catholic majesty and to answer for such security as have been proposed to be given in this memoir; it being always understood that a share of the prizes taken from the English by this small squadron shall be given to the crews, and even to Congress, in proportion to the assistance which they shall furnish for the equipment of the vessels.

A speedy and decisive answer on all the points here enumerated is requested, and Mr. Jay is too enlightened not to perceive that the common cause is interested therein.

To this paper, which deserves much attention, I returned the following answer:

ARANJUES, *June* 9, 1780.

SIR: The propositions which your excellency did me the honor to send on the 7th instant have been considered with all the attention which their great importance demands.

The evidence they contain of his majesty's friendly disposition towards the United States will, I am persuaded, make correspondent impressions on the citizens of America; and permit me to assure you that his majesty's desire of contributing to my personal satisfaction by measures conducive to the welfare of my country has excited my warmest acknowledgments and attachment.

The enlarged ideas my constituents entertain of the power, wealth, and resources of Spain are equal to those they have imbibed of the wisdom and probity of his Catholic majesty and of that noble and generous system of policy which has induced him to patronize their cause and by completing their separation from Great Britain effectually to disarm the latter. Such wise and liberal designs, followed by such great and extensive consequences, would add a bright page to the annals of a reign already signalized by important events. It is, therefore, with deep regret that Congress would receive information that the aid they solicit, small when compared with their ideas of the resources of Spain, has been rendered impracticable by the expenses of a war which, on the part of Spain, is of a recent date. Nor will their disappointment be less than their regret when they find their credit diminished by the failure of a measure from the success of which they expected to raise it.

The kind disposition of his majesty to become responsible at the expiration of two years for the amount of the bills in question, and that even with interest, is a proof of his goodness, by which I am confident the United States will consider themselves greatly obliged. But when it is considered that bills of exchange, immediately on being drawn and sold, become a medium in commerce and pass through various hands in satisfaction of various mercantile contracts; that the drawer and every indorser become responsible for their credit at every transfer, and that the object of the merchants last holding the bills, as well as of all other merchants, is money in hand or actively employed in trade, and not money lying still at an interest greatly inferior to the usual profits to be gained in commerce;—I say, on considering these things, it appears to me that although no objection can be made to the good faith of his majesty, which is acknowledged by all the world, yet that the last holders of the bills will prefer recovering the amount of them, with the usual damages on protests, to delay of payment for two years with interest.

Should these bills, therefore, meet with this fate, his majesty will readily perceive its influence on the credit, operations, and feelings of the United States; on the common cause; on the hopes and spirits of the enemy. The necessity of prudence which detains his majesty's treasure in his American dominions is an unfortunate circumstance at a time when it might be so usefully employed. There is, nevertheless, room to hope that the great superiority of the allied fleets and armaments in the American seas will, in the course of a year or eighteen months, render its transportation safe and easy, and that the greater part of it may arrive before the bills in question would become payable. This will appear more probable when the time necessary to sell these bills, and the time which will be consumed in their passage from America, and the time which will be employed in their journey from different ports of Europe to this place, are all added to the half a year which is allotted for the payment of them after they have been presented. I am authorized and ready to engage and pledge the faith of the United States for the punctual repayment, with interest, and within a reasonable term, of any sums of money which his majesty may be so kind as to lend them.

As to the aids heretofore supplied to the United States, I am without information relative to the precise terms on which they were furnished, as well as their amount. When I left Congress they appeared to me not to possess full and positive intelligence on these points. I ascribe this not to omissions in their commissioner who then had the direction of these affairs, but to those miscarriages and accidents to which the communication of intelligence to a distant country is liable in time of war. If it should appear proper to your excellency in order that I may be furnished with an accurate and full statement of these transactions, I will do myself the honor of transmitting them immediately to Congress; and as they happened prior to my appointment, I shall request particular instructions on the subject.

With respect to the plan proposed for the repayment of such sums as Spain may lend to the United States, viz, by the latter furnishing the former with frigates, etc., I beg leave to submit the following remarks to your excellency's consideration: In the United States there are timber, iron, masts, ship wrights, pitch, tar, and turpentine, and Spain can furnish the other requisites. But neither the timber, the iron, the masts, nor the other articles can be procured without money. The Congress are in great want of money for the immediate purposes of self-defense, for the maintenance of their armies and vessels of war, and for all the other expenses incident to military operations. The Congress, pressed by their necessities, have emitted bills of credit, till the depreciation of them forbids further emissions. They have made loans from their great and good ally, and in aid of the system of gaining supplies by taxation and domestic loans they have, for the reasons which I have already had the honor of explaining to your excellency, drawn upon me the bills before mentioned. These bills will be sold in the United States for paper money, and that money will be immediately wanted for the purposes I have enumerated. If, therefore, this money was to be turned into frigates, the obvious ends of drawing those bills would not be attained. The war against the United States has raged without intermission for six years already, and it will not be in their power to pay their debts during its further continuance, nor until the return of peace and uninterrupted commerce shall furnish them with the means of doing it.

That excellent frigates and other vessels may be built in America cheaper than in Europe I am persuaded. And I know that Congress will cheerfully give every aid in their power to facilitate the execution of any plan of that kind which his majesty may adopt; but sir, their necessities will not permit them to supply money to those purposes, and I should deceive your excellency with delusive expectations were I to lead you to think otherwise. I would rather that the United States should be without money than without good faith; and therefore neither my own principles of action nor the respect due to his majesty and reputation of my country will ever suffer me (if my authority extended so far) to enter into any contracts which I had not the highest reason to believe would be fully, fairly, and punctually performed on

the part of my constituents. Nor, in case his majesty should think proper to cause frigates to be built in America, can I encourage your excellency to expect that they could be easily manned there for cruises. The fact is that the American frigates often find difficulties in completing their complements, principally because the seamen prefer going in privateers, which are numerous, and too useful to be discouraged.

The design of preparing an armament to intercept the English East Indiamen appears to me very judicious. The enemy draw their resources from commerce; to annoy the one, therefore, is to injure the other. Before the present war there were several, but not a great many, Americans well acquainted with the route of the East Indiamen. But whether any number of these men could now be secretly collected is uncertain; for if, by a particular selection of and inquiry for them, the enemy should become apprised of the design, they would naturally take measures to frustrate it. For my part I should suppose that many of these men are not necessary, and that the proper number may be had from France, if not from America.

The idea of the United States co-operating in the execution of this plan is flattering and the terms proposed generous; but so far as this co-operation will depend on the building of frigates there as proposed it can not be effected from their want of money. Whether the American frigates could be employed in such an enterprise, that is, whether the services for which they may be already destined will admit of it, are, with other similar circumstances, necessary to be known before that question could possibly be answered. The distance from America, and the length of time necessary to ask for and receive information and instructions from thence are such, that it would probably be more expedient that engagements for these purposes should be discussed and concluded there than here. The circumstances of the United States, while invaded, will be more fluctuating than those of Spain, and measures in which they might conveniently embark at one period may shortly after be rendered impracticable by the vicissitudes of war. It is further to be observed, that a people, rising amidst such terrible struggles, with an extensive country to defend, and that country invaded, and, as it were, on fire in several places at once, are not in good condition for foreign enterprises; but, on the contrary, that it must generally be their interest, and of course their policy, to keep their forces and strength at home till the expulsion of their enemies shall afford them leisure and opportunities for distant and offensive operations.

Whenever this period shall arrive, his majesty may be assured that the United States will not remain idle, but that, impelled by resentments too deep and too just to be transitory, as well as by unshaken attachments to their friends, they will persevere with firmness and constancy in the common cause, and cheerfully unite their efforts with those of France and Spain in compelling the common enemy to accept of reasonable terms of peace. I can also with great confidence assure your excellency that the United States will be happy in every opportunity which may offer during the war of joining their arms to those of Spain, and in co-operating with them in any expeditions which circumstances may render expedient against the Floridas or other objects. The Americans would most cheerfully fight by the side of the Spaniards, and, by spilling their blood in the same cause and on the same occasion, convince them of their ardent desire to become their faithful friends and steadfast allies.

I can not prevail upon myself to conclude without expressing to your excellency my apprehension of the anxiety and painful concern with which Congress would receive intelligence of the failure of their bills, and especially after the expectations they have been induced to conceive of the successful issue of their affairs here. What conclusions the enemy would draw from the inability of Spain to advance the sum in question, even to men actually in arms against Great Britain, I forbear to mention; nor would it become me to point out the several evil consequences flowing from such an event to those who enjoy from nature and experience more discernment than I am blessed with.

I still flatter myself that some expedients may be devised to surmount the present difficulties, and that the harvest of laurels now ripening for his majesty in America will not be permitted to wither for want of watering.

Influenced by this hope, I shall delay transmitting any intelligence respecting this matter to Congress till your excellency shall be pleased to communicate to me his majesty's further pleasure on the subject.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN JAY.

Your excellency will doubtless observe that this answer does not comprehend all the objections to which the minister's plan is liable, such, for instance, as the proposal that the vessels proposed to be built in America, with the money of America and to be navigated by Americans, should sail under *Spanish colors, etc.* I thought it most prudent to avoid taking notice of these and similar circumstances, lest objections which might be ascribed to pride as well as reason might lose their force in that supposition, and instead of convincing serve only to irritate.

Nothing further passed between the minister and myself, except a message or two respecting each other's health, until the 19th day of June, when I sent him the following card:

Mr. Jay presents his respectful compliments to his excellency the Count de Florida Blanca, and takes the liberty of enclosing the copy of a note he has just received respecting a bill drawn upon him for three hundred and thirty-three dollars. From this his excellency will perceive the painful situation Mr. Jay is in. He forbears making any reflections on it, being persuaded that his excellency's wisdom and sensibility nder re them unnecessary.

MADRID, *June* 19, 1780.

On the 20th instant I received the following answer:

[Translation.]

The Count de Florida Blanca will have no difficulty in paying the bill of three hundred and thirty-three dollars mentioned in Mr. Jay's note of yesterday, both on account of its small value, and in consequence of what he had the honor to offer him at their last conference; but he can not forbear observing to Mr. Jay that it will be impossible to show the same complaisance for other bills without consulting the pleasure of the king.

The means hitherto proposed not having been considered as agreeable to Congress, it has become necessary to seek for others, and Mr. Jay will do well to think seriously on this subject, and communicate to the Count de Florida Blanca whatever his wisdom and information may suggest to him.

This looked dry, and indicated a degree of irritation, though it held up the idea of further means.

I replied to it on the 22d of June as follows:

MADRID, *June* 22, 1780.

SIR: I received the note your excellency did me the honor to write on the 20th instant, and I take the earliest opportunity of expressing my thanks for your excellency's permission to accept the bills mentioned in it, which I have accordingly done.

Agreeably to your excellency's recommendation in the first conference, I have

turned my thoughts very seriously to the objects which were the subjects of it, relative to the bills drawn upon me; they were two.

First. The means of paying these bills.

Second. The proposed contract with America for light vessels, etc.

With respect to the first, it appeared to me that the principal difficulty was removed by your excellency's informing me "*that at the end of the present year it would be in your power to advance twenty-five, thirty, or forty thousand pounds sterling.*" Hence I inferred that as much time would be taken up in the sale, negotiation, and transmission of those bills, and as so long a space as six months was assigned for their payment after being presented, that the sums which it would be in your excellency's power to advance at the end of the year would probably be equal to the amount of the bills which would then become payable; and that in the mean time such further means might be provided as would obviate difficulties with respect to those that might afterwards become due. When I reflected that I was a stranger to the resources of Spain, and that your excellency's acknowledged abilities comprehended all the objects and combinations necessary in determining what supplies they were capable of affording and the manner and means most proper for the purpose, it appeared to me in the light of presumption to hazard to your excellency any propositions on the subject.

Second. On considering the proposed contract, it became important to distinguish between the building these vessels with the money of the United States or with that of Spain. The latter was very practicable, and I gave your excellency that opinion in my letter of the 9th instant. The former, on the contrary, appeared to me not to be within the power of the United States, and candor obliged me to make this known to your excellency in the same letter.

I knew it to be impossible for Congress, consistent with good faith, to contract that, notwithstanding their great want of money, the injuries of a six years' war, and their being actually invaded, they would repay immediately the moneys lent them, either in ships or otherwise. It is not uncommon for ancient and opulent nations to find it necessary to borrow money in time of war, but I believe it very seldom happens that they find it convenient to pay those debts till the return of peace. If this be the case with powerful and long-established nations, more can not be expected from a young nation, brought forth by oppression, and rising amidst every species of violence and devastation which fire, sword, and malice can furnish for their destruction.

If attentive only to obtaining payment of these bills, and thereby relieving my country from the complicated evils which must result from their being protested, I had entered into proposed engagements for immediate repayment, by building vessels, etc.—if I had done this, notwithstanding a full conviction that the contract so made could not be fulfilled, my conduct, however convenient in its immediate consequences, would have been highly reprehensible. This reflection, therefore, will I hope convince your excellency of the purity of my intentions, and induce you to ascribe my objections to the contract to want of ability, and not to want of inclination in the United States to perform it. No consideration will ever prevail upon me to practise deception, and I am happy in a persuasion that although truths may sometimes not please, yet that when delivered with decency and respect they will never offend either his majesty or your excellency.

Believe me, sir, the United States will not be able to pay their debts during the war, and therefore any plan whatever calculated on a contrary position must be fruitless. I am ready to pledge their faith for repaying to his majesty, within a reasonable term after the war and with a reasonable interest, any sums he may be so kind as to lend them. What more can I offer? What more can they do? If there be any services they can do his majesty consistent with their safety and defense they are ready and will be happy to render them. They respect the king and the nation, and at the very time they are requesting his aid they are soliciting to be united to him by bonds of perpetual amity and alliance. Against his enemies as well as their own they are now in arms; and the supplies they ask are not for the purpose of lux-

or aggrandizement, but for the sole and express purpose of annoying those ene-
s, and enabling France, Spain, and themselves to obtain a peace honorable and
antageous to each.

f his majesty's kind disposition towards them they had received not only profes-
ns but proofs. Hence, they became inspired not only with gratitude, but with
fidence in his friendship. Impelled by this confidence, and a particular concur-
ce of exigencies already explained to your excellency, they drew the bills in ques-
n. The issue of this measure will be highly critical, and followed by a train of
sequences very important and extensive. The single circumstance of your ex-
ency having permitted me to accept the first of these bills will be considered by
enemies as an unfortunate omen. By predicting from it further aids, their ideas
the resources of Spain and the resistance of America will naturally be raised, and
r hopes of subduing the one or reducing the power of the other will naturally
diminished. They will impute these aids to a plan of the house of Bourbon,
ely concerted and firmly persisted in to secure themselves and all Europe against
ambition of Britain by completing the division of her empire, and they will
se to flatter themselves that America thus aided will become destitute of resources
arry on the war. On the other hand, America will derive fresh vigor from this
k of friendship, and their attachment to his majesty become proportionably more
ng. By mutual good offices friendship between nations, as between individuals,
nly to be established; and it is always a happy circumstance when it subsists be-
en those whom nature has placed contiguous to each other. But your excellency's
e is of too great importance to be engaged by such obvious reflections.

ermit me, sir, to indulge the pleasing expectation of being enabled to inform Con-
ss that his majesty's magnanimity and friendship have prompted him, though in-
venient to his own affairs, to secure the credit of their bills; and I am persuaded
t the benevolence of your excellency's disposition will be gratified in being in-
mental in a measure which would make such agreeable impressions on the hearts
minds of so great a number of steadfast friends to the Spanish monarchy.

I have the honor to be, sir, etc.,

JOHN JAY.

As this letter was, among other things, designed to establish the ex-
tations and encouragement given me by the minister as to money in
last conference, by obliging him either to deny them against the
th, or admit them at least by his silence, I desired Mr. Carmichael to
iver it with his own hands, which he accordingly did. It still re-
ins unanswered.

Your excellency will be at no loss to perceive that this was an im-
per season for pushing on the treaty, and that it would have been
dent to have given poignancy to the minister's feelings for the loss
his frigates and the trouble of our bills, by disputes about the Mis-
sippi, etc. I therefore did not remind him of the notes he had prom-
l, nor indeed anything at all about the matter.

About this time I met with a printed copy of an act of the State of
nnecticut, reciting and adopting the resolutions of Congress of the
h of March last respecting the former and new paper emissions. This
s the first advice I had of those resolutions. The promise of annual
erest in Europe appeared to me to be a hardy measure, though, in my
nion, the weakest side of the plan.

Finding the minister's heart and imagination much attached to favorite idea of getting American frigates at the expense of the Un States, I gave him the following hint:

MADRID, *June* 28, 178

SIR: I have the honor of transmitting to your excellency, herewith enclosed, a of an act of the State of Connecticut just come to hand, in which are recited cer resolutions of Congress passed the 18th of March last.

These resolutions are calculated to put the American finances on a permanent ing. They direct, among other things, that bills be issued, redeemable in specie, interest, at the expiration of six years. The interest to be paid at the redemptio the bills, or at the election of the holder annually, at the American loan office sterling bills of exchange on the commissioners in Europe.

Your excellency will perceive that when this plan, so well concerted, shall be executed it will furnish the United States with resources equal to all the exige of the war, and probably enable them to supply his Catholic majesty with vessels,

I take the liberty, therefore, of submitting to your excellency's considera whether it would not be for the benefit of both nations that his majesty, on the hand, should engage his responsibility for the credit of a certain proportion of sum so to be emitted; and that the United States, on the other hand, should not pledge their faith to indemnify his majesty, but also furnish him with certain aid vessels, etc.

If your excellency should think this hint worthy of your attention, it will be to improve it and adjust the particulars.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN JA

This letter was accompanied with the following one, on the sub of some more bills that had just arrived:

Mr. Jay presents his respectful compliments to his excellency the Count de Fl Blanca, and has the honor of informing him that he has been called upon to ac bills to the amount of between ten and eleven thousand dollars; that the far gre part of them belong to Messrs. Joyce, of this city, who have agreed to wait fo answer until Monday next.

Mr. Jay exceedingly regrets his being obliged to give his excellency so much t ble, but still flatters himself that when his excellency considers it as his duty w imposes that necessity upon him his goodness will excuse it.

MADRID, *June* 28, 1780.

I ought also to add that I had sent to the count a representation the subject of a very high-handed stretch of power in the Governo Teneriffe towards a prize carried there by some Americans. On next day I received the following answer to these three papers:

[Translation.]

ARANJUES, *June* 29, 178

The Count de Florida Blanca has had the honor of the three last letters which Jay has been pleased to write him.

The first relates to a privateer detained in the Canaries. On this point he can nothing until he has obtained some further information thereon.

The second respects some new bills of exchange just presented by Messrs. Joy the amount of between ten and eleven thousand dollars. Nor can the count gi positive answer hereon without first taking the orders of the king, his master,

ing a meeting with the other ministers, and some of these having already gone to
rid, a determination can not be immediately had, which renders it necessary for
Jay to require Messrs. Joyce to wait some days longer for the answer in question.
he third contains a project of an arrangement by which his majesty should oblige
self for his responsibility for certain sums in favor of Congress, and they, on their
, for the indemnification of the said sums at a certain period, by furnishing some
els, etc. Mr. Jay is therefore entreated to draw out a more clear and precise plan
his subject, noting therein the sum to which the responsibility of the king should
nd, and on which they may converse at their first interview.
the mean while the count has the honor of assuring him of the sincerity of his
em and attachment.

Congress will observe that the minister still kept up the idea of an in-
ference in favor of these bills. On the 3d of July, the Count having
noved to Madrid, he wrote me a note expressing the same idea. It is
these words:

[Translation.]

he Count de Florida Blanca presents his compliments to Mr. Jay, and prays to be
rmed when the last bills of exchange, which he mentioned the other day as being
he hands of Messrs. Joyce, and amounting to about ten or eleven thousand dol-
, will become payable.

T THE PALACE, *July* 3, 1780.

Thus things were apparently in good train when the news of the loss
Charleston became credible. The effect of it was as visible the next
as that of a hard night's frost on young leaves.
requested a conference with the minister, and had one on the even-
of the 5th of July. The following are notes of it:

MADRID, *July* 5, 1780.

r. Jay waited on the Count de Florida Blanca agreeably to an appointment made
he latter to meet at his house at 8.30 this evening.
fter the usual compliments, the bad news relative to the surrender of Charleston,
received, became the topic of conversation. The Count mentioned the channels
ough which he had received it, viz, by an express despatched by the Spanish am-
sador at Lisbon, in consequence of intelligence which Governor Johnson had re-
ed and published in that city, and by letters from the Count d'Aranda, with the
ount printed at London of the affair. He expressed his sorrow on the occasion,
observed that the Count d'Aranda flattered him that the arrival of the Chevalier
Ternay in that part of the world would totally change the face of affairs, particu-
y as there would be eight vessels of the line and more than five thousand troops,
ead of three thousand, and three vessels of the line which he had been informed
e demanded by General Washington.
He seemed to think it strange that the place had not been better defended, and
t more vigorous measures had not been taken to impede the enemy's progress, and
erved, that if the town was not in a condition to stand a siege it would have been
er to have withdrawn the troops and stores and reserved them for the defense of
country. Mr. Jay replied, that probably when all circumstances relative to this
ir were known, there might be reasons which would account for the conduct of
Americans on this occasion; to the truth of which remark the Count appeared to
nt. He then mentioned the death of M. Miralles, and regretted his loss at this
e. He said he had recommended to his majesty a person to succeed him, whom
knew, that spoke English, whom he expected soon, and to whom he would explain

his ideas on the subject of the bills and on other matters touching which Mr. had written to him, and who would confer also with Mr. Jay on those subjects.

Mr. Jay mentioned that if it was agreeable to his excellency to permit M. Del Ca (a confidential secretary of the Count, who speaks English, and who translate the letters to and from the Count) to be present, he should be able to explai sentiments more fully and clearly. Though the Count did not object to this prop he appeared disinclined to it, and said that with the assistance of Mr. Carmic then present, they could understand each other very well.

He then proceeded to speak of the bills of exchange in the possession of the Me Joyce, and seemed to be surprised that that house should be possessed of so ma them. He advised Mr. Jay to be cautious of those gentlemen, saying that they as much English in their hearts as the ministry of that country; that he had k them long; that he thought their conduct extraordinary in being so urgent fo acceptance of these bills. Mr. Jay then informed his excellency that he had those gentlemen a visit in order to obtain further time, and that they had conse to wait until Monday next. The Count mentioned a fortnight or three weeks as essary, in order that he might have an opportunity of seeing the person he had for and making some arrangements with him. He said that it would be more a able to his majesty to pay those bills at Cadiz, Bilboa, or Amsterdam, than lamented the precipitancy with which Congress had entered into this measure, ing that if they had previously addressed the king on the subject ways and m might have been found either to transport from their possessions in America s for the service of Congress, or to have enabled them to have drawn bills of exch at a shorter sight, which would have prevented the loss of one-third of the mon which Congress had subjected themselves by the terms on which the present were sold. Mr. Jay assured his excellency that by letters he had received America, from members of Congress and others, he was informed that the terms judged so unfavorable to the buyers, that the bills drawn on him sold heavily that circumstance solely, and not from any doubt of their credit and payment.

This did not, however, appear to convince his excellency, who spoke much o deranged state of our finances and credit, of the advantages taken of Congre merchants and others, who availed themselves of that circumstance, which he c cruel extortions, frequently expressing the king's wishes and his own to render A ica all the service in their power in this crisis of their affairs, but observed th was impossible to obtain much money in Europe while France, England, and S were making use of every resource to obtain it for the enormous expenses of the and while the channel through which the European merchants received suppl specie was stopped, viz, the arrival of the usual quantity from America. Th duced him to mention the arrival at Cadiz of three millions of piastres, all of whic on account of the merchants, and again to dwell on what he had before said o possibility of transmitting specie to the States from the Spanish possessions ab and of the effect that this would have in re-establishing the credit of our money. Jay observed, in reply, that if a supply of specie could be sent to America, an excellency thought that measure more convenient and advisable than bills, the gress would, in his opinion, readily suspend drawing on receiving that informa to which the Count answered that when the person he had sent for arrived this ter would be further discussed.

Mr. Jay then proceeded to observe that by papers which he had transmitted t excellency he would see that Congress had adopted a system to redeem and de the former emissions, and to emit other bills to be paid in Europe, with interest certain term of years; and in fully establishing this system it would be probab their power not only to sustain the credit of their money, but to contribute in measure to assist Spain in the way proposed by his excellency, viz, in bui frigates, etc. He added that, as his majesty's treasure was detained in Am and as much expense would be incurred by the armaments employed by Spain t

n the Havana in favor of the United States might be more convenient to and equally contribute to the end proposed. The Count did not seem to dis- e of the idea but did not enlarge upon it. He asked Mr. Jay if America could rnish Spain with masts and ship timber. Mr. Jay replied that those articles be obtained there. The Count then said that he would defer further remarks head till the arrival of the person whom he expected would succeed M. Miralles, peared desirous of leaving this subject, and, indeed, all other matters relative erican affairs, to be discussed when he came.

he further course of conversation he recurred to the subject of the bills in ques- nd told Mr. Jay if an immediate acceptance of them was insisted on that he accept them payable at Bilboa, but rather seemed to wish that their accept- ight be delayed till the coming of the above-mentioned person. Mr. Jay expa- ou the impression which the acceptance of these bills, and every other mark ndship, would make in America at this particular crisis, and the Count, in a eling and warm manner, assured him that his desire to serve the States in- l in consequence of their distresses. By his whole conversation he endeavored w how much he interested himself in the prosperity of our affairs, more than lesiring Mr. Jay not to be discouraged, for that with time and patience all go well; expatiating on the king's character, his religious observation of and nce to his promises, and his own desire of having Mr. Jay's entire confidence. y seized this opportunity of assuring him of his full reliance on the king's jus- nd honor, and his particular and entire confidence in his excellency, asserting that all his letters to Congress breathed these sentiments. The Count ap- l much pleased with this declaration, and, seeming to speak without reserve, his hopes that the combined fleets would soon be in condition to give the law t of England in the seas of Europe, repeating that measures would be taken on rival of the person expected to provide for the payment of the bills of exchange, at other arrangements would be made with the same person which would con- e to relieve, as much as it was in his majesty's power, the present distresses of ca, of which he frequently spoke very feelingly in the course of this conversa-

Jay reminded his excellency, in a delicate manner, of the supplies of clothing, which had been promised in a former conference, and said that if they be sent in autumn they would be essentially useful. The Count assured him measures would be taken for this purpose with the person so often hinted at in urse of the conference; that probably these goods would be embarked from , as everything was so dear at Cadiz. He also once more told Mr. Jay that at nts he might accept the bills presented by Messrs. Joyce, payable at Bilboa, h he appeared to wish that this measure might be delayed for a fortnight if le. The conference ended with compliments and assurances on the one part he other, the Count endeavoring to persuade Mr. Jay of his majesty's desire to the States, and Mr. Jay assuring him of his reliance on his excellency, and of od effects which such proofs of his majesty's friendship would have in America present juncture.

this conference not a single nail would drive. Everything was to be poned till the arrival of the person intended to succeed M. Miralles. the 11th of July I wrote the Count the following note:

Jay presents his respectful compliments to his excellency the Count de Florida a, and has the honor of informing him that Don Carlos Maria Maraci, of this has presented to him, for acceptance, bills amounting in the whole to housand six hundred and sixty-five dollars. The Messrs. Joyce consent to hav- eir bills payable at Bilboa, but have acquainted Mr. Jay that the name of the there by whom they are to be paid should accompany the acceptance of the it being necessary to their further negotiation,

ORID, *July* 11, 1780.

To this note the following answer was returned:

[Translation.]

In answer to the note the Count de Florida Blanca has just received from Mr. Ja dated yesterday, he has the honor to acquaint him that he intends writing to Bilb on the subject of the bills in the hands of Messrs. Joyce, and which are to be a cepted, so that it will be necessary to wait some days to fix the house at which t acceptance will be made.

As to the bills presented by Don Carlos Maraci, to the value of one thousand s hundred and sixty-five dollars, the Count recommends to Mr. Jay to request, in li manner, a delay of fifteen days for the acceptance, this time being necessary, th the Count may have an interview with a person not at present in Madrid.

AT THE PALACE, *July* 12, 1780.

I was obliged to wait with patience, and endeavor to keep the holde of the bills from returning them noted for non-acceptance. The Cou went to St. Ildefonso; the time limited for the arrival of the pers expected having expired, I wrote the Count three notes on the subje of the bills, and in one requested his permission for Mr. Harrison, Maryland, to remain at Cadiz, from whence he was threatened to removed in pursuance of the king's ordinance against Irishmen. these I received the following answer, dated the 29th of July:

[Translation.]

The Count de Florida Blanca presents his compliments to Mr. Jay, and acquai him that he has duly received his three last letters.

For the satisfaction of Mr. Jay, orders shall be given for Mr. Harrison to rem at Cadiz, the general regulations established by the king notwithstanding.

On the subject of the acceptance of the bills of exchange, the Count can only s that he still waits for the person in question, who has informed him that he was the point of setting out on his journey.

He is moreover very sensible of the attention in communicating to him the l advices received respecting the affair of Charleston, and persuades himself that M Jay will always observe the same complaisance.

SATURDAY, *July* 29.

I immediately wrote him a letter of thanks for his civility to Mr. H rison, and nothing further passed between us till the 11th of Augu when I sent him the following note:

Mr. Jay presents his respectful compliments to his excellency the Count de Flor Blanca, and has the honor of informing him that since the date of his last, bills the amount of six thousand six hundred dollars have been presented to him for ceptance. Mr. Jay has prevailed on the holders of these bills to wait six or eig days for his answer, on a promise that the time for their payment, if accepted, sh be computed from the day on which they were presented.

MADRID, *August* 11, 1780.

To this was written the following answer:

[Translation.]

The Count de Florida Blanca has just received Mr. Jay's note of yesterday, on subject of the new bills which have been presented to him. He is mortified not to able to return a positive answer to-day respecting the acceptance of said bills, a must repeat that he still waits for the person of whom mention has been made preceding notes.

ST. ILDEFONSO, *August* 12, 1780.

rs. Jay's illness and the death of a child detaining me at Madrid, uested the Count to give me notice when it would be necessary I ld wait upon him, and in the mean time Mr. Carmichael went to St. onso.

ngress will be pleased to remember that in the conference of July minister, speaking of the person intended to succeed M. Miralles, that he spoke English, and that we knew him. I supposed that luded to one of the Gardoquis, three of whom speak English, and s well acquainted with one of them. But as another of them had heretofore employed by the court, it appeared most probable that as the person meant. They are brothers and have a strong family ess.

the 10th, Mr. Carmichael wrote me that he had seen the Count, was informed by him that the person so long expected had not yet ed, and when he did he would give notice of it. On the 12th he e me that a person had arrived whom he suspected to be the one ng expected. It seems that a person much resembling the Gardoqui ly had arrived at the same inn where Mr. Carmichael lodged and seen by him.

e holders of the bills becoming extremely uneasy, I wrote the t the following reply to his last note:

MADRID, *August* 16, 1780.

: The letter which your excellency did me the honor to write on the 12th it was delivered to me yesterday.

kind concern you are pleased to express for the delay, which suspends my ing a positive answer respecting the bills, demands my acknowledgments, and additional proof of that generous sensibility which induced your excellency to e that your friendship for America should rise with her distresses. A sentiment ncive of magnanimity will be received by Congress with all the admiration and ndo it merits, and will not cease to inspire me with that confidence in your ency which greatness of mind seldom fails to excite.

ght to mention that the holders of the bills here begin to grow impatient, and ently repeat their applications to me for acceptance.

With sentiments of great respect and regard, I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN JAY.

answer.

e next day I received a card from the house of Joyce, informing f their having received peremptory orders to return their bills, and they could not delay it longer than the next post. Of this I sent by to the Count without any observations.

answer.

the 18th of August I wrote the Count the following letter:

MADRID, *August* 18, 1780.

: I never find myself more disagreeably circumstanced than when my duty ains me to be troublesome to those whom I wish to afford only pleasure and action. Such is my present situation. Monday next I perceive is to be the al day. Other bills besides Messrs. Joyce are then to be re-presented.

M. Gardoqui, of Bilboa, writes me that he has received bills on me for thirtee thousand three hundred and thirty-five dollars, with orders immediately to ship th amount in goods to America. They will be presented to-morrow, and he expects a answer by Monday's post. If an immediate acceptance or refusal should be insiste on by any one of them a protest must ensue and American credit be reduced to th lowest ebb. What am I to do? If your excellency should direct me to accept thes bills, payable at Bilboa, they will, as before, demand at what house they are to b paid.

I must entreat your excellency to relieve me and my country from this painful si uation, and to pardon the trouble I am obliged to give you.

With great respect and esteem, I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN JAY.

P. S.—The enclosed contains intelligence from America.

No answer.

Having first visited the holders of the bills and obtained further tim until Monday next, on the 24th I set out for St. Ildefonso. I arrive the next day, and wrote the Count the following letter:

ST. ILDEFONSO, *August* 25, 1780.

SIR: I arrived here this morning, but was prevented from immediately doing my self the honor of paying my respects to your excellency by fatigue and indisposition

In a letter I had the honor of writing to your excellency on the 16th instant mentioned that the holders of the bills began to grow impatient. On the 18th i stant I informed your excellency by another letter that their applications to me f acceptance had become so pressing as that I found myself under the necessity again requesting your directions.

I have accepted Messrs. Joyce's bills, payable at Bilboa, agreeable to your exce lency's directions on the 5th of July last, and they have agreed to wait some time f the name of the house there which may be employed to pay them. The other gentl men were induced to delay requiring of me a decisive answer until Monday next my assurances that they should then receive one.

The inducements and reasons which urged Congress into this measure are known your excellency, and it would be no less unnecessary than improper to recapitula the consequences which must ensue from the success or failure of it.

I fear your excellency thinks I am too solicitous, too importunate. But when it considered that the holders of those bills are not under my control, and that they r quire an answer from me, I flatter myself that the trouble I give your excellency this subject will appear to arise from a sense of my duty and not from the impulse impatience.

I sincerely congratulate your excellency on the late important naval success again the common enemy, and have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN JAY.

No answer.

The next morning I went to pay my respects to the minister, bu being told he was sick, I left a card. The French ambassador, howeve and others had been with him in the morning, and he rode out as usu in the afternoon.

Mr. Carmichael informed me that, in passing by a wicket-gate of th king's private gardens, he had seen the person whom he had befo seen at the inn walking in them, and that his servant had learned fro a barber of his acquaintance that he dressed a gentleman who spok English and lodged at M. Del Campo's. He also informed me that th French ambassador had lately received a letter from Count de la L

e, dated the 12th of May; that he was present when it was opened; it was in cipher, and that the ambassador said he supposed he was atient to hear the news; that he afterwards expressed a desire to this letter, and that the ambassador referred him for it to the sec- ry; that the secretary gave him some important papers, adding he had *mislaid* the letter. Hence it seems as if the ambassador nded at first to communicate the letter, but that its contents, on g deciphered, forbade it.

appeared to me proper to mention my embarrassments to the ch ambassador, who had always been friendly, and ask his advice aid on the subject. The next day I had a conference with him, the following are the notes of it:

ST. ILDEFONSO, *August* 27, 1780.

. Jay waited on the Count de Montmorin this morning at 9 o'clock, agreeable to intment the day before. The former commenced the conversation by observing in his first conferences with the minister of Spain at Aranjues, the minister ed the subject into two parts, and spoke largely on that of the bills drawn on Jay and on the treaty proposed to be entered into between Spain and America. Jay recapitulated the minister's assurances relative to the former, and informed mbassador that the result of this conference was a promise of the minister to send written notes on *both* points a few days afterwards. That with respect to the relative to the treaty, Mr. Jay had not received them as yet. That on the point he had received notes, which, as well as his answer, he had shown to the ssador. That on the 5th of July he had another conference with the minister drid, in which he had endeavored to turn the conversation to the several ob- of his business and his mission here, but that the minister postponed the dis- on of them until a person for whom he had sent, with a view to succeed M. lles, should arrive, when all the necessary arrangements should be made. He d told Mr. Jay that if the Messrs. Joyce were pressing he might accept their payable at Bilboa, and throughout the whole conference had given Mr. Jay and repeated assurances not only of the king's good faith and friendly dispo- n towards America, but of his own personal attachment to her interest, on both hich, as well as in his candor and promises, he desired him to place the greatest nce.

. Jay proceeded further to inform the ambassador that being exceedingly ed by Messrs. Joyce and others, holders of the bills, for a decisive answer, which had required to have on the Monday last past, he had signified the same to the ster by three letters requesting his directions, to none of which he received any ers. That he had accepted Messrs. Joyce's bills, payable as directed by the minis- nd had prevailed on the other to wait until Monday next. That on his arrival on Friday he wrote another letter to the minister on the same subject, and the day called at his house to pay his respects, but not being able to see him, had card; that being thus circumstanced, he was under the necessity of requesting avor of him to speak to the Count and obtain an answer from him.

e ambassador told Mr. Jay that he ought to ask an audience of the minister. is Mr. Jay replied that he could not hope to have an answer to this request, as d not been able to procure one to the different applications he had already . The ambassador said that he would willingly speak to the minister, but that ared he would not be able to enter fully into the subject with him until Wednes- both the minister and himself having their time employed on objects which at nt and for some time past had engrossed much of their attention. He then Mr. Jay if he had written to Congress to stop drawing bills on him. Mr. Jay d that he could not with propriety give such information to Congress after the

general and repeated assurances made him by the Count de Florida Blanca ev since his arrival here, and particularly the minister's declaration that he should be ab to furnish him with thirty or forty thousand pounds sterling at the end of the prese or commencement of the next year, and that in the mean time other arrangemen might be taken to pay such bills as might become due after that period. He adde that if the Count had candidly told him that he could not furnish him with money pay the bills he should then immediately have informed Congress of it, who wou have taken of course the proper measures on the occasion, but that should he no send a true account of all that had passed between the Count de Florida Blanca ar himself thereon he could not answer for the disagreeable effects such intelligen would produce. The Count seemed to think the Spanish minister would pay th bills that had been already presented, and had probably delayed giving Mr. Jay a answer until the arrival of the person he expected, who he understood was detaine by the necessity of making some arrangements in his family before he left it.

On this Mr. Jay remarked that this did not accord with the information the mini ter had given him near three weeks before, that the said person was then about set out.

The conference ended with a promise of the Count de Montmorin that he woul endeavor to speak to the Count de Florida Blanca on the subject, but that he wa afraid he should not be able to do it fully until Wednesday next.

Finding that the ambassador could not do anything till Wednesda next, and that the minister's determined silence left no room to hop much from him very soon, I despatched letters by express to the hol ers of the bills, and requested a little more time. I was apprehensiv that if I should accept them without the minister's consent it migh become an objection to his providing for their payment, and appea ances led me to suspect that any tolerable excuse for such refusa would have been very grateful.

The French ambassador did not, as usual, return my visit. I dine with him, nevertheless; but his behavior, though polite, was dry, an not cordial and open as before. He mentioned not a syllable of hi having received a letter from Philadelphia. These circumstances in creased my apprehensions that his letter contained some things un pleasant.

On Wednesday afternoon, 30th of August, I waited on the ambassa dor to know the result of the conversation he had promised to hav with the minister on our affairs. He did not appear very glad to se me. I asked him whether he had seen the minister and conversed wit him on our affairs. He said he had seen the minister, but that as Coun d'Estaing was present, he had only some general and cursory conversa tion with him, and slipping away from that topic, went on to observ that I would do well to write another letter to the minister, mentionin the number of letters I had already written, my arrival here, and m desire of a conference with him. I told the ambassador that whil four letters on the subject remained unanswered it could not be nec essary to write a fifth. That these letters had been written with grea politeness and circumspection; that the last was written the day of m arrival at St. Ildefonso; that I had also gone to the minister's house t pay my respects to him, and on being told he was sick, had left a card

hat, notwithstanding these marks of attention and respect, I still nued unanswered and unnoticed. I observed to him further, that conduct accorded ill with the minister's assurances; that unless I net with more tenderness from the holders of the bills, they would been returned noted for non-acceptance; that if such an event ld at last take place, after the repeated promises and declarations e minister, there would of necessity be an end to the confidence of rica in the court of Spain.

replied that he hoped things would take a more favorable turn; to his knowledge the minister had been of late much occupied and exed with business; that I ought not to be affected with the inat- on of his conduct; that I should continue to conduct the business thly, having always in view the importance of Spain, and remem- g that we were as yet only rising States, not firmly established or rally acknowledged, etc., and that he would by all means advise write the minister another letter *praying* an audience.

nswered that the object of my coming to Spain was to make *propo- s*, not *supplications*, and that I should forbear troubling the min- with further letters till he should be more disposed to attend to . That I considered America as being, and to continue, independ- *fact*, and that her becoming so in *name* was of no further impor- e than as it concerned the common cause, in the success of which he parties were interested; and that I did not imagine Congress d agree to purchase from Spain the acknowledgment of an unde- e fact at the price she demanded for it; that I intended to abide ntly the fate of the bills, and should transmit to Congress an ac- t of all matters relative to them; that I should then write the min- another letter on the subject of the treaty, and if that should be ed with like neglect, or if I should be informed that his Catholic sty declined going into that measure, I should then consider my ess at an end, and proceed to take the necessary measures for re- ng to America; that I knew my constituents were sincerely de- s of a treaty with Spain, and that their respect for the house of bon, the desire of France signified in the secret article, and the rable opinion they had imbibed of the Spanish nation were the gest inducements they had to wish it; that the policy of multiply- reaties with European nations was with me questionable, and might with others; that for my own part, I was inclined to think it the est of America to rest content with the treaty with France, and voiding alliances with other nations, remain free from the influence eir disputes and politics; that the situation of the United States, y opinion, dictated this policy; that I knew it to be their interest, of course their disposition, to be at peace with all the world; and I knew too it would be in their power, and I hoped in their incli- n, always to defend themselves.

e ambassador was at a stand. After a little pause he said he

hoped my mission would have a more agreeable issue. He asked m
if I was content with the conduct of France. I answered most c
tainly; for that she was spending her blood as well as treasure for
This answer was too general for him. He renewed the question,
asking whether I was content with the conduct of France relative
our proposed treaty with Spain. I answered that, as far as it h
come to my knowledge, I was. This required an explanation, and
gave it to him, by observing that by the secret article Spain was
liberty to accede to our treaty with France whenever she pleased, a
with such alterations as both parties might agree to; that Congr
had appointed me to propose this accession now, and had authoriz
me to enter into the necessary discussions and arguments; that,
give their application the better prospect of success, they had direct
me to request the favorable interposition of the King of France wi
the King of Spain; that I had done it by letter to Count de Vergenn
who, in answer, had assured me of the king's disposition to comp
with the request of Congress; and informed me that instructio
analogous to this disposition should be given to the ambassador
Madrid; that it gave me pleasure to acknowledge that his condu
toward me had always been polite and friendly, but that I still
mained ignorant whether any and what progress had been made in t
mediation. He seemed not to have expected this; but observed th
all he could do was to be ready to do me any friendly office in
power, for that he did not see how his *mediation* could be proper,
cept in cases where points of the treaty were discussed and could
be agreed upon. To this I replied, that these were only *second*
objects of the expected mediation, and that the *primary* one was
prevail upon the King of Spain to commence the negotiation and en
upon these discussions, but that I remained uninformed of what
might have done on that subject. The ambassador made no dir
reply to these remarks, but again proceeded to repeat his advice, th
I should try one more letter to the minister. I told him I had, af
much consideration, made up my mind on that subject, and that
appeared to me inexpedient to follow his advice in this instance; a
that when he should see the letters I had already written he wou
probably be of the same opinion. I promised to show him the lett
the next day and took my leave. How far the tone of this conver
tion may be judged to have been prudent I know not. It was
assumed, however, but after previous and mature deliberation. I
flected that we had lost Charleston, that reports ran hard against
and therefore that this was no time to clothe one's self with humility

On considering the earnestness with which the ambassador h
pressed me to write another letter to the minister I began to susp
that it might be the wish of the latter, who, conscious of having go
rather too far, might desire this way to retreat through. I conclud
therefore, to adhere to my resolution of not writing, but that if

assador should confirm my suspicions by again pressing the meas- in that case to consent to send Mr. Carmichael to the minister my compliments, and a request that he would favor me with a ference at such time as might be most convenient to him.

he next day, Thursday, the 31st of August, I visited the French assador, and showed him the four last letters I had written to the ister. He confessed they were p rfectly unexceptionable, but again ised me to write another; I told him I could not think of it, but I would so far follow his advice as to send Mr. Carmichael to uest of the minister the favor of a conference. The ambassador ressed much satisfaction at this proposal, and immediately promised peak to the minister on the subject. He advised, however, that I uld delay the measure till Saturday, on account of some urgent ness which then employed the minister. To this I agreed. I ed to him that the person expected to succeed M. Miralles was in n. He said he did not know, and waived the subject. I thought if was really the case, it could do no harm that the minister should w I suspected it. In the afternoon the ambassador's secretary paid a visit, and seemed desirous of entering into particular conversa- on the subject of our affairs, but as I did not approve of talking the ambassador through his secretary, I avoided it, by turning conversation to light and general topics. He asked me several ing questions, and, among others, whether there was a *M. Gardoqui* own. I told him many persons came and departed that I was igno- of, and passed on to another subject. Two persons about the t mentioned to Mr. Carmichael this evening that this person was ved.

n Saturday morning, the 2d of September, I committed my message the minister to Mr. Carmichael, with directions first to call on the ch ambassador, and ask him whether anything new had occurred ender the delivery of it improper. He told Mr. Carmichael he had tioned to the minister my desire of seeing him that day, but that minister said he was so much occupied that it would be impossible. nevertheless told Mr. Carmichael *he might go and see.* This being tioned to me, I told Mr. Carmichael to go on.

fter being long detained in the antechamber he had an opportunity elivering his message, and received for answer that the minister d not possibly see me till the next Tuesday evening, and that Carmicheal should call again on Tuesday morning, to be informed ther it would be in his power to see me *then*; that the person so expected was arrived; that he had been preparing instructions him and would endeavor in the mean time to send him to converse me.

n Sunday, the 3d of September, Don Diego Gardoqui, of Bilboa, ented me a note from the Count de Florida Blanca in these words:

[Translation.]

The Count de Florida Blanca presents his compliments to Mr. Jay, and recomm to him to form an acquaintance with the bearer of this letter, being the perso question whom he had expected from day to day.

It is observable that M. Gardoqui's name is not mentioned in letter, which appears the more singular, as the count had never m tioned to me the *name* of the *person expected.* This was being v wary. Mr. Carmichael told me he took this to be the same person wh he saw first at the inn and afterwards walking in the private garde

Hence, it appears that these strange delays were not unavoida Probably the desire of further intelligence of the enemy's operation America and the undecided state of Mr. Cumberland's negotiat might have given occasion to them. To these may perhaps be ad an expectation that our distresses would render us more pliant and attached to the Mississippi. But these are conjectures, and as sometimes act without any settled system, it may not be prudent scan their conduct by a supposed plan, however probable.

M. Gardoqui began the conversation by assurances of his perso attachment to our cause and country, which gave occasion to mu and complimentary professions too unimportant to repeat. I told that the holders of the bills, after having shown me great forbeara and delicacy, were at length perfectly tired; that the house of C Mayor had sent their bills after me; but that as I was not to expect honor of a conference with the minister until Tuesday evening at s est, I had requested time till Wednesday to give my answer. I th fore begged the favor of him to mention this to the minister and ob his directions what I should do. He asked to what amount Congr had resolved to draw for. I told him. He observed that the c ought previously to have been applied to. In answer to which capitulated the reasons before given to the minister. He dwelt larg on the necessities of the state, and I expatiated on the extensive id entertained of Spanish opulence in America. He assured me they w mistaken, and spoke of the difficulties occasioned by the detentio their treasures abroad. He then remarked that we offered no *consi ation* for the money we solicited. I replied that we offered the s consideration that other nations did who borrowed money, viz, the payment of the principal with interest. He asked me if we had noth further to offer, and mentioned ship timber. I said we had ship timb but that as it belonged to individuals, the public could not get it ot wise than by purchase, and that it could answer no purpose to bor money with one hand and instantly repay it with the other, for th repayment in money or in ship timber was the same thing in fact differed only in name. Besides, that if Spain wanted timber f America it would be better, in case he went there, that he should charged with that business, than that it should be under the direc of Congress, for that public works were always more expensive t

vate. He agreed in this. He again asked me whether I could think nothing else to offer. I told him no. Whether there was nothing the side of the Mississippi that I could offer. I told him nothing at I could think of except land, and that I did not think it would be rth the king's while to buy a hundred thousand pounds' worth of d there, considering the immense territories he already possessed. inquired whether I thought Congress would draw for the whole sum. nswered that it was in my opinion not improbable, for that they would nsider the acceptance of ten or twelve thousand dollars as a prelude further aids, naturally supposing that if the king afforded us any pplies at all, they would be such as would correspond with his dig- y, and not be limited to that little pittance. He desired me to meet n the next day at M. Del Campo's, which I promised to do.

I shortly after saw the French ambassador, who, among other things, entioned the proposed meeting at Del Campo's, which, with various ner circumstances, shows his being on confidential terms with the nister.

In the evening M. Gardoqui again paid me a visit, and pointedly pposed my offering the navigation of the Mississippi as a considera- n for aids. I told him that object could not come in question in a eaty for a loan of one hundred thousand pounds, and Spain should nsider that to render alliances permanent they should be so formed as render it the interest of both parties to observe them; that the Amer- ns, almost to a man, believed that God Almighty had made that er a highway for the people of the upper country to go to the sea by; at this country was extensive and fertile; that the general, many icers, and others of distinction and influence in America were deeply terested in it; that it would rapidly settle, and that the inhabitants uld not readily be convinced of the justice of being obliged either to e without foreign commodities and lose the surplus of their produc- ns, or be obliged to transport both over rugged mountains and rough an immense wilderness to and from the sea, when they daily saw fine river flowing before their doors and offering to save them all the uble and expense, and that without injury to Spain. He observed at the present generation would not want this navigation, and that e should leave future ones to manage their own affairs, etc.

The next day, that is, the 4th of September, I met M. Gardoqui at . Del Campo's. After some unconnected conversation, I observed to . Del Campo that as all the papers between the minister and myself d passed through his hands, it was unnecessary to give him any formation except what related to the present state of the bills drawn on me, which I proceeded to state in a short, but particular manner. e replied by making several strictures on the impropriety of drawing lls without previous notice and consent. He remarked that they ight with more propriety have been drawn on France, with whom we ere allied, and who were richer than they; that the king must first

take care of his own people before he could supply us; that Spain ha been brought into the war by our quarrel, but received no advanta from us; that they had been told of our readiness to assist in takir Pensacola, etc., but instead of aids he had heard of nothing but d mands from us; that our situation was represented as being deplorabl and that the enemy talked of the submission of some of the States, a of negotiations being on foot for that purpose.

Whether this style proceeded from natural arrogance or was intend to affect my temper I can not say; in either case I thought it mo prudent to take no notice of it, but proceed calmly and cautiously, a the more so as this was the first time I had ever conversed with th man. I told him in substance, though more at large, that the assuranc given Congress of the friendly disposition of Spain by M. Miralles a others had been confided in, and had induced Congress to expect t aids in question; that if this application could be called a demand, was still the first they had made to my knowledge; that men in arr against the enemies of Spain were serving her as well as themselves, a therefore might without impropriety request her aid; that our separati from Britain was an object important to Spain, and that the succe with which we had opposed her whole force for six years showed wh the power of both, if under one direction, might be capable of; that knew nothing of Spain's having been drawn into the war by or for u and that this was not to be found among the reasons she had alleg for it; that an attack on Pensacola could not be expected to be ma by troops actually employed in repelling the enemy's assaults fr their own doors, and that the principles of self-defense would not p mit or justify it; that Spain had much to expect in future from o commerce, and that we should be able as well as willing to pay o debts; that the tales told of our despondency and submission result from the policy of the enemy, not from fact, and I believed no more their private negotiations between America and Britain than I did there being private negotiations between Spain and Britain for a sep rate peace, which the minister assured me was not the case; that if, the arrival of the bills, I had been told plainly that no money could advanced, further drafts would soon have been prevented; but that contrary conduct having been adopted, other expectations had be excited; that, as to France, she had done and was still doing mu for us, and that her being our ally did not confer propriety upon eve request that we could make to her. He still pressed this point, a complained that the greater part of the money heretofore advanced Spain had been laid out in France. He saw that France was derivi great commercial advantages from us, but that our commerce nev would be an object with Spain, because all her productions would fi a better market in her own colonies. He desired a note of the bi which had arrived, and then made some reflections on the proposal a treaty. We agreed perfectly well that mutual interest should be t

s of it, and I added that the good opinion entertained of the king nation by America was also a pleasing circumstance. He said, ever that might be, America did not seem inclined to gratify Spain ne only point in which she was deeply interested. Here followed n commonplace reasoning about the navigation of the Mississippi, hich your excellency has heretofore heard too much to require a tition. He spoke also much of the difficulties of Spain as to money ers, saying that their treasures in America could at present be of se to them, as they had given orders that none should be sent home ng the war, even if it continued these ten years; and this was done in r, by stopping the usual current of specie into Europe, to embarrass measures which Britain must take to obtain her necessary sup-

.

n the 6th of September M. Gardoqui brought me word that I might pt the bills of Casa Mayor, amounting to one thousand one hun- and ten dollars, which I accordingly did. The proposed confer- was postponed, nor indeed was it obtained until the 23d of Sep- ber.

n the 11th the French ambassador's secretary called upon me, by ambassador's direction, to inform me that an express was going to s, and to know whether anything further had been done in our rs since he had seen me. I told him things continued in the same tion. He again commenced a conversation on the subject, and as ame directly from the ambassador I entered into it. He expressed e concern for the delays I met with. I told him such things must xpected. He said he hoped I was content with France. I replied I apprehended France considered an interference in our negotia- s as a delicate matter, for that, as she had probably held up the usive navigation of the Mississippi and the Gulf of Mexico among r objects to induce Spain to take a part in the war, she might hes- about pressing Spain into a treaty with us on terms that would comprehend this object. He said M. Gerard had reasoned well t those matters, but that he did not believe France would be ward, nor indeed that she had promised this to Spain to bring her the war. I told him I should not be surprised to find that the y arose from a desire of hearing further news from America, and ably from Philadelphia. He said that could not be the case, for e M. Miralles' death Spain had no person there to give them in- gence. I told him that Spain might be waiting the issue of new ons respecting the Mississippi in Congress, and that I was sure nt de la Luzerne would readily be at the trouble of communicating nem any interesting information on *that* or any other subject. ther he drew any conclusions from the manner in which this was I can not say, but in a way that looked like exculpating that ster, he told me that Count de la Luzerne only mentioned to the ch ambassador that two members of Congress, with whom he had ed over the affair of the Mississippi, thought it would be best not to

bring on the question of the navigation until Spain should beco possessed of the adjacent country, for that then it might be ceded w a better grace. He mentioned no names. This explains the le hereinbefore mentioned. The inferences which flow from it are obvio I incline to suspect that what I said in my letters on that head retur here by the same conveyance.

On the 13th of September M. Gardoqui delivered me the follow verbal message from Count de Florida Blanca:

That the exigencies of the state would not permit his majesty to provide for payment of more bills drawn upon me than had been already accepted.

I expressed my regret that this had not been told me at first, and t him it appeared a little extraordinary that the minister should emp himself and me three months in making and answering propositi relative to a loan which it was not in his power to make. I touc also on the assurances from time to time given me, and intimated t something, which I could not at present see through, must have cau this change; that I lamented it the more, as it would weaken the foun tions on which I wished to see a cordial union laid between the countries.

I dined with the French ambassador. He was a little out of spir and on talking to him on what had happened I told him there nothing now left but for me to apply to France. He encouraged idea, and agreed with me that the bills ought to be by all means sa from protests. He imputed the conduct of Spain to resentment agai M. Necker for opposing a certain scheme of Spanish finance which thought interfered with his plan. It is a curious one, but I shall o it at present, as I fear Congress already wish this letter at an end. the Count de Florida Blanca's message to me by M. Gardoqui wa verbal one, and might hereafter be denied or explained away as c venience might dictate, I thought it important to establish it, and that and other reasons, which need no explanation, I wrote the Co the following letter:

ST. ILDEFONSO, *September* 14, 178

SIR: The information I received yesterday from your excellency by M. Gardo has drawn the affair of the bills of exchange to a conclusion. He told me that exigencies of the state would not permit his majesty to provide for the payment more of those bills than were already accepted, amounting to about fourteen th sand dollars.

As it is important that every nation at war should know exactly the state of t resources, and as America has been induced to consider the friendship of his Cath majesty as among the number of hers, I must request the favor of your excellency tell me frankly whether the United States may expect any and what aids f Spain. The general assurances of amity which that country has received from t together with what has passed between your excellency and myself relative to clo ing for our troops and supplies of specie in America, will I hope be considered authorizing this question; and the more so as M. Gardoqui, to whose arrival y excellency postponed the discussion of these matters, informs me he is not instruc to say anything to me on these, or indeed any other subjects.

I have the honor to be, etc., JOHN JA

On this day some glorious reports from America arrived. It seemed
if she had risen like a giant refreshed with sleep and was doing
onders. I sent the news to the Count as usual, without appearing to
affected by his late conduct. I began again to be seen and in a few
stances to be known.

The next day, the 15th of September, M. Gardoqui delivered to me a
aper by way of answer to my letter of yesterday to the minister. It
in these words:

The following answer has been dictated to me in his excellency's name by Don
rnardo del Campo, to be delivered to the honorable John Jay, esq.

That it is not his majesty's intention to stop assisting the States whenever means
n be found to do it, but that it will be impossible to supply them with money in
urope, there being none to spare, for that which ought to have come this year from
nerica has neither come, nor is it known when it will, and that which would
ve facilitated a far advanced negotiation is likely to produce no effect. in a great
easure, *through the undermining of some persons of rank in France.*

The States not giving timely advice, nor having taken his majesty's previous con-
nt, he could not arrange his affairs beforehand in order to assure the acceptance
d payment of the bills they have drawn, for which reasons, and that Congress has
t to this day given any tokens of a recompense, his majesty might have just cause
disgust, but notwithstanding he does not, nor will change his ideas, and will
ways retain those of humanity, friendship, and compassion that he has had towards
e Colonies. That, consequently, if Mr. Jay or his constituents should find money
on credit to the sum of one hundred or one hundred and fifty thousand dollars, that
s majesty will be answerable for the said sum, payable in the space of three years;
at his majesty will besides exert all that is possible to assist them with clothing
d other things; and finally, in order that his majesty may extend his further dis-
sitions, it is precisely necessary that they should give sure and effective tokens of
good correspondence, proposing reciprocal measures of a compensation that may
tablish a solid friendship and confidence without reducing it to words and protests
mere compliment.

This being the substance, I would further suggest to Mr. Jay's consideration, that
e continuance of assisting the States by answering the sum expressed in a manner
ich more public than that of paying the money privately shows plainly the sin-
city of his majesty, although the States have not to this day proposed any equiva-
nt to the assistance already given and to the expenses occasioned by a war which
d its true origin from them, to all which must be added (though, by the way, no
edit is given to it) that there are hints of some understanding between the Colonies
d England.

ST. ILDEFONSO, *September* 15, 1780.

JAMES GARDOQUI.

It is to be observed that this paper when first delivered was not signed,
d suspecting that this omission might not be accidental, I mentioned
to M. Gardoqui a day or two afterwards. After some hesitation and
ubts of its being necessary he signed it. I made no remarks at all
M. Gardoqui on any part of this paper except the last article, which
reated with great indignation.

On the 16th I wrote a short letter and many copies to your excellency,
forming you of the necessity of suspending further drafts upon me for
e present.

Three days afterwards I had a long and satisfactory conversation with the French ambassador, in which he was very unreserved, candid, and confidential. He read to me a part of a letter he intended to send to Count de Vergennes on our affairs, and justice calls upon me to say that we are obliged to him for it.

On the 22d of September I sent the following letter to Count de Vergennes by one of the ambassador's couriers:

ST. ILDEFONSO, *September* 22, 1780.

SIR: I have never taken up my pen with so much reluctance as I now do, although my design is to write a letter to your excellency. But, sir, there are few sensations more painful than those which they experience who, already covered with benefits, are impelled by cruel necessity to ask for more. Such is my present situation, and hence proceeds my regret.

My uniform and unreserved communications to the Count Montmorin, who has my fullest confidence, precludes the necessity and consequently the propriety of a minute detail of American affairs here.

Your excellency will recollect the resolution of Congress for drawing bills on me, as well as the reasons assigned for that measure. In my first conference with the minister on that subject he enlarged on the necessities of the state, but nevertheless told me he would be able at the end of the present or beginning of the next year to advance thirty or forty thousand pounds sterling, and that further arrangements respecting the residue should then be made.

I afterwards received and answered propositions for the reimbursement of this money; and from time to time was permitted to accept such of the bills as were most pressing.

Things remained in this state till the 5th of July, when, after many warm assurances of friendship and good-will, the further discussion of these matters was postponed by the minister until the arrival of a person intended to succeed M. Miralles, the late Spanish agent at Philadelphia, and I was told that they should then be arranged and adjusted.

Several weeks elapsed after the time assigned for his arrival had expired. The holders of the bills became importunate, and insisting on my accepting or refusing them.

I wrote several letters to the minister requesting his directions, but was not favored with an answer to any of them.

On the 3d instant, after fruitless endeavors to see the minister, I received the following note from him by the hands of M. Gardoqui:

"The Count de Florida Blanca sends his compliments to Mr. Jay, and advises him to become acquainted with the bearer of this letter, who is the person that has been expected from day to day."

This gentleman made many remarks tending to show the propriety of America's offering some specific consideration for this money, and hinted at the navigation of the Mississippi, ship timber, vessels, tobacco, etc. I replied, that the only consideration Congress could offer was that which all other nations at war, who borrowed money, offered, viz. to repay the principal with a reasonable interest after the war; that I should deceive him were I to enter into contracts to pay it sooner; that the proposition of paying it during the war in ship timber, tobacco, or other articles, did not lessen the difficulty, for that these things were worth and cost money in America as well as in Europe; and that as to the Mississippi, it could not come in question as a consideration for one hundred thousand pounds. The conversation was concluded by his desiring me to meet him at M. Del Campo's the next morning. M. Gardoqui then and since behaved with temper, candor, and politeness.

The next day we saw M. Del Campo. He was liberal in his censures on the meas-

ure of drawing the bills in question on Spain. He informed me that the king must first take care of his own people before he gave supplies to others; that Spain, instead of deriving advantage from America, heard of nothing but demands. That if Congress wanted money they should have drawn on France, with whom they were in alliance, and who had all the profit of their trade; that we ought to have distinguished between our allies and those who only wished us well, and that applications for aid might be proper to the one which were not so to the other; that our affairs were in a ruinous condition, and that it was even said some of the States were holding secret negotiation for peace with the enemy, etc. My replies were such as the subject naturally suggested and as prudence dictated. There are seasons when men mean not to be convinced, and when argument becomes mere matter of form. On such occasions we have little more in our power than moderation and temper. I gave M. Del Campo credit for his frankness, and wish I could with propriety have extended it to his delicacy.

A day or two afterwards, viz, the 6th instant, I was permitted to accept bills to the amount of one thousand one hundred and ten dollars.

On the 13th M. Gardoqui, by order of the minister, told me that the exigencies of the state would not permit the king to provide for the payment of more of the bills than had been already accepted, amounting to about fourteen thousand dollars. This gave occasion to my letter to the minister of the 14th and to his answer of the 15th, which was dictated by him to M. Del Campo and by M. Del Campo to M. Gardoqui, copies of both of which your excellency will receive from Count Montmorin. The minister's answer made a conference between us expedient. I requested that favor the 15th instant, and have been informed that the Count de Florida Blanca will endeavor to see me on Saturday evening next.

I forebear remarks on this singular conduct. I wish it could be explained in a manner compatible with the reputation Spain enjoys in North America. I much fear partial resentments, which ought not to affect America, have been permitted to have an undue degree of influence, and that the minister forgot, in his zeal for a certain scheme of finance, that it was unjust to wound opponents through the sides of their friends. But whatever may have been the cause, the effect unless, removed, will be destructive, and France only can at present afford the means of doing it.

When I consider on the one hand that France was our first, and is still our best, and almost only friend; that she became our ally on terms of equality, neither taking nor attempting to take ungenerous advantages of our situation; that she has clothed and armed our troops, and is at this moment assisting us with her fleets, her armies, her treasure, and her blood, gratitude and generosity forbid me to solicit a further tax on her magnanimity. But, on the other hand, when I reflect that the loss of American credit would be a loss to the common cause and an eventual injury to France; that such an event would be a matter of triumph to our common enemy and of pain to our friends; that the honor of Congress, suspended on the fate of these bills, now hangs as it were by a hair, and that our enemies here and elsewhere are doing all in their power to cut it; when I consider that America would feel more sensibly the loss of reputation in this instance than the loss of battles in many others;—I say sir, when I consider these things, I find it to be my duty to request your excellency to interpose the amity of France, and that his majesty will be pleased to add this strong link to the chain of benefits by which he has already bound the affections of America to his family and people.

I ought to inform your excellency that bills for about fifty thousand dollars remain unaccepted. The greater part of these are in the hands of merchants, who waited my answer with a degree of patience I could not have expected, some of them ever since the month of June last. Further delays therefore, were not to be asked or obtained, and I was reduced to the necessity either of promising to accept them or permit the credit of Congress to perish with them. I could not long hesitate. I promised to accept them. Fortunately these bills have hitherto come on slowly, though it is probable that the assurances of Spain which I have communicated to

Congress may quicken their pace. A period, however, will soon be put to their drawing, as I have written to them by several conveyances immediately to stop.

I ought also to inform your excellency that a promise made me in June last of some clothing for our troops has been renewed, and that his majesty has been pleased to offer us his responsibility to facilitate a loan of one hundred and fifty thousand dollars. I shall endeavor to make the most of this offer, and your excellency may rest assured that I shall gladly embrace every measure which may be calculated to lessen the weight with which the American cause presses on the finances of France.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN JAY.

I also sent a copy of this letter to Dr. Franklin, enclosed in one of which the following is a copy:

ST. ILDEFONSO, *September* 22, 1780.

DEAR SIR. I have lately written to you several letters. Enclosed is a copy of one to Count de Vergennes, which Count Montmorin, who also writes to him on the same subject, is so obliging as to send, together with this, by a courier to Bayonne.

The papers you have heretofore received from me, with those now sent, will enable you to understand it, and I am persuaded your abilities and influence will be exerted to promote the success of the application contained in it. It appears to me absolutely necessary that the bills drawn on me be saved at all events. If, contrary to my ideas of the wisdom and affection of France, she should not lend us money for the purpose, we must endeavor to borrow it of individuals, though at a higher than usual interest; nay, on any terms, rather than not get it. Almost anything will be better than a protest; for, exclusive of the disgrace, which is intolerable, the consequences of it would cost Congress more than the expense of saving their credit, be it almost what it will.

I am, etc.,

JOHN JAY.

The ambassador informed me that he had received despatches from Philadelphia, which gave him and the court great pleasure, viz: That Congress had, at the instance of the Chevalier de la Luzerne and Don Francisco, agreed to make a diversion to the southward in order to facilitate the Spanish operations in that quarter; that a noble spirit was pervading all ranks of people; that we had been successful in Jersey, etc.; and, in short, that the Chevalier de la Luzerne was much pleased with Congress and the general aspect of affairs in America. I lamented in silence that I should have no other intelligence of all this but from a French ambassador.

He informed me further that he believed we should now be able to get some of the clothing taken from the enemy by Admiral Cordova; that he had and would continue to cherish the idea. We had a long conversation; he gave me much good advice, some useful information, and many assurances of cordiality and good-will.

On the evening of the 23d I was admitted to the honor of a conference with his excellency the Count de Florida Blanca, and M. Gardoqui, who understands Spanish and English exceedingly well, performed the part of interpreter.

The following notes of the conference are very exact as to every particular:

NOTES OF A CONFERENCE BETWEEN HIS EXCELLENCY THE COUNT DE FLORIDA BLANCA AND MR. JAY, AT ST. ILDEFONSO, ON SATURDAY EVENING, SEPTEMBER 23, 1780.

After the usual civilities, the Count began the conference by informing Mr. Jay that he court had received intelligence from the Havana of Congress having so far complied with the request made to them to permit the exportation of provisions for the se of his majesty's fleets and armies there as to give license for shipping three thouand barrels of flour, circumstances not admitting of further supplies at that time; hat this business was conducted by Mr. Robert Morris in a manner with which he as well pleased; that Congress had also, in order to promote the success of the Spansh operations against Pensacola, etc., agreed to make a diversion to the southward, o detach a considerable body of regular troops and militia to South Carolina under General Gates: that his majesty was well pleased with and highly sensible of these narks of their friendly disposition, and had directed him to desire Mr. Jay to convey is thanks to them on the occasion.

Mr. Jay expressed his satisfaction at this intelligence, and promised to take the arliest opportunity of conveying to Congress the sense his majesty entertained of heir friendship, manifested by these measures. He told the Count it gave him pleasre to hear the business of the Spanish supplies was committed to Mr. Robert Morris, nd assured him that the fullest confidence might be reposed in that gentleman's bilities and integrity. He requested his excellency again to assure his majesty that e might rely on the good disposition of Congress, and of their evincing it in every ay which the situation of their affairs and the interest of the common cause might ender practicable and expedient.

The Count told Mr. Jay that he had proposed to the French ambassador to send to ongress for the use of their army clothing for ten regiments lately taken in the nvoy bound from Britain to Jamaica, and in which the two crowns were equally nterested; that the ambassador approved the proposition, but had not yet given his nal answer. He then observed that a negotiation for a peace between Britain and pain appeared at present more distant than ever; that the former had offered his ajesty everything he could desire to induce him to a separate peace; but that the ing, adhering to the same resolutions in favor of America which had influenced his onduct in his mediation for a general peace and since, had rejected them, and that ongress might rely on his majesty's determination never to give up or forsake merica, but on the contrary continue affording her all the aids in his power.

He told Mr. Jay that the court of London, disappointed in their expectations of etaching Spain, had it in contemplation again to send commissioners to America to reat with Congress on the subject of an accommodation with them; that this measure as at present under the consideration of the privy council, and that there was reason o suppose it would be adopted. He observed that the English had hitherto disovered much finesse and little true policy; that first they endeavored by their intrigues n France to separate that kingdom and America, but not succeeding there, they sent ommissioners to America; that the last year they attempted to detach France, and this ear Spain, and that being unsuccessful in both they would again attempt America; hat the best way of defeating their designs was mutual confidence in each other. Ie remarked that America could not rely on any promise of Britain; and asked, if she as once detached from France and Spain, who could compel an observance of them?

Mr. Jay thanked the Count for this communication, and assured him that Congress ould not only adhere to their engagements from motives of interest, but from a regard o their honor and the faith of treaties; that the opinion of Congress on this subject orresponded with that of his excellency, and that their conduct with respect to the ormer English commissioners gave conclusive evidence of their sentiments on the ubject. Mr. Jay promised, in case he received any intelligence relative to this matter, his excellency might depend on its being communicated immediately to him.

The Count appeared satisfied with this, and again repeated his former assurances f the king's good disposition towards America, etc.

Mr. Jay informed his excellency that the subject on which he was desirous of conversing with him arose from the paper he had received from M. Gardoqui the 15th instant, containing his excellency's answer to Mr. Jay's letter of the 14th.

Mr. Jay then requested the Count to communicate to his majesty his thanks for the offer he had been pleased to make of his responsibility in order to facilitate a loan of one hundred and fifty thousand dollars, and also for the promise of clothing, etc., and to assure him that the gratitude of the States would always be proportionate to the obligations conferred upon them; he observed to the Count that he intended to attempt this loan in Spain, France, and Holland, and begged to be informed in what manner he should evidence the responsibility of his majesty to the persons who might be disposed to lend the money, for that in this, and other similar cases, he meant to be guided by his excellency's directions.

The Count replied that as this matter fell within the department of M. Musquir, the minister of finance, he would consult him upon it on Tuesday evening next, and immediately thereafter inform Mr. Jay of the result. He then apologized and expressed his regret for not being able to furnish the money he had expected to supply (alluding evidently to the thirty or forty thousand pounds which, in the conference of Aranjues, the 11th day of May last, he said he expected to be able to supply by the end of this or beginning of next year). He said he had been disappointed in the remittances expected from America, for he was advised that two ships which he had expected would arrive from thence with treasure in December or January next would not come, and that this and other circumstances rendered it impossible for him to advance us any money in Europe. But that he would, nevertheless, agreeably to the king's intentions, give us all the assistance in his power.

Mr. Jay desired to be informed whether any steps were necessary for him to take for forwarding the clothing at Cadiz to America. The Count answered that he waited the French ambassador's answer on the subject, and that he had as yet no inventory of them, but that he would again speak to the ambassador and make arrangements for sending them on to America as soon as possible.

Mr. Jay then proceeded to regret that the pleasure he derived from these instances of his majesty's friendship to the United States was mingled with pain from being informed by the above-mentioned paper that the king conceived that he might have just cause to be disgusted with them.

Because, 1st, they had drawn the bills of exchange without his previous consent; and, 2dly, because they had not given any tokens of a recompense. Mr. Jay reminded his excellency that these bills were drawn upon himself and not on Spain, and although that Congress might have hoped, for reasons already assigned, to have been enabled to pay them by a loan from his majesty, yet that every other usual measure was left open for that purpose. That an application to Spain for such a loan could give no just cause of offense, for that if it had not been convenient to her to make it, all that she had to do was to have told him so, and he was then at liberty to take such measures for procuring it elsewhere as he might think proper. The Count replied that what Mr. Jay observed was true, but that certainly the bills were drawn with an expectation of their being paid by Spain, and that this might probably have been done if previous notice of the measure had been given. That he always intended to have done something towards their payment, but had been prevented by disappointments and the exigencies of the state. Mr. Jay continued to observe that the second cause assigned for his disgust, viz, that Congress had given no tokens of a recompense must have arisen from a mistake. He reminded his excellency that he had never requested a donation from Spain, but that, on the contrary, he had repeatedly offered to pledge the faith of the United States for the repayment, with interest, within a reasonable time after the war of whatever sum his majesty might be so kind as to lend them. To these remarks the Count said only that interest for the money would have been no object to them; that they would gladly have lent it to us without interest, and repeated his regret at the disappointment which had prevented them. He appeared rather uneasy and desirous of waiving the subject.

Mr. Jay next called the Count's attention to a part of the paper in question, which informed him "that there were hints (though no credit was given to it) of some understanding between America and the court of London." He observed that this subject was both delicate and important; that so far as this understanding related to Congress, or the governments of either of the States, he was sure that this insinuation was entirely groundless; that there might possibly be intriguing individuals who might have given cause to such suspicions; that if there were such men or bodies of men it would be for the good of the common cause that they should be detected and their designs frustrated. He therefore requested that, if his excellency had any evidence on this subject, he would be pleased to communicate it, and thereby enable him to give Congress an opportunity of taking such measures as circumstances might render proper. The Count said he had nothing specific or particular as yet to communicate; that he was pursuing measures for further discoveries, and that he would mention to Mr. Jay whatever information might result from them.

Mr. Jay resumed his animadversions on the paper in question by observing that it assured him it was necessary "that Congress would give sure and effective tokens of a good correspondence, proposing reciprocal measures of a compensation, etc., in order that his majesty might extend his further dispositions towards them;" that for his part he could conceive of no higher tokens which one nation could give to another of friendship and good-will than their commissioning and sending a person for the express purpose of requesting his majesty to enter into treaties of amity and alliance with them, and that on terms of reciprocity of interest and mutual advantage. To this the Count replied that to this day he was ignorant of these terms, and that no particular propositions had been made him. Mr. Jay then reminded him of his letters from Cadiz, and of the conference on the subject at Aranjues on the 2d day of June last, in the latter of which, after conferring on the subject of aids and of the treaty, his excellency had promised to reduce his sentiments on both to writing and send him notes on each; that, as to the first, Mr. Jay had received the notes, but not on the last; that he had been in constant expectation of receiving them, and that delicacy forbade pressing his excellency on that matter or offering anything further till he should have leisure to complete them.

He said he thought he had given them to Mr. Jay or Mr. Carmichael, which both of them assured him he had not. Of this the Count appeared after a little time satisfied, when Mr. Jay resumed the subject by remarking that the order of conducting that business appeared to him to be this: That as a right was reserved by the secret article to his majesty to accede to the treaty between France and America whenever he thought proper, and that the latter would go into a discussion of any alteration the king might propose that should be founded on reciprocity of interest, the first question was whether his majesty would accede to it as it was, or whether he would propose any and what alterations.

The Count here interrupted Mr. Jay, by saying that the interests of France and Spain with respect to America were so distinct as necessarily to render different treaties necessary. Mr. Jay answered that, admitting this to be the case, the treaty with France might be made the basis and then go on *mutatis mutandis*. [Here follows a page of cipher to which there is no key.] The Count proceeded to say that it would not conduce to the general pacification to hurry on the treaty; that finding Congress were not disposed to cessions, without which the king could not make a treaty, he thought it best, by mutual services and acts of friendship, to continue making way for more condescensions on both sides and not excite animosities and warmth by discussing points which the king would never yield. That, therefore, Mr. Jay might take time to write to Congress on the subject and obtain their instructions.

He said that previous to Mr. Jay's or M. Gerard's arrival at Madrid M. Miralles had informed him that Congress would yield the navigation of the Mississippi, but that M. Gerard informed him that Congress had changed their resolution on that subject; that he had mentioned these obstacles to Mr. Jay and Mr. Carmichael, and

it was probable that having done this, he had neglected or forgotten to give Mr. Jay the notes in question. Mr. Jay here reminded his excellency that the conference between them of the 2d day of June last turned among other points on these obstacles, and that they had then mutually expressed hopes that regulations calculated to remove them in a manner satisfactory to both parties might be adopted, and that the conference, respecting them were concluded by his excellency's promising to give Mr. Jay notes of his sentiments on the proposed treaty. The Count admitted this, and made several observations tending to show the importance of this object to Spain and its determination to adhere to it, saying with some degree of warmth that unless Spain could exclude all nations from the Gulf of Mexico they might as well admit all; that the king would never relinquish it; that the minister regarded it as the principal object to be obtained by the war, and *that obtained*, he should be perfectly easy whether or no Spain procured any other cession; that he considered it far more important than the acquisition of Gibraltar, and that if they did not get it, it was a matter of indifference to him whether the English possessed Mobile or not; that he chose always to speak his sentiments plainly and candidly on those occasions, for which reason he generally acted differently from other politicians, in always choosing to commit himself to paper, and appealing to the knowledge of the French ambassador and others, who had done business with him, for the proofs of this being the principle of his conduct. He concluded by saying he would give his sentiments in writing on this subject to Mr. Jay.

Mr. Jay made no reply to the Count's remarks on the navigation, but observing that, being little acquainted with the practice of politicians, he was happy in having to treat with a minister of his excellency's principles. He added that there were many points necessary to be adjusted in order to a treaty; that they might proceed to agree upon as many as they could, and with respect to the others he should state them clearly to Congress and attend their further instructions.

Mr. Jay then again turned the conference to the paper before mentioned, by observing to the Count that it appeared from it that the king also expected from Congress equivalents to the supplies formerly afforded, and also the expenses of the war, which it alleged had its origin from them. That as to the first, he could only repeat what he had before said, that a general account of them was necessary. That he neither knew the amount of them nor the terms on which they were granted; that it was a transaction previous to his appointment; that on being furnished with the necessary information, he would transmit it to Congress, and wait their instructions; that an expectation of an equivalent to the expenses sustained by Spain in the war was inadmissible on every principle. He read the passage in question, and remarked that America could no more be justly chargeable with the expenses of the war sustained by Spain than Spain could be justly chargeable with the expenses of the war sustained by America. The Count replied that Mr. Jay had mistaken his meaning, and that he urged it merely to show that as the States were deriving considerable advantages from very expensive operations on the part of Spain, that consideration should incline them to more condescension towards the latter.

Mr. Jay assured his excellency that he knew it to be the disposition of Congress to contribute all in their power to the success of the common cause, and that they would on every occasion give proofs of it, and among others that he was confident they would permit his majesty to export from thence *during the war* ship timber and masts for the royal navy, and would readily consent to such measures as might be proper and necessary for facilitating it. He further observed, that having been informed by M. Gardoqui that his majesty would like to take and finish a seventy-four-gun ship now on the stocks in one of the eastern ports, on which it was said no work was doing, he would with pleasure write to Congress and propose their transferring her to his majesty at prime cost. That this previous step was necessary, as Congress might perhaps intend that vessel for particular services, but he was confident they would otherwise be happy in indulging his majesty's inclinations. The Count appeared

leased with this. He said that with respect to timber they stood most in need at resent of yards, and should be glad to obtain a supply of them from Congress. That s to the ship, he wished to be informed exactly of her present state and the mate- als wanted to complete and equip her, which he observed might be sent from the lavana, and whether a crew of Americans could be had to navigate her there. Mr. ay replied that though he was sure that Congress would readily give their aid in ese and other matters interesting to Spain, yet he could not forbear reminding his xcellency as a friend, that public business done under the direction of public bodies as always more expensive than when done by individuals. That, therefore, he ould submit it to his consideration whether it would not be more advisable to com- it the management of these affairs to the agent intended to succeed M. Miralles, who, y being on the spot, would have opportunities of acting on exact information, and n a manner more consistent with the views of his excellency. The Count agreed in is opinion, and promised to communicate to Mr. Jay his further intentions on this bject.

Mr. Jay informed the minister that as his further stay here would now be unneces- ary, and business called him to Madrid, he purposed to return there on Monday next. he Count concurred and the conference ended.

Congress will permit me to observe that many things in this con- erence are important and demand instructions. I forbear to point hem out, because they are obvious; and I take the liberty of giving his hint from a knowledge of the delays attending the proceedings of arge bodies.

I returned to Madrid on the day appointed, and whether to accept or ot to accept the bills became a very serious question. After review- ng all the reasons for and against it, which are numerous, and which Congress will readily perceive without a particular enumeration, I deter- ined to put a good face on the business and accept all that should be pre- ented, which I have accordingly done and am daily doing. What the vent will be I can not pretend to decide. All that I can say is that ny endeavors shall not be wanting to render it successful. The re- ponsibility of the king will not produce much, and the difficulty of orrowing money has been increased by the number of agents sent to Europe for that purpose by several of the States, who I am told have mprudently bidden on each other.

M. Gardoqui returned to Madrid a few days after I did, and brought he word from the minister that instructions should be sent to their mbassadors in Holland and France to assure in due form the respon- ibility of the king to such persons as might there incline to lend us money on the credit of it, and that the minister would do the same ere. He told me further that the minister hoped I would not be dis- ouraged nor consider things only on the dark side, for that it was still is intention to afford America every aid in his power. All this I scribe to the exertions of America, and I am confident that it will lways be necessary for the United States to be formidable at home if ney expect to be respectable anywhere.

For my own part I shall be disappointed if I find courts moving on ny other principle than political ones, and, indeed, not always on those. aprice, whim, the interest and passions of individuals, must and will

always have greater or less degrees of influence. America stands very high here at present. I rejoice at it, though I must confess I much fear that such violent exertions may be followed by languor and relaxation. What the plan of this court is with respect to us, or whether they have any, is with me very doubtful. If they have rejected all the overtures of Britain, why is Mr. Cumberland still here? And why are expresses passing between Madrid and London through Portugal? If Spain is determined that we shall be independent why not openly declare us so, and thereby diminish the hopes and endeavors of Britain to prevent it? She seems to be desirous of holding the balance, of being in some sort a mediatrix, and of courting the offers of each by her supposed importance to both. The bills drawn on me was considered as a desperate measure, prompted by our imbecility, and was a bad card to play at a time we were endeavoring to form a treaty, and when prudence demanded that the importance of Spain to us should not have been brought forward or placed in such a glaring point of view.

One good consequence, however, has resulted from it. The cordiality of Spain has been tried by it. For I know of a certainty that it was in her power easily to have made the loan we asked. Indeed, we shall always be deceived if we believe that any nation in the world has or will have a disinterested regard for us, especially absolute monarchies, where the temporary views or passions of the prince, his ministers, his women, or his favorites, not the voice of the people, direct the helm of state. Besides, from the manner in which the war is carrying on it would seem as if it was the design of France and Spain that the longest *purse*, not the longest *sword*, should decide it. Whether such be really their intention or how far it may be politic I can not pretend to determine. This, however, is certain, that it would be putting the affair on a hard issue for us. It is also certain that some respect is due to appearances and probable events, and we should be cautious how we spend our money, our men, or our public spirit uselessly.

In my opinion we should endeavor to be as independent on the charity of our friends as on the mercy of our enemies. Jacob took advantage even of his brother's hunger, and extorted from him a higher price than the value of the Mississippi even for a single dinner. The way not to be in *Esau's* condition is to be prepared to meet with *Jacob's*.

From what I can learn of the king's character, I am persuaded that a present from Congress of a handsome fast-sailing packet boat would be very acceptable and consequently very useful.

I am informed and believe that a loan from individuals in France is impracticable. Here nothing can be done in that way. What may be expected from the like attempts in Holland I am unable to say.

I have received no answer to my letter to Count de Vergennes; the ambassador informs me that the Count has written him on the subject, and the following is an extract from his letter:

[Translation.]

I doubt whether I shall be able to render Mr. Jay the service he requests of me, ndependently of what the ministry has furnished the Americans in the course of the ear. Dr. Franklin is urgent for a million extra to meet the drafts of Congress to he 31st of December. I am sensible how important it is to prevent them from being eturned protested, but the difficulty is to find the means. I shall do my best in this xigency, but am not sure of success: beyond this it would be impossible for me to go.

Dr. Franklin has obtained some more money from his court, and I m to have twenty five thousand dollars of it; perhaps he may be ble to advance more, but how much I can not say.

NOVEMBER 1, 1780.

No orders have as yet been given respecting the clothing. I have pplied and reapplied and have been promised and repromised. I em-loyed Mr. Harrison at Cadiz (with the minister's concurrence) to make he purchase, and he has several weeks been waiting for these orders.

General Gates is defeated, and Mr. Laurens in the Tower. Our sky n this quarter is again darkened with clouds not in my power to dispel.

I had flattered myself with receiving before this time some regula-ions respecting American seamen.

The house of Le Couteulx have refused to continue their care of them r to advance more money on that account. They complain that the American captains under various pretexts refuse to give them passages vithout being paid for them. This is cruel.

The following are copies of their letter to me on the subject and my nswer:

LE COUTEULX & CO. TO JAY.

CADIZ, *October* 3, 1780.

SIR: Our supplies for the American sailors amount at this day to ———. We will ontinue to render them every service in our power, but will confess to you ingenu-usly, that if you do not furnish us with an order from Congress, by which you em-ower us to oblige all American captains who come here to take a certain number f people, in proportion to their bulk, free of passage, and afterwards so many more n paying them a certain sum for their provisions, we can advance nothing; as all he captains who come here never fail of showing good motives for not taking any f their fellow countrymen without paying them a passage, which forces us to let he people go on board neutral vessels; and instead of fulfilling your views of send-ng them back as soon as possible, this is a means by which they get still further rom it, and a great many engage in the English service.

JAY TO LE COUTEULX & CO.

MADRID, *October* 15, 1780.

GENTLEMEN: I have been honored with your favor of the 3d instant, and am much bliged by your attention to the letter it enclosed. You were not mistaken in sup-osing that the handwriting was mine. That letter was enclosed in one for Mr. Harrison, and sent under convoy to you.

It gives me concern to find that you have so much trouble with American seamen, nd I much lament that it is not in my power to comply with the terms on which lone you incline to continue it. I have written more than once to Congress on the ubject, and submitted to their consideration the propriety of establishing proper

regulations for the conduct of that business, but as yet I have received none. I presume that their attention has been so engaged by other matters of higher and more pressing importance as not to have had leisure for making these arrangements. The refusal of American captains to give passages to their unfortunate countrymen is certainly unkind. I shall communicate to Congress, and I hope proper measures will be taken to remove that obstacle. At any rate, however, I can not leave these unhappy captives friendless in a strange country. The unfeeling treatment of the captains rather stimulates than represses my commiseration, and therefore, gentlemen, as it is not convenient to you to proceed in your care of them but on terms not in my power to comply with, I find myself reduced to the necessity of requesting that favor from others. For this purpose I have written to Mr. Harrison, of your city, and proposed his undertaking it, and have desired him, in case he consented, to mention it to you. On that event I must beg the favor of you to give him such information and advice as may be useful to him in the management of those affairs. Be pleased also to liquidate your accounts with him; they shall be paid without further delay.

The attention and kind offices you have regularly paid to Americans, and the personal civilities that myself and family experienced from you while at Cadiz will always continue to excite my warmest acknowledgments, and lead me to omit no opportunity of convincing you of the esteem and regard with which I am, gentlemen, etc.,

JOHN JAY.

I have before mentioned to Congress my difficulties as to correspondence. They continue, and I am obliged to give Colonel Livingston the trouble of carrying this letter to Bilboa and delivering it with his own hands to the captain of some American vessel. Congress might have letters from me every month if orders were given to the captains of the vessels bringing despatches for me to send a trusty officer with them to me. I know that all are opened and some suppressed, and I think of no other way of avoiding these inconveniences. It is important that our correspondence be uninterrupted.

I have written very particularly, perhaps more so than may be prudent, but as I think it my duty, I pay no regard to consequences. If Congress will be equally well satisfied with less minute information I wish to be told so, that their direction on this head may govern me in future. I can not forbear again observing that few of their proceedings remain long secret. I have very good authority for saying that copies of the letters which passed between the committee and the late commissioners in France are now in the hands of a certain foreigner. How he got them I do not know, but such is the fact, and in my opinion it calls for more care in future.

If my letters meet with the same fate, my remaining here will become a useless expense to my country.

I think I have written everything material to enable Congress to know the exact state of affairs here. If, however, there should be any questions to which an answer would be agreeable to Congress I wish to be informed of them; for since I left America I have made it a rule to be always in a capacity to render a reason for every part of my conduct and state with accuracy every fact relative to it.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN JAY.

Franklin to Sir Grey Cooper, Baronet, Secretary to the Treasury of Great Britain.*

PASSY, *November* 7, 1780.

SIR: I understand that Mr. Laurens, an American gentleman, for whom I have a great esteem, is a prisoner in the Tower, and that his health suffers by the closeness and rigor of his confinement. As I do not think that your affairs receive any advantage from the harshness of this proceeding, I take the freedom of requesting your kind interposition to obtain for him such a degree of air and liberty, on his parole or otherwise, as may be necessary for his health and comfort. The fortune of war, which is daily changing, may possibly put it in my power to do the like good office for some friend of yours, which I shall perform with much pleasure, not only for the sake of humanity, but in respect to the ashes of our former friendship.

With great regard, I have the honor to be, etc.,

B. FRANKLIN.

Dana to Jonathan Jackson.†

AMSTERDAM, *November* 11, 1780.

SIR: You must before this time have heard of the capture of the late President Laurens on his voyage hither; that the enemy affect to consider him a state prisoner, and have, accordingly, confined him to the Tower, *in arcta et salva custodia*. Their treatment of him has marked the barbarity of the nation from the throne to the footstool. Does this look like peace? They recovered a part of his papers, such as the plan of a treaty adjusted by Mr. William Lee with the regency of this city in 1778, a letter from M. de Neufville upon the subject, one from our friend the commodore, one from Mr. Stockton, and one from an amiable character of this country, whom I personally know, Baron von der Capellen. These were hurried over to Sir Joseph Yorke, and by him delivered to the prince, who, it is said, in much wrath laid them before the States of Holland, who transmitted copies of them to the regency, accompanied with certain resolutions.

The regency have openly avowed the act. This has brought on the most extraordinary memorial of Sir Joseph Yorke to the States-General, which perhaps any foreign minister ever made to an independent state, calling for their open disavowal of the conduct of the regency; censuring them as a mad cabal, ever ready to sacrifice the public interests to private views, aiding the natural enemy (France) of both countries in destroying their mutual happiness; and it demands of the States-General also an exemplary punishment of the pensionary Van

* 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 126; 8 Sparks' Franklin, 514; 7 Bigelow's Franklin, 150.
† MSS. Dep. of State; 4 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 547.

Berckel by name, and of all his *accomplices*, as disturbers of the public peace and violators of the laws of nations—that is, of the other members of the city regency, for he acted officially in what he did and by their order.

In default of this, the memorial says the king will take such measures as the maintenance of his dignity and the interests of his people require. The regency have hereupon published the whole matter in the nature of an appeal to the people, which you will doubtless soon have among you. What further measures they have taken to vindicate themselves and their country's rights and interests are not yet made public. The States-General will meet the 22d instant. It is not probable they will or can comply with the several requisitions of this memorial. You may ask me, as in another case, what can Great Britain promise herself from all this? Whether or not she expected to be able to effect a compliance with her demands, which does not seem probable, by the weight of her influence in this republic, or whether this memorial was to serve as a balance to that of the States General, respecting the outrageous violation of her territorial rights by Admiral Rodney at St. Martin's; or whether she foresaw that the States-General would accede to the armed neutrality, and is therefore determined to go to war with them upon other pretenses, so as to avoid, for a time at least, warring upon the whole confederacy—whether any of these things were the motive of this singular conduct is to me uncertain. If she seriously intends to put her threat against this country into execution I should conjecture the last is the prevailing motive; for already Holland and three other of the states have declared for an unconditional accession to the neutral confederacy; two more have declared for an accession, but allege that their territories in both the Indies should be guarantied. This, however, I understand, is not absolutely made a condition, and that their deputies are at liberty to accede without such guaranty if they think fit. The seventh is the province of Zealand, where the influence of the prince is without control. From thence, therefore, nothing short of an open opposition to the neutral system is expected. Whether the other six States are prepared and determined to accede without Zealand a short time will show.

The navy of these states is too feeble at present for an immediate war with England, which they seem to apprehend must take place upon their joining the neutral confederation. They have, I believe, but about twenty-six vessels, instead of the fifty two voted, ready for sea. It has been apprehended their naval preparations have been designedly kept back in order to keep up the fears of the states about a war with Britain. There is no question but the prince is fixed against it, and whatever ideas some of our countrymen may have entertained of the liberties of this people, they are as effectually enslaved by their magistracy as are any people in the Old World by the mighty

ings who hold almost all the rest of it in bondage. Nay, the influence
f the prince seems to pervade almost every department of their gov-
rnment, and the whole machine is much obstructed when set in motion
a direction repugnant to his inclinations and views.

May Heaven preserve us from kings, princes, and stadtholders.
he people are the best guardians of their own liberties and interests.

I am, etc.,

FRANCIS DANA.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.*

AMSTERDAM, *November* 16, 1780.

SIR: On the 10th of this month Sir Joseph Yorke presented to the
tates-General the following memorial:

HIGH AND MIGHTY LORDS: The king, my master, has discovered during the whole
urse of his reign the most sincere desire to maintain the union which has subsisted
r more than a century between his crown and this republic. This union rests upon
e immovable basis of reciprocal interest, and as it has contributed much to the pros-
rity of the two nations, the natural enemy of both employs all the resources of
s policy to destroy it. For some time past this enemy has not labored but with too
uch success, being supported by a faction which seeks to govern the republic, and
hich is always ready to sacrifice the general interest to private views. The king
as seen with as much surprise as regret the little effect which has been produced
y his repeated demands of the succors stipulated by the treaties and the representa-
ons of his ambassadors concerning the daily violations of engagements the most
lemn.

The moderation of the king has induced him to attribute this conduct of your high
ightinesses to the intrigues of an *overbearing cabal*, and his majesty will still persuade
mself that your justice and your intelligence will determine you to fulfill your en-
gements towards him, and to prove by all your proceedings your resolution to put
vigor the system formed by the wisdom of your ancestors, and the only one which
n insure the safety and glory of the republic. The answer of your high mightinesses
this declaration, which the subscriber makes by the express order of his court,
ill be the touchstone of your sentiments and intentions towards the king.

His majesty has had for some time indications without number of the dangerous
signs of an *unbridled cabal*. But the papers of Mr. Laurens, who calls himself a
resident of a pretended congress, have made a discovery of a conspiracy without
ample in the annals of the republic. It appears by these papers that the gentle-
en of Amsterdam have commenced a clandestine correspondence with the rebels of
nerica from the month of August, 1778, and that there were instructions and full
owers given by them relative to the conclusion of an indissoluble treaty of amity
ith these rebels, subjects of a sovereign to whom the republic is bound by engage-
ents the most strict. The authors of this conspiracy pretend not to deny it; on the
ntrary, they avow it, and endeavor in vain to justify it. It is in these circum-
ances that his majesty, depending on the equity of your high mightinesses, demands
formal disavowal of a conduct so irregular, not less contrary to your engagements
e most sacred, than to the fundamental laws of the Batavian constitution. The
ng demands also a prompt satisfaction proportioned to the offense, and an exem-
ary punishment of the pensionary Van Berckel, and of his accomplices, as dis-
rbers of the public peace, and violators of the law of nations.

---

*3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 268; 7 J. Adams' Works, 329.

His majesty persuades himself that the answer of your high mightinesses will be prompt and satisfactory in all respects. But if the contrary should happen, if your high mightinesses refuse a demand so just, or endeavor to evade it by silence, which will be considered as a refusal, in that case the king will not be able to consider the republic itself but as approving of misdemeanors which it refuses to disavow and to punish, and after such a conduct his majesty will see himself in the necessity of taking such measures as the maintenance of his dignity and the essential interests of his people demand.

Done at The Hague the 10th of November, 1780.

JOSEPH YORKE.

Whether Sir Joseph Yorke, after twenty years' residence in this republic, is ignorant of its constitution, or whether, knowing it, he treats it in this manner on purpose the more palpably to insult it, I know not. The sovereignty resides in the States-General; but who are the States-General? Not their high mightinesses, who assemble at The Hague to deliberate; these are only deputies of the States-General. The States-General are the regencies of the cities and the bodies of nobles in the several provinces. The burgomasters of Amsterdam, therefore, who are called the regency, are one integral branch of the sovereignty of the seven United Provinces, and the most material branch of all, because the city of Amsterdam is one-quarter of the whole republic, at least in taxes.

What would be said in England if the Count de Welderen, ambassador at the court of London, had presented a memorial to the king in which he had charged any integral part of their sovereignty, as the whole House of Lords or the whole House of Commons, with conspiracies, factions, cabals, sacrificing general interests to private views, and demanded exemplary punishment upon them. The cases are in nature precisely parallel, although there are only three branches of the sovereignty in England, and there are a greater number than three in Holland.

There are strong symptoms of resentment of this outrageous memorial in Amsterdam, but whether the whole will not evaporate I know not. Many persons, however, are of opinion that a war is inevitable, and insurance can not be had even to St. Eustatia, since this memorial was made public, under twenty or twenty-five per cent.

This memorial is so like the language of Lord Hillsborough and Governor Bernard, that I could scarcely forbear substituting Boston for Amsterdam, and Otis, or Hancock, or Adams for Van Berckel as I read it. I should not wonder if the next memorial should charge the republic with rebellion and except two or three from pardon.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.*

AMSTERDAM, *November* 17, 1780.

SIR: From the time of the arrival of my commission I have been constantly employed in forming acquaintances, making inquiries, and asking advice; but am sorry to be obliged to say that hitherto I see no certain prospect of borrowing any money at all.

For some years past all the information I could obtain from this country led me to think that America had many friends in this republic, and that a considerable sum might be borrowed here, provided application was made to Dutch houses of old families and numerous connections. And after my arrival here I had the opinion of persons whom I had every reason to think knew best, that if proper powers should arrive from the thirteen United States money might be had. But now that all agree that full powers have arrived, I do not find the same encouragement. This nation has been so long in the habit of admiring the English and disliking the French, so familiarized to call England the natural ally and France the natural enemy of the republic, that it must be the work of time to eradicate these prejudices, although the circumstances are greatly altered. Add to this the little decision and success which has appeared in the conduct of the affairs of America and her allies and the series of small successes which the English have had for the last twelve months; the suspense and uncertainty in which men's minds have been held respecting the accession of the Dutch to the armed neutrality; and at last the publication of some papers taken with Mr. Laurens, the part the stadtholder has acted, and the angry memorial of Sir Joseph Yorke concerning them—all these things together have thrown this nation into a state of astonishment, confusion, and uncertainty to such a degree that no house that I have as yet thought it prudent to apply to dares to undertake the trust. The times are now critical indeed. The question will be decided in a few days whether the republic shall join the armed neutrality or not. Four provinces have voted for it; two others have voted in such a manner that their deputies may agree to it; and most men say it will be decided by the plurality.

The King of England demands a disavowal of the Amsterdam treaty and the punishment of the regency. They will not be punished nor their conduct disavowed. The King of England, therefore, must take such measures as he shall think his dignity and the essential interests of his people require. What these will be time alone can discover. Many think he will declare war, but more are of a different opinion.

Congress, who have been long used to contemplate the characters and the policy of this king and his ministers, will see that they are now pursuing towards this republic the same maxims which have always governed them. Their measures in America for many years

*3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 270; 7 J. Adams' Works, 330.

were calculated to divide the many from the few in the towns of Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Charleston; next, to divide the provinces from their capitals; and then to divide the rest of the continent from those provinces which took the earliest a decided part.

Their plan now is to divide the people of Amsterdam from their burgomasters, and to single out M. Van Berckel for the fate of Barnevelt, Grotius, or De Witt; to divide the other cities of Holland from Amsterdam, and the other provinces of the republic from Holland. But they will succeed no better in Holland than in America, and their conduct bids fair to make M. Van Berckel the most respected and esteemed of all the citizens.

In the present critical state of things a commission of a minister plenipotentiary would be useful here. It would not be acknowledged, perhaps not produced, except in case of war. But if peace should continue, it would secure its possessor the external respect of all. It would give him the right to claim and demand the prerogatives and privileges of a minister plenipotentiary in case anything should turn up which might require it. It would make him considered as the centre of American affairs, and it would assist, if anything would, a loan.

I can not conclude without observing that I can not think it would be safe for Congress to draw for money here until they shall receive certain information that their bills can be honored. There are bills arrived here which, if Mr. Franklin can not answer, must, for what I know, be protested.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

Franklin to Vergennes.*

PASSY, *November* 19, 1780.

SIR: I lately received from America the enclosed letters and resolutions of Congress. Such unexpected drafts on me give me pain, as they oblige me either to give your excellency the trouble of such applications or to support their bills, which would much . But your excellency will see the pressing necessity that has driven the Congress into this measure. They would not suddenly by any other means raise the money necessary to put their troops in motion and to co-operate with those of the king, and I hope his majesty, to whose goodness we are already so indebted, will in the course of the next year enable me to pay these bills; none of them have yet appeared; their times of payment are two and three months after sight, and they will probably be many of them long on the way, as American bills often come round by the West Indies.

With the greatest respect, etc.

---

* MSS. Dep. of State.

J. Adams to van der Capellen.*

AMSTERDAM, *November* 20, 1780.

SIR: I have the honor to enclose a small pamphlet lately published, which in this critical moment may do some good.† The hour draws nigh when this republic is to determine whether it will accede to the armed neutrality; but let their determination of the question be as it will, if they do not disavow the conduct of Amsterdam and punish M. Van Berckel and the burgomasters, the King of Great Britain has threatened, and if I am not deceived by his past conduct he will attempt, to carry his threat into execution. If he declares war, or, which is more probable, commences hostilities without a declaration, it will be on pretense of an insult and an injury committed by beginning a correspondence and a treaty with his subjects in rebellion, although they were at that time as completely in possession of an independence and a sovereignty *de facto* as England or Holland were. I hope for the honor of your answer to the proposal I made you by the time limited,

And am, with the utmost respect,

JOHN ADAMS.

From Congress to the King of France.‡

The United States of America in Congress assembled to their great, faithful, and beloved friend and ally Louis the Sixteenth, King of France and Navarre.

GREAT, FAITHFUL, AND BELOVED FRIEND AND ALLY: Persuaded by your majesty's friendship, and of your earnest desire to prosecute the war with glory and advantage to the alliance, we ought not to conceal from your majesty the embarrassments which have attended our national affairs and rendered the last campaign unsuccessful.

A naval superiority in the American seas having enabled the enemy, in the midst of the last winter, to divide their army and extend the war in the southern States, Charleston was subdued before a sufficient force could be assembled for its relief.

With unabated ardor, and at a vast expense, we prepared for the succeeding campaign; a campaign from which, in a dependence on the cooperation of the squadron and troops generously destined by your majesty for our assistance, we had formed the highest expectations. Again

---

*7 J. Adams' Works, 332.

† The abridgement of Pownall's memorial, which had been translated into French at my request, and printed by Mr. Luzac under the title of *Pensées Extraits*, etc. It was afterwards published in English in London under the whimsical title of *A Translation into common sense and plain English, letters to Boston Patriot*, 1809. The title and translation were both made by Mr. Adams himself, as appears from the copy remaining among his manuscripts.—Note to 7 J. Adams' Works, 332.

‡ 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 707.

the enemy frustrated our measures. Your majesty's succors were confined within the harbor of Newport, while the main body of the British army took refuge in their fortresses and under protection of their marine, declining to hazard a battle in the open field, and regardless of their rank among civilized nations, they descended to wage a predatory war. Britons and savages united in sudden irruptions on our northern and western frontiers, and marked their progress with blood and desolation.

The aquisition of Charleston, with the advantages gained in Georgia and the defeat of a small army, composed chiefly of militia, which had been hastily collected to check their operations, encouraged the British commander in that quarter to penetrate through South Carolina into the interior parts of North Carolina, and the ordinary calamities of war were embittered by implacable vengeance. They did not, however, long enjoy their triumph. Instead of being depressed, impending danger served only to rouse our citizens to correspondent exertions; and by a series of gallant and successful enterprises they compelled the enemy to retreat with precipitation and disgrace.

They seem, however, resolved by all possible efforts not only to retain their posts in Georgia and South Carolina, but to renew their attempts on North Carolina. To divert the re-enforcements destined for those States they are now executing an enterprise against the seacoast of Virginia, and from their preparations at New York and intelligence from Europe it is manifest that the four southern States will now become a principal object of their hostilities.

It is the voice of the people and the resolution of Congress to prosecute the war with redoubled vigor, and to draw into the field a permanent and well-appointed army of thirty-five thousand regular troops. By this decisive effort we trust that we shall be able, under the Divine blessing, so effectually to co-operate with your majesty's marine and land forces as to expel the common enemy from our country and render the great object of the alliance perpetual. But to accomplish an enterprise of such magnitude and so interesting to both nations, whatever may be our spirit and our exertions, we know that our internal resources must prove incompetent. The sincerity of this declaration will be manifest from a short review of our circumstances.

Unpracticed in military arts, and unprepared with the means of defense, we were suddenly invaded by a formidable and vindictive nation. We supported the unequal conflict for years with very little foreign aid but what was derived from your majesty's generous friendship. Exertions uncommon even among the most wealthy and best-established governments necessarily exhausted our finances, plunged us into debt, and anticipated our taxes; while the depredations of an active enemy by sea and land made deep impressions on our commerce and our productions. Thus encompassed with difficulties, in our representation to your majesty of June 15, 1779, we disclosed our wants,

nd requested your majesty to furnish us with clothing, arms, and am-
unition for the last campaign on the credit of the United States. We
ntertain a lively sense of your majesty's friendly disposition in enabling
ur minister to procure a part of those supplies, of which, through un-
ortunate events, a very small proportion has arrived. The sufferings
f our army from this disappointment have been so severe, that we
ust rely on your majesty's attention to our welfare for effectual assist-
nce. The articles of the estimate transmitted to our minister are
ssential to our army, and we flatter ourselves that through your maj-
sty's interposition they will be supplied.

At a time when we feel ourselves strongly impressed by the weight
f past obligations, it is with the utmost reluctance that we yield to the
nergency of our affairs in requesting additional favors. An un-
served confidence in your majesty and a well-grounded assurance that
e ask no more than is necessary to enable us effectually to co-operate
ith your majesty in terminating the war with glory and success must
e our justification.

It is well known that when the King of Great Britain found himself
nable to subdue the populous States of North America by force or to
educe them by art to relinquish the alliance with your majesty he re-
olved to protract the war, in expectation that the loss of our commerce
nd the derangement of our finances must eventually compel us to
ubmit to his domination. Apprised of the necessity of foreign aids of
oney to support us in a contest with a nation so rich and powerful,
e have long since authorized our minister to borrow a sufficient sum
your majesty's dominions and in Spain and in Holland on the credit
f these United States.

We now view the prospect of a disappointment with the deeper con-
ern, as the late misfortunes in the southern States and the ravages of
he northern and western frontiers have in a very considerable degree
mpaired our internal resources. From a full investigation of our cir-
umstances it is manifest that in aid of our utmost exertions a foreign
an of specie at least to the amount of twenty-five millions of livres will
e indispensably necessary for a vigorous prosecution of the war. On
n occasion in which the independence of these United States and your
ajesty's glory are so intimately connected we are constrained to re-
uest your majesty effectually to support the applications of our minis-
rs for that loan. So essential is it to the common cause, that we shall
ithout it be pressed with wants and distresses, which may render all
ur efforts languid, precarious, and indecisive. Whether it shall please
our majesty to stipulate for this necessary aid as our security, or to
dvance it from your royal coffers, we do hereby solemnly pledge the
ith of these United States to indemnify or reimburse your majesty,
ccording to the nature of the case, both for principal and interest, in
uch manner as shall be agreed upon with our minister at your maj-
sty's court.

We beseech the Supreme Disposer of events to keep your majesty in His holy protection, and long to continue to France the blessings arising from the administration of a prince who nobly asserts the rights of mankind.

Done at Philadelphia the 22d day of November, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty, by the Congress of the United States of North America, and in the fifth year of our Independence.

Your faithful friends and allies.

SAMUEL HUNTINGTON,
President.

Attest:

CHARLES THOMSON,
Secretary.

J. Adams to Franklin.*

AMSTERDAM, *November*, 24, 1780.

SIR: The letter which your excellency did me the honor to write me on the 13th is received, and I have accordingly accepted the bills, and shall draw upon your excellency about the time they become payable for money to enable me to discharge them, provided I should not succeed in my endeavors to borrow it here. I have hitherto no prospect at all.

When I first arrived here I had such informations as made me believe that a sum of money might be had upon the credit of the United States. But the news from Carolina and New York and the West Indies, but above all the affair of the burgomasters and Sir Joseph Yorke's memorial, have struck a panic, which must have time to wear off. At present I meet with only one gentleman who thinks anything can be done, and I fear that he deceives himself.

I hope by this time your excellency's health is restored, and have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.†

AMSTERDAM, *November* 25, 1780.

SIR: It is now certain that the States-General have, by a plurality of five provinces, determined to accede to the armed neutrality. Zealand and Guelderland have agreed to it likewise; but upon condition of a warranty of the possessions of the republic. If the intention of Sir J. Yorke's memorial was to intimidate their high mightinesses from this measure he has missed his aim. Nor will the conduct of the burgo-

---

* 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 272; 7 J. Adams' Works, 333.

† MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 273.

masters of Amsterdam be disavowed, nor M. Van Berckel nor his accomplices punished. We shall see how the British ministry will disentangle themselves from this perplexity.

All these things, however, so far from aiding our affairs in this nation, seem to have put an entire stop to them for the present. The nation is trembling for their commerce, their money in the British funds, their East and West India possessions, and no man dares engage in a measure that may in some degree increase the alarm.

The bills upon Mr. Laurens I have accepted, those of them at least that have arrived, upon an assurance from Dr. Franklin that in case I should not be able to borrow the money by the time they become payable I may draw upon him for it. I think Congress will perceive the danger of drawing any more until they shall receive intelligence from me that the money is ready.

The choice of a house is a point of so much importance, that I could not justify making it without the most mature inquiry and reflection. Not only the success of the negotiation will depend upon it, but the political consequences of it will be important. I have made every inquiry and several proposals, but all have been politely declined. There are two houses which I believe would accept it, but these, although respectable, are so far from the first rank, that I should be sorry to fix upon either if I could see a prospect of gaining one of higher rank. I am told that opening the loan now would injure us exceedingly; but I know not what to judge. I have found so many opinions mistaken that in this country I can not judge which are well founded.

Fear is ever the second passion in minds governed by avarice. As long, therefore, as the English misrepresentations can make people here believe that there is a possibility of conquering America or of our returning to the government of England so long we shall find little credit here.*

The prince was ill advised when he undertook what he was not obliged to do in producing Mr. Laurens' papers, which he did, too, in a manner justly offensive to the United States. It was the part of Sir Joseph Yorke to have produced them not to the prince but to their high mightinesses. His serene highness, therefore, in this work of supererogation, gave himself the air of an instrument of Sir Joseph, which has not at all recommended him to the Dutch nation.

But Sir Joseph or his master have committed a greater mistake in presenting that intemperate memorial. It is said that he pleads positive orders; but many believe that if he had such orders he procured them from his court, and that the memorial was prepared at The Hague and adjusted to the state of parties and politics in the republic. Be this as it may, both the prince and the ambassador have missed their aim, and the publication of Mr. Laurens' papers has had a contrary effect from what they expected and intended.

* The part of this letter which precedes * is not in MSS. Dep. of State.

The republic, however, is in an embarrassed situation. The prince has a decided inclination for England. He has the command of armies and navies and the gift of so many offices, that his influence is astonishing among the nobility and all the higher families. Besides this the clergy are very generally devoted to him, and their influence among the populace is very great; so that there is great danger that the republic will not be able to exert its real strength even in case England should continue their hostilities. I say continue, because it is certain that by repeated violations of territory, as well as by innumerable captures of innocent vessels, hostilities have been long since begun.

It is the opinion of many here that without the discovery of Mr Laurens' papers the republic would not have acceded to the armed neutrality. As this great confederation is now determined on, we shall see what will be its effects. The Empress of Russia is not of a character to be trifled with; yet I think the English will not respect the new arrangement. They will violate the principles of it, at least toward the Dutch, and risk a war with all the maritime powers of the world at once rather than relinquish America and agree to the principle of free ships, free goods.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

Charles Vernon, Lieutenant Governor of the Tower of London, to Sir Grey Cooper.*

HAMPSTEAD, *November* 27, 1780.

DEAR SIR: I am much ashamed to think that I shall appear so dilatory in answering the favor of your letter, but the truth is I was not in town when the messenger left it in Cork street, and by the neglect of my servants I received it only on Sunday last. I went immediately to the Tower, to know from Mr. Laurens himself if he had any cause of complaint, and if he had availed himself of the indulgence allowed him by the secretary of state of walking within the Tower whenever it was agreeable to himself. His answer to me was full and frank to the questions, that he had received every reasonable indulgence since his confinement, and that by the liberty allowed him of walking he found his health much mended. He said, at the same time, that he had always thought himself highly honored by the distinguished place of his confinement, and regretted much it was not in his power to make known to all the world the acknowledgments he had more than once made to me upon this subject.

I beg you will do me the favor to communicate these particulars to Lord George Germain as soon as convenient.

I have the honor to be, dear sir, etc.,

CHARLES VERNON.

---

* MSS. Dep. of State; 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 127.

Instructions from Huntington, President of Congress, to Franklin.*

IN CONGRESS, *November* 28, 1780.

SIR: The letter† to his most Christian majesty which accompanies hese instructions you will deliver without loss of time; you will on l occasions, and in the strongest terms, represent the unalterable reso- itions of these United States to maintain their liberties and independ- ice, and inviolably to adhere to the alliance at every hazard, and every event. That the misfortunes of the last campaign, instead of epressing, have redoubled their ardor. That Congress are resolved employ every resource in their power to expel the enemy from every art of the United States by the most vigorous and decisive co-opera- on with the marine and troops of their illustrious ally; that they have alled for a powerful army and ample supplies of provisions, and that he States are disposed effectually to a compliance with their requi- tions. That if, in aid of our own exertions, the court of Spain can be revailed on to assume a naval superiority in the American seas, to fur- ish the arms, ammunition, and clothing specified in the estimate here- ith transmitted, and to assist us with the loan mentioned in the letter, e flatter ourselves that, under the Divine blessing, the war must be peedily terminated with glory and advantage to both nations. To rocure these necessary aids you will employ unremitted attention nd your utmost abilities; your own knowledge of our circumstances nd the fact suggested in the letter will supply you with abundant rgument to enforce our requisitions.

You will give Colonel Palfrey, late paymaster-general for our armies nd now our consul in France, all the support which is necessary for he exercise of his consular functions, as well as for the effectual exe- ution of the special authority and instructions which he will com- unicate. The sufferings of our army for the want of the clothing and ms which the grant of his most Christian majesty and your own espatches gave us reason to expect, and the absolute and increasing ecessity of their being immediately forwarded to give efficacy to our ture operations, will sufficiently impress upon you the dangerous onsequences of a further disappointment.

With respect to the loan, we foresee that the sum we ask will be reatly inadequate to our wants. We wish, however, to depend as uch as possible on our internal exertions. In this negotiation the tate of our finances requires that you should endeavor to procure as ng a respite after the war for payment of the principal as may be in our power. You may agree for an interest not exceeding the terms llowed or given on national security in Europe in endeavoring to sus- end the discharge of the interest for two or three years, if possible.

*MSS. Dep. of State; 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 128, with omissions and verbal changes.
†President of Congress to Louis the Sixteenth, November 22, 1780, *supra*.

You are hereby empowered to pledge the faith of the United State by executing such securities or obligations for the payment of the mone as you shall think proper, and also that the interest shall not be re duced nor the principal paid during the term for which the same sha have been borrowed without the consent of the lenders or their repre sentatives. You are to stipulate for the payment of both principal an interest in Spain in specie.

The loan must prove ineffectual unless the specie is actually remitte Experience has shown that the negotiations of bills is attended wit insupportable loss and disadvantage. His most Christian majesty, w are persuaded, will see in the strongest light the necessity of despatc ing an effective naval armament to the American seas. This is measure of such vast moment, that your utmost address will be em ployed to give it success. By such a conveyance the specie may be re mitted by different ships of war with a prospect of safety.

We have received a letter from Stephen D'Audibert Caille, at Sal of which the enclosed is a copy, wherein he styles himself consul fo unrepresented nations at the court of the Emperor of Morocco. If yo shall see no objection to the contrary you will correspond with him, an assure him in the name of Congress and in terms the most respectful t the emperor that we entertain a sincere disposition to cultivate th most perfect friendship with him, and are desirous to enter into treaty of commerce with him; and that we shall embrace a favorabl opportunity to announce our wishes in form.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

SAMUEL HUNTINGTON,
President.

Carmichael to the Committee of Foreign Affairs.*

MADRID, *November* 28, 1780.

GENTLEMEN: I did myself the honor of addressing the committe frequently in the course of the last month; this letter, therefore, ca furnish little besides a confirmation of what I then believed to be th disposition of the court, of the state of Europe, and of this part of more particularly, derived from the best information in my power t obtain.

I have in a great measure confined my inquiries to two objects, th situation of the finances of Spain and its disposition towards us an our ally. Every day gives me reason to think the former are criticall circumstanced. I know from good authority the ways and means fo the next year are not devised yet, and I have great reason to believ that the necessary funds can not be procured by taxation, because th augmentation of the present year's taxes has not produced what th

* MSS. Dep. of State; 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 37, with verbal corrections.

nistry expected, and neither the commerce nor produce of Spain will mit further efforts in this way. In short, the current expenses of 0 have exceeded the revenue twenty-five millions of dollars, and, withstanding, the arrearages to the public creditors are considerable. The loan for nine millions of dollars mentioned in my former letters is yet completed, in part owing to the obstacles thrown in its way by Necker. The resentment of the Spanish ministry which this interence excited has not yet subsided, and I am afraid the prejudices reby excited will not soon be eradicated, although common interest y stifle them apparently at present. The mode of raising money in manner heretofore mentioned may become the only plan practicable uld others now in contemplation not succeed, and Spain may be iged to have recourse to paper, from inability to procure money by er methods.

The court of Great Britain is well informed of their situation through . Cumberland, their emissary here, who spends a great deal of ney,* influenced by which, and other advices, the king has, in his ech to Parliament, openly avowed his determination to prosecute the r with vigor, and he will be supported by a great majority in both ses. From the best information I have been able to collect, I am ry to tell you that the nation will be able to borrow the sum demanded the expenditures of 1781, which, with the usual vote of credit at the l of the session, will amount to sixteen millions sterling at least. e scheme of the ministry to effect this is not yet public, but I am told vill be on similar conditions to that of the present year. Ninety-two usand men are voted for the marine, and I have reason to think a siderable re-enforcement will be sent early to the southward, and t, agreeably to a proposition of Sir J. Amherst, the enemy means to upy and fortify strongly a port near the mouth of the bay of Chesake, from which, with a strong garrison and a naval force, they hope interrupt the navigation of the bay, and, by frequent incursions, event the States of Maryland and Virginia from sending supplies of n, etc., to the Carolinas. Among the troops mentioned to be emked there are three regiments of light dragoons. Your servants arer Great Britain will give you more accurate information.

I am persuaded that our ally will take early measures for defeating ese designs. This latter information is derived indirectly from consations with men in a situation to be well informed. The disposition this court depends much on its hopes of obtaining the objects for which commenced the war, and I should not merit the confidence reposed in if I did not tell you plainly that I believe the exclusive possession of e Gulf of Mexico is the favorite object, and that, if they can not obn it by a connection with the United States, they will endeavor to ocure it by a general, if not by a separate, peace, to which the king's

* This money was only in part refunded to Cumberland, of which, in his memoirs, bitterly complains.

good faith is perhaps at present the greatest obstacle. The Congress knows best the situation of their affairs, and I hope it may be such as to enable them to preserve the rights of all the States.

As I have frequent occasions of seeing the foreign ministers here and their secretaries, I am too often obliged to remark their partiality for Great Britain and jealousy of the house of Bourbon, particularly those of Russia, Vienna, Sardinia, Portugal, and Holland. Some of these, in my opinion, are the best spies England employs here. Jealousy on the one hand, and on the other compassion and admiration, begin to take the place of envy and interest. The transition from these to friendship and support is not difficult, if their masters do not differ in sentiments from their servants. Our perseverance, vigor, and exertions occasion a hesitation with respect to the event of the war which augments or diminishes in proportion to their ideas of the intentions of this court, which leads me to think it probable that if Spain would enter into positive engagements with the United States the hopes of the enemy to divide the allies would be at an end; the neutral powers would think our independence certain, and would endeavor to terminate the war while Great Britain was in such a situation as to be able to preserve her other possessions.

Should the situation of affairs in America be in a worse state than I hope they are, and should the Congress judge it necessary for their establishment to make further advances and sacrifices, permit me to take the liberty of observing that these offers should be accompanied with a proviso of this court's avowing the independence of the States immediately, otherwise the offers should be considered as null, and no pretensions formed thereon in a treaty for a general peace. At the same time, it might suit the States to procure a sum in specie from the Spanish settlements in America and to obtain certain advantages of preference in the admission of the produce of their fisheries into the ports of Spain. I think it my duty to write you fully and freely the sentiments which arise from the opportunity of information you have given me, and should be happy to give you such as would be more acceptable to you and more conformable to my wishes.

Mr. Jay has received and accepted your bills to the amount of 150,000 dollars, and I hope will be enabled to pay them; but this business has thwarted the other part of his mission here in showing our necessities so plainly, for this court seems to expect equivalents for services rendered, and the interest of money advanced to us is not its object. This leads me to repeat what I mentioned in a former letter, of the king's satisfaction for a resolution of Congress permitting the exportation of flour to the Havana, and that every similar manifestation of amity will much contribute to counteract the intrigues of the enemy here. The minister of the Indies lately assured me that his majesty had directed him to return thanks, through the Chevalier de la Luzerne, for the respect shown at the interment of M. Miralles.

Having mentioned this gentleman, I am induced to speak of his ntended successor, M. Gardoqui, who has now been named near five nonths, yet is still here. This detention is one reason, among many thers, which makes me fear the court has not taken a decided part for ne next year, although the last declaration of the ministers on this sub-ect were clear and positive. I have purposely omitted speaking of the perations of the war in Europe and other articles of intelligence, in rder to have it in my power to give you the latest I have received. I ear from England that Mr. Laurens is closely confined and treated as prisoner of state. The committee may be persuaded that retaliation n some of the English prisoners of consequence will be regarded in urope as a proof of the confidence of the Congress in the support of ne people.

A copy of the proposed treaty with the States of Holland was taken mong the papers of Mr. Laurens, and sent by the British ministry to ne stadtholder, who endeavored to criminate the pensionary of Amster-am, and those concerned with him, in consequence of this discovery. Ie is, however, supported by the regency, and this step of the stadt-older not having the effect intended, Sir Joseph Yorke has presented violent and menacing memorial to the States, demanding the punish-ent of the pensionary and his accomplices.* I am advised that this emorial has irritated in place of intimidating, and that since four of ne seven States have agreed to accede to the armed neutrality; the ersons attacked by the British court have no apprehensions, and pos-bly the capture of these papers may eventually be of great advantage o the United States by precipitating the conduct of England, and bliging the States to take a part contrary to their dispositions, and erhaps to the intentions of one or other nation. The situation of M. umas is rendered more critical by this circumstance, and it would be njustice to him not to mention that he is indefatigable to contribute to ur information by his correspondence, and by his frequent publications o represent our situation in the most favorable point of view.

Mr. Jay will transmit Congress a full state of our affairs here, with ll the papers necessary to elucidate it. I have seen but one letter from ongress since my residence in Spain, from which I conjecture Mr. Jay as received but one. He informs me he has written Congress that it as not been my fault that all copies of letters for their inspection did ot appear with my signature. In the month of May I answered in riting the instructions he gave me at Cadiz, as I did *viva voce* at ranjues in April, before he entered Madrid. I should not mention is circumstance to the committee if I did not know that copies of ese instructions had been forwarded to Congress and only abstracts f the most important part of my answer sent them; I will take the berty, therefore, of sending by the first safe opportunity the whole of

* See all the above papers in the Annual Register for 1780, pp. 356–380.

my answer, from no other motive than that of evincing my desire to comply in every point with the duties of the trust reposed in me.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

WILLIAM CARMICHAEL.

DECEMBER 8.

P. S.—The Count d'Estaing sailed the 7th ultimo from Cadiz, and as yet we have no news of his arrival in France. Mr. Cumberland is still here, and awaits an answer to despatches sent by the Abbé Hussey to England, which is daily expected. Mr. Jay has received a letter from M. de Vergennes that France can not provide for the payment of your bills here; but I always hope the credit of America must not be ruined for want of £100,000 sterling, although personally your servants have not money to pay their debts.

W. C.

Sir Grey Cooper to B. Franklin.*

LONDON, *November* 29, 1780.

SIR: I have received the honor of your letter, in which you acquainted me that you understood that the health of Mr. Laurens suffered by the closeness and rigor of his confinement in the Tower, and after complaining of the harshness of the proceeding you request me to endeavor to obtain for Mr. Laurens such a degree of air and liberty as may be necessary for his health and comfort. The enclosed letter, which I received from the lieutenant-governor of the Tower, will show that I have not been inattentive to your request, and at the same time prove that the intelligence you receive of what passes in this country is not always to be depended on for its accuracy and correctness.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

GREY COOPER.

Franklin to Searle.†

PASSY, *November* 30, 1780.

DEAR SIR: I received your kind letter of the 20th and am very sensible of your friendship. Arnold's baseness and treachery is astonishing. I thank you for the account you give me of his preceding conduct, which I never knew before, and shall make a proper use of. I have just received a very particular account of his plot, which is too long to transcribe by this post, but you will see it by next. In the mean time Mr. Adams will communicate to you an extract of a comfortable letter to me from New Port. General Washington was at Bergen, near New

* MSS. Dep. of State; 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 127.

† MSS. Dep. of State.

York, the 19th October. I hope your fears that there may be Arnolds at Paris are groundless. But in such time one can not be too much on one's guard, and I am obliged to you for the caution.

With great esteem, etc.

Jay to the President of Congress.*

MADRID, *November* 30, 1780.

SIR: Your excellency will receive herewith enclosed certain papers from Morocco, viz:

No. 1. Containing a letter of the 21st of April last to me from Audibert Caille, who styles himself the "consul appointed by the emperor for such foreign nations as have none of their own in his dominions, to protect the strangers who may come to traffic in his ports, pursuant to two proclamations published last year."

No. 2. My answer.

No. 3. Copy of M. Audibert's appointment.

No. 4. Copy of a declaration of the emperor, 20th of February, 1778.

No. 5. A letter from M. Audibert Caille to Congress of 6th of September, 1779. Also six printed copies of M. Audibert Caille's certificates.

These papers ought to have been sent with my letters of May last, but recollecting, as I was then about to put them up, that if the originals should be lost on the passage it might be difficult to obtain others, I thought it most prudent to detain them to be copied, and wait for some other opportunity of getting them to the sea; none has, however, since occurred, and I did not think them of sufficient importance to render it necessary that either Mr. Carmichael or Colonel Livingston should carry them to one of the seaports.

It is proper that your excellency should be informed that on the 8th instant I had a conference with the minister at the Escurial, in which I received many good *words* and friendly assurances, but time only can decide how they will terminate. I received a letter yesterday from Mr. Harrison of the 24th instant, and then no orders had arrived about the clothing. These delays may seem singular, but they are not uncommon. Mr. Cumberland is still here. The French and English fleets are at sea.

Although appearances are not very flattering at present, I hope they will in time become more so. Patience, prudence, and perseverance sometimes effect much. It is in my opinion very important that no dissatisfaction be expressed in America at the conduct of Spain. Complaint and disgust can answer no good purpose, but may be productive of many disagreeable consequences. A cautious silence is the more

---

* MSS. Dep. of State; 4 Sparks' Dip. Rev., Corr. 282, with verbal changes.

necessary, as I am confident that there are persons in America who would make a merit of collecting and transmitting the sentiments of Congress, or *members* of Congress, on subjects interesting to the views and objects of persons in power here.

Colonel Livingston would have returned this fall at the expiration of the term expressed in his leave of absence had I not taken the liberty of advising him to remain, and taken upon myself to adjust this matter with Congress. As he is employed and industrious in obtaining knowledge which may enable him to be useful in future to his country, I must join with him in requesting that Congress will be so kind as to extend his leave of absence to such further period as may be agreeable to them.

The enclosed paper, marked No. 6, is a copy of a state of the revenues and expenditures of Spain in the year 1778. It was formed by a secretary to one of the embassies, and a copy of it was given to Mr. Carmichael. I received it the last day of July, and had no safe opportunity of sending it before. What credit may be due to this account I can not determine, and I have reason to think that there are few men in the kingdom who can. This government, disposed to concealment and mystery in most matters, will not probably permit an accurate knowledge of their revenues to be easily attained. This account is perhaps as near the truth as any other. The gentleman, it is said, took much pains in forming it, and it also met with the approbation of some foreign ministers; but how far those ministers were judges of the subject I am uninformed. The remarks subjoined to this account are Mr. Carmichael's, and were added to the copy I received from him.

No. 8 contains copies of several letters which passed between Messrs. de Neufville & Son, of Amsterdam, and myself relative to the bills drawn on Mr. Laurens.* The conduct of that house has been so friendly and disinterested, that I think Congress should be particularly informed of it, and by taking proper notice of it induce others to follow the example.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN JAY.

No. 1.

From D'Audibert Caille to Jay.†

[Translation.]

ARANJUES, *April* 21, 1780.

SIR: By order of his majesty the Emperor of Morocco I wrote on the 6th of September, in the last year to the Congress of the United States of North America, by way of his excellency Dr. Franklin, their plenipotentiary at the court of France, to inform them of the pacific intentions of that sovereign.

---

* These have been inserted in the order of their several dates.

† 4 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 284.

Not having yet received any answer on their part, I fear they have not received my letter, and by way of precaution send your excellency, herewith joined, an open copy, that after perusing it you may make such use of it as you may think proper. I also send you a copy of the two manifests therein mentioned, as well as a translation of the patent of the consuls for foreign nations, with which his majesty the emperor has been pleased to honor me, and some copies of the certificates which he ordered me to give to the captains of ships which sail under his flag.

I wish, sir, that you may receive all these papers with pleasure, and I request your excellency to honor me with an answer, that I may be able to convince his majesty the Emperor of Morocco that I have executed the commission he gave me to make known to Congress that the subjects of the said United States might come and traffic under their own flags in the ports of the Empire of Morocco in the like manner as they formerly did under the English flag.

Before I had the commission to write to Congress I had already written on this subject to his excellency Dr. Franklin, and I offered to interest myself cheerfully in establishing a good understanding between his majesty the Emperor of Morocco and the northern United States.

In case that Congress should be equally well pleased to be at peace with his majesty the Emperor of Morocco, it will be proper to instruct the captains of American armed ships to let freely pass all ships sailing under the flag of his majesty the emperor, and will be provided with a certificate similar to the within-mentioned copies.

I shall probably be obliged to remain here some days; as soon as my business shall be despatched I shall set out for Cadiz, and from thence go to Salé, the place of my residence.

Whenever your excellency may be pleased to honor me with your orders, you may address your letters to Messrs. Paul Greppi, Azarino & Co., merchants, at Cadiz, who will take care to forward them to me.

I am, with profound respect, etc.,

D'AUDIBERT CAILLE.

No. 2.

Jay to D'Audibert Caille.*

SIR: Your favor of the 21st day of April, 1780, with the papers enclosed in it, has come safe to hand.

The declaration of his majesty the Emperor of Morocco does honor to his liberality and wisdom, and I shall with great pleasure transmit the copy of it, as well as of the other papers enclosed with it, to his excellency the President of Congress.

Although I have no particular instructions on the subject, yet the knowledge I have of the sentiments of Congress enables me to give assurances of their disposition to cultivate peace and harmony with all nations. I am persuaded that his majesty's declaration will be very agreeable to them, and that a correspondent conduct on their part towards the subjects of Morocco will convince him of the truth of these assurances. I am much obliged to you for this mark of attention, and I flatter myself that by extending your good offices to such Americans as may resort to the ports of Morocco they will have reason to consider you among the number of their friends.

Should anything interesting to America occur in Morocco, I request the favor of you to communicate it.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN JAY.

---

* MSS. Dep. of State; 4 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 286.

No. 3.

Copy of M. D'Audibert Caille's Appointment.*

[Translation.]

COPY OF A FRENCH TRANSLATION OF A WRITING IN ARABIC, THE MOST AUTHENTIC OF THOSE THAT ARE WRITTEN AT THE COURT OF HIS MAJESTY THE EMPEROR OF MOROCCO.

"Let the name of the only God be praised; there is neither wisdom nor power but what proceeds from the Lord most high and most mighty.

"We make known by this our present and generous writing that we have appointed the Christian D'Audibert Caille, who is the bearer hereof, to officiate as consul for all those nations who have no consuls in our dominion, and who are, the empire of Germany, Russia, Prussia, Naples, Sardinia, Rome, Tuscany, the States of America, Genoa, Ragusa, Hamburg, Lubec, and Dantzic, all of whom may come into our ports, and each of them there traffic under the flag of his nation, such as it may be. The said consul will assist them, by our order, in whatever may be useful to them, in like manner as the other consuls do towards the subjects of their nations. And all the officers and governors of our ports will acknowledge him for a consul as they do the other consuls, and whichsoever of the said nations shall come into our ports they shall not be molested by any of our officers or commandants whatsoever of our ports. To all our captains whom we shall order to cruise by sea the said consul will give a passport, and we renew our order to him to hoist the flag of peace at his house without being therein opposed by anybody. He may also hoist it in any port whatever where he may have a house of commerce, and he shall be mediator between us and the said nations, because we esteem him.

Given the 8th of the moon of Alcahda, 1193. (1st of November, 1779.)"

[Signed by the emperor.]

We, Stephen d'Audibert Caille, a French merchant, resident at Salé, appointed by his majesty the Emperor of Morocco consul of those foreign nations who have none in his dominions to protect them in that capacity on all occasions, and to be mediator between him and those nations, certify to all whom it may concern that the above copy is conformable to the original, compared by Don Miguel Cassori, the interpreter of his Catholic majesty. In faith of which we sign the present certificate, sealed with the seal of the consulate of peace, at Salé.

Done at Aranjues, where I happen to be in passing, the 21st of April, 1780.

S. D'AUDIBERT CAILLE.

No. 4.

[Translation.]

COPY OF THE DECLARATION WHICH HIS MAJESTY THE EMPEROR OF MOROCCO (WHOM GOD PRESERVE) ORDERS TO BE NOTIFIED TO ALL THE CONSULS AND CHRISTIAN MERCHANTS WHO RESIDE IN THE PORTS OF TANGIER, SALÉ, AND MOGADORE, DATED THE 20TH OF FEBRUARY, 1778.

"That in future all vessels which carry Russian, German, Prussian, Hungarian, Neapolitan, Sardinian, Tuscanian, Genoese, Maltese, or American flags may freely enter into the ports of his dominions; and in consequence of his determination he

* 4 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 286. † 4 Ibid., 287.

has given orders to the commanders of his vessels that they let freely pass all ships and other vessels carrying the said flags without molesting them; to the end that they may arrive at his ports, take refreshments, and enjoy in them the same privileges and immunities with those of the other nations with whom his Imperial majesty maintains peace."

I, the underwritten, employed by his Imperial majesty for foreign affairs, certify that the contents of the preceding declaration are conformable to the truth. And in faith thereof I sign this present certificate, at Salé, the 30th of October, 1779.

PEDRO UMBERT.

We, Stephen d'Audibert Caille, a French merchant, residing at Salé, appointed by his majesty the Emperor of Morocco, to be consul of the foreign nations who have none in his dominions to protect them in that capacity on all occasions and to be mediator between him and those nations, certify, to whom it may concern, that the said Don Pedro Umbert, who has signed the above certificate, is employed for foreign affairs at the court of Morocco, and that in the said quality faith is to be given to his signature. In witness whereof we sign these presents, sealed with the seal of the consulate of peace, at Salé, the 1st of December, 1779.

S. D'AUDIBERT CAILLE.

No. 5.

D'Audibert Caille to Congress.*

[Translation.]

SALÉ, *September* 6, 1779.

In quality of a French merchant, who has resided in this town since the year 1773 and whom his majesty the Emperor of Morocco has lately named consul for those foreign nations who have none in his dominions to protect the strangers who might come to traffic in his ports, in pursuance of the two manifestos which he published last year, I have the honor to inform your excellencies that it is his intention to be at peace with the United States of North America, and that their subjects can come to trade freely in his ports under American colors with the like safety with those of the principal maritime powers in Europe who enjoy peace with him. Besides the good reception which the governors of the ports of this empire will give to the subjects of the United States of North America, I will on my part render them all the services which may depend upon me as consul for those foreign nations who have none, and as being charged to invite them to come and traffic freely in these ports in like manner as they formerly did under the English flag.

In order that I may be able to convince his majesty the Emperor of Morocco that I have executed the commission he gave me to write as above to the Congress, I entreat your excellencies to be pleased to honor me with an answer. If you think proper to write at the same time to his majesty the Emperor of Morocco relative to what I have written to you on his part, I will take care to obtain a very satisfactory answer; and I offer to interest myself very willingly, as far as may depend upon me, that a treaty of peace may be made between his majesty the Emperor of Morocco and the United States of North America nearly similar to those which the principal maritime powers have with him.

That this letter may the more safely pass to you I address it to his excellency Dr. Franklin, your plenipotentiary with his most Christian majesty. Your excellencies may answer me through the same channel, or directly by the way of Cadiz, addressing your letter to the Sieurs Paul Grippi, Azarino & Co. My address is, to

* 4 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 288.

Stephen D'Audibert Caille, consul for those foreign nations who have none in the dominions of his majesty the Emperor of Morocco, residing at Salé, or simply "to D'Audibert, Santigo & Co.," which is that of my house of commerce.

I am, with the most profound respect, etc.,

D'AUDIBERT CAILLE.

Jay to the Committee of Foreign Affairs.*

MADRID, *November* 30, 1780.

GENTLEMEN: I have had the honor of receiving from you a letter of the 16th of June and another of the 12th of July, 1780, with the several papers mentioned in them. With respect to the subjects of the first, you will find them fully discussed in my letter to his excellency the President of Congress, which will accompany this. The description of the bills will, I hope, answer good purposes.

How far the resolution which immediately follows the one respecting Mr. Dohrman can be fully executed is hard to determine. Had I funds necessary for the purpose I should meet with few difficulties. The measure is a wise one, and my attention to it shall be unremitted. In a future letter I shall say more on this subject; as yet nothing has had time to ripen.

I must request your attention to the necessity of putting your correspondence with the public servants in Europe on a better footing. I am now at the expense of sending Colonel Livingston to the seaside with my despatches, with orders to wait for American vessels and deliver them to the captain with his own hands. I receive no letters by the post but with marks of inspection and after much delay. Some that I write never come to hand, and I know of letters having arrived from America for me which I have never seen and never expect to see. I know of but one man at the seaports whom I can confide in, viz, Mr. Harrison, at Cadiz. I can not even find a courier that I can depend on. Is it not time for America, like other nations, to provide against these inconveniences by proper regulations and establishments? Would it not be well to have American agents or consuls in one or more of the ports of France and Spain? Public despatches might be sent by packet boats or other vessels to these agents, and should on no account be delivered to any other person. The agents might be ordered to send them to the courts to which they may be directed by a trusty American—one of the officers of the ship, for example—and he should be ordered to wait for and return with the despatches of the minister.

Would it not also be proper to provide for the safe conduct of letters to Congress after their arrival in America? I have reason not only to suspect, but to believe, that certain persons in America are attentive to these matters, and care should be taken to keep American letters out of their way.

---

* MSS. Dep. of State; 4 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 291.

This is an important subject and merits attention. For my own part I find several persons here who have more intelligence from America than myself, and it is the more mortifying when considered that they are probably often indebted for their information to the contents of letters directed to me.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN JAY.

J. Adams to Franklin.*

AMSTERDAM, *November* 30, 1780.

SIR: I have already accepted bills drawn upon Mr. Laurens to the amount of thirty-four thousand three hundred and fifty-eight guilders. How many more will arrive I know not. I shall inform your excellency from time to time as they appear and I accept them.

This republic is in a violent crisis. If a certain party prevails, we shall raise no money here; if they do not, we shall raise very little. Patience is recommended to me and delay, in hopes of a turn of affairs. I am advised to do nothing, to attempt nothing, not even to choose a house, at present.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.†

AMSTERDAM, *November* 30, 1780.

SIR: The state of parties in this republic is still critical. Many anonymous pamphlets appear on both sides. Those which proceed from the English party are virulent against M. Van Berckel. The republic itself wavers according to the events and causes, which are impenetrable. A few days ago the plan appeared to be to accede to the armed neutrality in order to satisfy one party, and to disavow the conduct of Amsterdam in forming with Mr. Lee the project of a treaty in order to appease the other.‡ Fifteen cities, even in the province of Holland, have disavowed this measure; Haarlem and Dort are the only two which have approved it. The grand pensionary of Holland has sent after the courier who had been despatched to the plenipotentiaries at Petersburgh and brought him back to The Hague. What alteration is to be made is unknown. It is now given out that they have determined to increase the fortifications of the maritime towns and augment their garrisons.

---

* 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 275; 9 Franklin's Works, 518.

† MSS Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 275; 7 J. Adams' Works, 338.

‡ See this project of a treaty in letter of William Lee to Committee of Foreign Affairs, October 15, 1778, *supra*.

I see every day more and more of the inveterate prejudices of this nation in favor of the English and against the French; more and more of the irresistible influence of the stadtholder, and more and more of the irresolution, uncertainty, and confusion of the nation. How the whole will conclude I know not. One thing, however, is certain, that Congress can depend upon no money from hence. I have, confiding in the assurances of Dr. Franklin, accepted all the bills drawn upon Mr. Laurens which have yet been presented to me, amountingto thirty-four thousand three and fifty-eight guilders; but I have no prospect of discharging them, or even of deriving my own subsistence from any other source than Passy. Congress will therefore, I presume, desist from any further drafts upon Holland, at least until they receive certain information that money has been borrowed, of which I see no present prospect.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.*

AMSTERDAM, *December* 1, 1780.

SIR: A list which is published of the French and Spanish fleets at Cadiz shows that the English have much to do before they conquer all their enemies.

It is as follows:

FRENCH FLEET UNDER THE COMMAND OF VICE-ADMIRAL COUNT D'ESTAING.

Advance guard or second squadron, first division: The *Zodiaque*, of 74 guns, de la Porte Vezins; the *Robuste*, of 74, chef d'escadre, le Comte de Grasse; the *Active*, of 74, de la Cordounic; the *Lion*, of 64, de Mezières; the *Concorde*, frigate, de Bandran.

Second division: The *Scipion*, of 74 guns, le Baron de Durfort; the *Royal Louis*, of 110 guns, commandant, le Comte de Brengnon, lieutenant-general; the *Bourgoyne*, of 74, de Marin; the *Indien*, of 74, de Cillart; the *Curieuse*, corvette, Lydier.

Third division: The *César*, of 74 guns, d'Espinonse; the *Annibal*, of 74, chef d'escadre, de la Motte Piquet; the *Pluton*, of 74, de la Marthonil; the *Sphynx*, of 64, de Soulauge; the *Cérès*, corvette, de Traversé.

Corps de bataille, or first squadron, fourth division: The *Guerrier*, of 74 guns, du Pavillon; the *Fendant*, of 74, chef d'escadre, le Marquis de Vaudreuil; the *Hercule*, of 74, D'Amblimont; the *Artésien*, of 64, de Peynier.

Fifth division: The *Marseillois*, of 74, d'Albert; the *Terrible*, of 110 guns, general-in-chief, le Comte d'Estaing; the *Zélé*, of 74, de Suffren; the *Triomphant*, of 80, de Preville; the *Néréide*, frigate, de Vigny; the *Lively*, cutter, Ponsaelet.

Sixth division: The *Bien-Aimé*, of 74, de Bermadre; the *Bretagne*, of 110 guns, chef d'escadre, des Hayes de Cry; the *Souverain*, of 74 guns, de Glandères; the *Vengeur*, of 64, de Betz; the *Résolue*, frigate, de Pontives.

Rear guard or third squadron, seventh division: The *Magnifique*, of 74, de Bas le Roy; the *Glorieuse*, of 74, chef d'escadre, de Beausset; the *Hardy*, of 64, de Roades.

Eighth division: The *Diadème*, of 74, de Dampierre; the *Couronne*, of 80, commandant, le Comte de Guichen, lieutenant-general; the *Héros*, of 74, de la Grange; the *Alexandre*, of 64, de Beaumont; the *Medea*, frigate, de Bergarion.

---

* MSS. Dep. of State.

Ninth division: The *Dauphin Royal*, of 70 guns, de Mithon; the *Protector*, of 74, Apchon; the *Invincible*, of 110 guns, chef d'escadre, de la Cary; the *Citoyen*, of 74, ieul; the *Courageuse*, frigate, de la Bigandière.

For the convoys: The *St.-Michel*, of 64 guns, d'Aymer; the *Amphion*, of 50, de St.-ésaire; the *Sagittaire*, of 50, de Castellane; the frigates the *Amphitrite*, de Langnon, e *Magicienne*, de la Bouchetière; the *Vénus*, de Belizarre; the *Flute*, the *Ménagère*, e Viare; the brigantine the *Brittannia*, de Lâge.

The Spanish squadron under the command of Don Louis de Cordova, director-general of the naval army:

Advance guard or second squadron, first division: The *St.-Michel*, the *St.-Laurent*, ief d'escadre; the *St.-Eugène*, the *Galic*, all of 70 guns, with a frigate.

Second division: The *Purissime Concepcion*, 112 guns, chef d'escadre (mounted by on Michel Gaston); the *St.-Juste*, of 70; the *Septentrion*, of 64; the *Vainqueur*, of 70; e *St.-Jean Bâtiste*, of 70, with the *Castile*, of 50 guns.

Corps de bataille, or first squadron, third division: The *Terrible*, of 70; the *St.-idore*, of 70; *L'Ange de la Garde*, of 70; the *St.-Ferdinand*, of 80, chef d'escadre.

Fourth division: *La Très Sainte Trinité*, of 114 guns, commandant, General Don ouis de Cordova; the *St.-Charles*, of 80, chef d'escadre (mounted by Don Vincent oz); *L'Afrique*, *Le Brilliant*, and the *St.-Paseat*, all of 70 guns, with a frigate and vo fire ships.

Rear guard or third squadron, fifth division: The *St.-Vincent*, of 80; the *Ste.-Isabelle*, ief d'escadre; the *Ferme*, and the *St. Joachim*, all of 70 guns, with a frigate.

Sixth division: The *Foudre*, of 80, chef d'escadre; *Le Serieux*, *L'Atlante*, and the *St. amose*, all of 70 guns, with the vessel the *Miño*, of 50 guns.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect, sir, your most bedient and most humble servant.

Franklin to the President of Congress.*

PASSY, *December* 2, 1780.

SIR: The many mutual advantages that must arise from carrying nto execution the proposition already communicated to Congress of urnishing provisions to the king's forces in America, to be paid for ere, have, I make no doubt, already induced them to begin that operaon. But as the proposition has lately been renewed to me on occasion f my requesting further aids of money to answer the unexpected rafts drawn upon me ordered by the resolutions of May and August st, which drafts it is absolutely necessary I should find funds to pay; nd as the Congress have long desired to have the means of forming unds in Europe, and an easier, cheaper, and safer method can not posbly be contrived; and as I see by the journals of February that the everal States were to furnish provisions in quantities instead of supplies in money, whereby much will be in the disposition of Congress, I atter myself that they will not disapprove of my engaging in their ehalf with the minister of the finances here that they will cause to be elivered for the king's land and sea forces in North America such pro-

* MSS. Dep. of State; 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 130, with omissions; 8 Sparks ranklin, 521.

visions as may be wanted from time to time to the amount of four hundred thousand dollars, value five livres tournois per dollar, the said provisions to be furnished at the current prices for which they might be bought with silver specie.

I have constantly done my utmost to support the credit of Congress by procuring wherewith punctually to pay all their drafts, and I have no doubt of their care to support mine in this instance by fulfilling honorably my engagement; in which case, receipts in due form should be taken of the person to whom the provisions are delivered in the several States and those receipts sent to me here.

With great respect, etc.,

B. FRANKLIN.

P. S.—This value, $400,000, is to be considered as exclusive of any provisions already furnished; but the receipts for those should also be sent me, if not paid for there.

Franklin to Lovell.*

PASSY, *December* 2, 1780.

SIR: I duly received your several favors of August the 15th and September the 7th, with the resolves of Congress for drawing on me bills extraordinary to the amount of near three hundred thousand dollars. To keep up the credit of Congress I had already engaged for those drawn on Mr. Laurens. You can not conceive how much these things perplex and distress me; for the practice of this government being yearly to apportion the revenue to the several expected services, any after demands made, which the treasury is not furnished to supply, meet with great difficulty, and are very disagreeable to the ministers. To enable me to look these drafts in the face I have agreed to a proposal contained in the enclosed letter to the President of furnishing provisions to the king's forces in America, which proposal I hope will be approved and executed, and that the Congress will strictly comply with the assurance you have given me, not to draw on me any more without first knowing that they have funds in my hands.

I wrote to you more fully by Captain Jones. He sailed some time since in the *Ariel*, but met with a severe storm that entirely dismasted him, and obliged him to put back for France. He has been long refitting, but will sail again soon. Everything goes well here.

With great esteem, etc.,

B. FRANKLIN.

* MSS. Dep. of State; 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 130; 8 Sparks' Franklin, 520.

Franklin to the President of Congress.*

PASSY, *December* 3, 1780.

SIR: I duly received the letter your excellency did me the honor of riting to me on the 12th of July past by Mr. Searle, and have paid e bills drawn on me by order of Congress in favor of the president nd council of Pennsylvania for one thousand pounds sterling, which ere presented by him. He is at present in Holland.

The news of Mr. Laurens having being taken must have reached you ng since. He is confined in the Tower, but of late has some more lib- ty for taking air and exercise than was first allowed him. Certain apers found with him relating to the drafts of a treaty proposed in Hol- nd have been sent over to the stadtholder, who laid them before their gh mightinesses, who communicated them to the government of the ty of Amsterdam, which justified the transaction. This has drawn om England a memorial, delivered by Sir Joseph Yorke, demanding at the pensionary and magistrates of that city should be punished, nd declaring that the king will resent a refusal of the States to comply ith this demand. What answer will be given to this insolent memo- al we do not yet know. But I hear it has produced much displeasure Holland, and it is thought to have occasioned a more prompt acces- on to the armed neutrality, which had before met with obstructions om the English party there.

We have met with a variety of unaccountable delays and difficulties the affair of shipping the clothing and stores. The *Alliance* went vay without taking her part. The *Ariel* sailed, but met a storm at a that dismasted her and obliged her to return to France. She is early again ready to sail. Mr. Ross, with his cargo of clothes in the *uke of Leinster*, sailed under convoy of the *Ariel*, but did not return with r, and I hope may get safe to America. The great ship we hired to me to L'Orient and take in the rest of what we had to send has been ng unexpectedly detained at Bordeaux. I am afraid the army has ffered for want of the clothes; but it has been as impossible for me avoid as it was to foresee these delays.

The late minister of the marine here, M. de Sartine, is removed and s place supplied by M. le Marquis de Castries. But this change es not affect the general system of the court, which continues favor- le to us.

I have received a copy of the resolutions of Congress of the 19th of May, nd the 9th, 15th, 23d, and 30th of August, directing bills to be drawn n me for near $300,000. I shall accept the bills, hoping the Congress ill approve of and readily comply with the proposition contained in a tter to your excellency accompanying this dated the 2d instant. Prob- ly an answer may arrive here before many of those bills shall become

*MSS. Dep. of State; 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 131, with verbal changes; 8Sparks' ranklin, 522.

due, as few of them are yet arrived. If that answer ratifies the agreement I have made I shall have no difficulty in finding means to pay the rest. If not, I shall scarce be able to bear the reproaches of merchants, that I have misled them to their loss by my acceptations, which gave a promise of payment that, not being fulfilled, has deranged their affairs, to say nothing of the power I am told the consul's court here has over the persons, even of ministers, in the case of bills of exchange. Let me, therefore, beg your excellency to use your endeavors with Congress that this matter may be immediately attended to.

Mr. Jay no doubt has acquainted you with his difficulties respecting the drafts upon him. I am sorry I can not extricate him, but I hope he will still find means.

The *Mars*, an armed ship belonging to the State of Massachusetts, in her way to France, took and sent to New England a Portuguese ship bound to Cork, with salt, belonging to some merchants there. The Portuguese captain, who is brought in here, complains heavily of ill usage and plunder, besides taking his vessel, and the ambassador of that nation has communicated to me these complaints, together with all the papers proving the property of the vessel, etc., representing at the same time the good disposition of the queen towards our States, and his wishes that nothing might lessen it or tend to prevent or delay a complete good understanding between the two nations. I advised that the owners should send over their claim and empower some person to prosecute it, in which case I did not doubt our courts would do them justice. I hope the Congress may think fit to take some notice of this affair, and not only forward a speedy decision, but give orders to our cruisers not to meddle with neutral ships for the future, it being a practice apt to produce ill blood, and contrary to the spirit of the new league which is approved by all Europe; and the English property found in such vessels will hardly pay the damages brought on us by the irregular proceedings of our captains in endeavoring to get at such property.

With the greatest respect, I have the honor to be, etc.,

B. FRANKLIN.

Franklin to Dumas.*

PASSY, *December* 3, 1780.

DEAR SIR: I have before me yours of the 9th and 16th of November, which I think are the last I received from you. With regard to the augmentation of your salary, I would not have you place too great a dependence on it, lest a disappointment should thereby be rendered more afflicting.

If a good peace were once established we should soon be richer, and better able to reward those that serve us. At present the expense of

* 7 Bigelow's Franklin, 167.

he war hangs heavy on the United States, and we can not pay like ld and rich kingdoms. Mr. William Lee has, as you observe, acted ery imprudently in that affair, but perhaps some good may come of it.

Mr. Adams has written to me for a copy of a letter I formerly wrote o ———. If you have such a one please give it to him. I imagine he ather means a letter I wrote to you, in which I represented our girl as jolly one, and who would be a good fortune in time, etc. I have no opy of that. If you still have that letter, please give Mr. Adams a opy of that also.

I wish much to see the answer that their high mightinesses will give o the insolent memorial presented by Sir Joseph Yorke. If they com- ly with it, and punish or censure the pensionary of Amsterdam, I hall think it a *pierre de touche* for the stadtholder, as well as for the King of England, and that neither Mr. Adams will be safe at Amster- lam nor our ships in any port of Holland. Let me therefore know by he earliest means the turn this affair is like to take, that I may adver- ise our government and our merchants.

I am, etc.,

B. FRANKLIN.

Vergennes to Luzerne.*

VERSAILLES, *December* 4, 1780.

I have too good an opinion of the intelligence and wisdom of the nembers of Congress and of all true patriots to suppose that they will llow themselves to be led astray by the representations of a man whose character they ought to know, or that they will judge of us from ny other facts than the generous proceedings of his majesty. As to Dr. Franklin, his conduct leaves nothing for Congress to desire. It is s zealous and patriotic as it is wise and circumspect, and you may ffirm with assurance, on all occasions where you think proper, that he method he pursues is much more efficacious than it would be if he vere to assume a tone of importunity in multiplying his demands, and bove all in supporting them by menaces, to which we should neither give credence nor value, and which would only tend to render him per- onally disagreeable. You will moreover readily perceive that such nenaces would be the more superfluous and ill-judged, as, believing hat Congress would be incapable of dictating them, we should put hem all to the account of their representative, and he would derive no ther fruit from them than the irreparable loss of our confidence.

Furthermore, that Congress may be enabled to judge that they ught to rely much more on our good-will than on the importunity of Dr. Franklin, you may inform them that upon the first request of heir minister we have promised him a million of livres to put him in a condition to meet the demands made on him from this time till the end

* 7 Sparks' Washington, 379.

of the year; that we are occupied in providing for him new resources for the year coming; and that, in short, we shall in no case lose sight of the interests of the American cause. I flatter myself that these marks of regard will be understood by the patriots, and will destroy any prepossessions which the ill-advised language of Mr. Izard and Mr. Arthur Lee may have produced.

Luzerne to Washington.*

[Translation.]

PHILADELPHIA, *December* 5, 1780.

SIR: I flattered myself that the clothing destined for the army under the command of your excellency had at length arrived in the river in the vessel of Paul Jones, or in one of those coming under his convoy; but I regret that you have not yet had that satisfaction. A passenger who arrived in one of this convoy told me that when this little squadron, which left France on the 8th of October, should arrive they would bring but little clothing, being in great part laden with arms and ammunition; but he added that the *Serapis* is destined to bring the remainder of the clothing, and that we may hope to see the vessel arrive soon in our ports. I am anxious to have an opportunity of giving your excellency notice of the arrival of these articles.

I have received certain intelligence that an expedition composed of four thousand troops, convoyed by eight vessels of war, departed on the 16th of October from the Havana to attempt an expedition against Pensacola. But it is thought that the terrible tempests which they may have received on the passage may have retarded the fleet.

Another expedition was to depart in the month of December to attack St. Augustine. It was to be composed of ten thousand men, regulars and militia, and twelve vessels of war. I wish sincerely that the operation may meet with success, and thus make an advantageous diversion in favor of the United States in that quarter.

The Chevalier de Chastellux and the officers who had the honor of visiting you at headquarters desire me to present their respects to you. They hope to have the honor of seeing you again on their return.

I am, etc.,

LUZERNE.

A. Lee to the President of Congress.†

PHILADELPHIA, *December* 7, 1780.

SIR: I received in due time the letter which your excellency did me the honor of writing me on the 26th of October, enclosing a resolution of Congress, by which I am directed to lay before them all the information in my power relative to their affairs in Europe.

---

* 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 710.

† MSS. Dep. of State; 1 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 583, with omissions.

As a citizen of the United States I should have immediately complied with the desire of that respectable body, had I not felt myself embarrassed by the dubious light in which the manner of my dismission from the public service had placed my conduct.*

The information Congress requires should comprehend the conduct, character, views, and dispositions of the courts and ministers with which these United States are connected, and the proceedings of the servants of Congress in Europe. It is hardly to be expected that I should commit to paper what I know and think of the former and of the latter; the disputes which have been artfully excited and fomented make it a painful task to speak even the truth.

In my letter of the 21st of May, 1779, I have written as far as I might of the state of Europe, and the most material alterations since are the declaration of Spain against Great Britain upon a distinct ground, and the league of the neutral powers, planned by the Empress of Russia, to maintain and enlarge the rights of neutral ships. But the real policy of this plan was to prevent the house of Bourbon, as well as Great Britain, from acquiring a dominion of the seas dangerous to the liberties of the rest of Europe.

[In my letters of February 10, February 25, and April 20, 1779, with my observations on the conduct of Dr. Franklin and Mr. Williams, about the account of the latter and on the contract made by Dr. Franklin and Mr. Deane, with the Farmers-General, I proved by evidence to my comprehension adequate and irresistible the misconduct of those persons in points of high concern to the public. To those letters and the evidence accompanying them I must now beg leave to refer you. The same persons, Mr. Dean excepted, are still in public trust, and continue the same neglect of the public business, the same suspicious employment of the public money, together with violences upon the personal liberty and property of the subjects of these United States as would be an opprobrium to the worst of men in the worst of times. Of these things numbers of Americans who came over in the *Alliance* can bear testimony on oath. We were all witnesses to the *Alliance* frigate being detained at L'Orient, useless and greatly expensive to the public, at a time in which she could have been so essentially serviceable in convoying stores to America, merely from a fraudulent detention of prize money by M. de Chaumont, the agent of Dr. Franklin. The opportunity of sending supplies with and under the protection of the *Harmione* frigate and another under the convoy of M. de Ternay's fleet was neglected. The offer of the transports which had returned from carrying

* DECEMBER 1.

Resolved, That Mr. Lee be informed that Congress approve of his retaining the picture; that he be further informed, in answer to his letter, that there is no particular charge against him before Congress properly supported, and that he be assured his recall was not intended to fix any kind of censure on his character or conduct abroad.

the supplies I procured for the State of Virginia was rejected, and Congress may learn it to be fact that both the Marquis de la Fayette and M. de Rochambeau offered to bring and urged the sending the soldiers, clothes with them, and yet none were sent out. Perhaps the minister of Congress has given them satisfactory reasons for this neglect.

The truth is that Dr. Franklin is now much advanced in years, more devoted to pleasure than would become even a young man in his station, and neglectful of the public business. It is for this and for other reasons, which will appear when his conduct is more fully examined, that the public business is devolved, together with his most unlimited confidence, upon M. de Chaumont, Mr. S. Wharton, Dr. Bancroft, and Mr. W. T. Franklin, son of the late governor of the Jerseys, persons notoriously unfit for such trust. To this is added the most intimate confidence and friendship, and even family connection, with a Mr. Alexander, the bosom friend of Mr. Pultney, and Governor Johnstone, his brother, and of all men living the most to be suspected of being a spy for the British court. Through him and through Governor Franklin there is every reason to suppose the secrets of the court of France and of the embassy to it from these States are betrayed.

A similar ground of suspicion attends the embassy to Spain. The secretary to it is in the most confidential correspondence with a Swiss banker at Amsterdam, who has a son-in-law a Swiss officer in the British service. It was the knowledge of this transaction that induced me to recommend to your minister at Madrid to keep the secrets of his negotiation as much as possible to his own breast. As nothing would more strongly recommend the son-in-law than his being able to furnish the British court with such sure and correct intelligence of what passes at the court of Madrid, there is every reason to apprehend that what is communicated to the banker will be applied to this purpose.

It is more than probable that secret intelligence through this channel of the inadmissibility of the demands of the Spanish court was the ground on which that of Great Britain sent a negotiator to Madrid to effect an accommodation and draw that people from the war.

I could say a great deal more upon the conduct of public affairs by Dr. Franklin and his agents, but that it is extremely unpleasant and I can not but think would be useless. If a candid consideration of the whole tenor of Dr. Franklin's conduct, with the total disorder and neglect which prevails in the public affairs committed to him will not satisfy gentlemen that the continuance of him in office is incompatible with the public honor and interest, neither will anything that I can say; but the measure of his misconduct must be more full and manifest to every eye and the public be injured still more before the prejudices of ancient opinions will suffer men to see with their eyes and hear with their ears. I hope therefore that I may be spared the ungracious task of entering more minutely into his conduct, which I saw with shame and sorrow and remember with regret. There were more than a dozen

American gentlemen who came over in the *Alliance* frigate, all of whom could bear testimony to the shameful conduct of your affairs in France, and many of these resided there for years and have seen much; particularly Mr. Brown, of South Carolina, now in this city; Captain M. Livingston and Major Frazer, now in Virginia. When justice is done to the public by calling Dr. Franklin to a trial for his conduct, which has been so long impeached, I shall be ready to give my testimony more fully concerning him before God and my country.]*

The ineffectual attempts which have been made in Europe for obtaining money and the disposition which I observed on that subject, satisfied me that however essentially necessary it may be at this juncture, it will be infinitely difficult to succeed. The court of France in particular will not, I am of opinion, assist us with any adequate sum but from being fully impressed with the indispensable necessity of it to the maintenance of our independence, and that we are by wise and honest systems retrieving the public credit, and establishing funds which may soon relieve them from the burden of supplying us.

[And here it is of very material consequence to consider that, from the manner in which money has hitherto been received from that court, it is the interest of Dr. Franklin, M. de Chaumont, and all concerned with them to oppose or contrive to frustrate the obtaining a loan or subsidy to be remitted hither, which seems essential to the defense of these United States, because it would be diverting it from their channel, and deprive them of the means of making immense fortunes.]*

With regard to loans from the public at large in Europe, you will permit me, sir, to repeat what I had the honor of writing to the committee of Congress November 6, 1779. "I perceive by the journals that a committee is appointed for framing a plan of a foreign loan. It is my duty to say that there is not the least probability, in the present situation of things, of obtaining any adequate loan in Europe, and to beseech Congress not to let the vain expectation of that divert their attention from trying every resource at home. It is necessary that the impressions to our discredit, which have arisen from the unsuccessful attempts that have been already made, should wear off and some favorable event occur, such as the enemy being obliged to draw off their troops, before it will be possible to succeed in such a plan. In the mean time the repetition of ineffectual attempts will only debase your credit more, and especially if they are accompanied with the offer of more than ordinary interest, which ever augments the suspicion of the insecurity of the principal, and that the borrowers are themselves conscious of their insufficiency." Since the time the above was written the successes of the enemy against us have necessarily increased the improbability of our having credit to found a foreign loan.

From the experience I have had of your foreign affairs, as well as from the example of all other states, the establishment of a secretary

* Passages in brackets omitted in Sparks' ed.

of state for foreign affairs, who may digest them into system and conduct them with regularity, seems absolutely necessary.

There remains one object of the last importance to the most essential interest of these States in the final settlement of the present contest, that is the court of Petersburgh. The vast power of the Russian Empire, the wisdom and extensive views of its ministers, and the respectability of its empress give that court the greatest weight among the confederate neutral powers. These certainly hold the balance in this war, and most probably will dictate the terms of a general pacification. The wisdom of Congress will therefore perceive that it is of the greatest consequence that the views and opinions of that court in this question should be known to them, and measures taken to impress the empress and her council with a favorable opinion of our cause, and this more especially as the empress has been hitherto left entirely to English impressions, and some degree of disrespect shown her in applications to other powers.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

ARTHUR LEE.*

* The passage in brackets, which was omitted by Sparks in his edition, is here given, not merely as a matter of editorial duty, but because in no other way can the action of Congress in 1780 toward Franklin and France be understood. The letter as above printed was read in Congress, and its assertions were strongly backed. Arthur Lee presented with it the personal indorsement of John Adams; and as John Adams, as will be seen from his letters as given in the text, was in the habit, when addressing Congress, of speaking of Franklin's work as if it were done by somebody else than Franklin, this depreciatory view of Franklin was shared by a majority of the Massachusetts delegation. From South Carolina appeared Izard, first as an appellant and then as a delegate, and Izard carried with him the majority of the delegation from that State. Arthur Lee had his brother on the Virginia delegation, in which he himself was soon to appear. There was therefore a strong personal party in the house hostile to Franklin. While on account of absence not only he was incapable of replying to the charges now brought in such brutal directness against him, but there was no one in Philadelphia who from familarity with the facts could meet these charges with a direct denial. It is no small tribute to Franklin's greatness that he endured without injury through such violent attacks. It is true Congress, yielding for a time to this fierce assault, adopted the extreme and perilous measure of sending John Laurens to Paris to undertake Franklin's office of pressing on Vergennes the need of further loans to the United States. Had Franklin been of less patient and patriotic fiber, he would, on Laurens' arrival, have accepted that repose which his opponents asserted was his constant condition. Hard, however, as must have been the blow, he received Laurens with gracious kindness; and upon it becoming evident, even to Laurens himself, that his mission would be a failure, Franklin resumed with unwearied skill and energy his post, and succeeded in obtaining the relief which Congress so much needed. It is only by bringing the full correspondence together that the extraordinary course of Congress in this relation can be explained. Its trust in Franklin was greatly shaken by the accusations of Arthur Lee, as given in the text and as sustained by the friends of Izard and of John Adams. But on the return of Laurens, a man of high honor, and on the reports received from him and the French minister, that trust, so far as the majority was concerned, was restored. If Franklin is to be blamed in the matter, it is for his own silence when charged by his late associates with such serious offenses. But be that as it may, it is due to him

Franklin to La Fayette.*

PASSY, *December* 9, 1780.

DEAR SIR: I received your very kind letter of the 9th of October, dated at the light camp on the Passaic River. It is the only one of yours that has yet come to my hands. I lament with you the circumstances that prevented the placing a stronger naval force in North America last summer and the consequences of that failure, but am nevertheless very sensible of the advantages that attended the arrival

---

and to Congress that the action of Congress in apparently superseding and then renewing its confidence in Franklin should be explained.

But there is another reason for giving the above letter in full as it was read to Congress. It gives us in such a way that we can now, with our present lights, not only understand clearly but discuss fully the charges under which Franklin, and with him his country, then tottered. These charges, not only as made in the above letter, but as renewed with very little respite as long as Franklin remained a servant of the United States (see particularly a letter from Gouverneur Morris to Franklin, of September 28, 1782) are as follows:

1. *Franklin neglected his duties and did virtually nothing.* It will appear from the correspondence in the text that down to the period in which this charge was made Franklin was the only one of our envoys in Europe by whom business was done with the courts to which they were accredited. Adams was not received at Holland, and in France he had, by his overbearing tone, shut himself out from diplomatic intercourse with Vergennes. Arthur Lee, when Franklin's colleague, was at least of no aid in the negotiations then pending with France, while Madrid, to which he was specially commissioned, he was not even permitted to approach. Carmichael and Jay were compelled to be equally inefficient in Spain. William Lee was forbidden in terms of undisguised sarcasm to approach Berlin. Dana, when he reached St. Petersburg, did not even presume to present his credentials until after the treaty of peace. It may be now safely stated, after a scrutiny of the text of this work, that Franklin did all the effective business that was done in Europe down to the end of 1780, and was the leader, reluctantly but necessarily followed by his colleagues in the subsequent peace negotiations; and the business performed by him was enormous. He had no one with him to share its burden. The utter financial collapse in 1779–'80 in the United States made him the statesman on whom alone the country could rely for funds; the necessity of aid from France to protect the revolutionary cause from temporary ruin, and the fact that he alone of all the American envoys, had the confidence of the French court, made that cause hang upon him. And he alone did the work. It was by him alone friendly relations with France were kept up. It was by him alone money was obtained. "I can get no money in Spain" was the cry of Jay; and the bills drawn on him by Congress went to protest, and were only saved from ruin by Franklin's intervention. So it was with Adams' efforts to raise money in Holland; while the Lees were repulsed from Berlin with a sneer, while Vienna was closed to William Lee, and the Empress of Russia let it be understood that she regarded the American Government as a conspiracy of insurgents, whose agents she would not tolerate in an official character in her domains. Franklin was during this period not merely secretary of state, but secretary of the treasury, for the United States. Congress was two months off, and until Livingston took office it had no distinctive foreign department. And able as was Morris, it was to Franklin that Morris, who had charge of the finance department, as the correspondence in the text shows, had to resort in the darkest day that department had to meet. "On this occasion,"

* MSS. Dep. of State.

of that we have. The minister you left in the marine department here is since changed, but the good disposition of the court towards us remains the same. The faults common fame ascribes to him are that he spent too much money on his fleet, and that too little was done by it. I hope his successor will furnish you the addition you wish for.

There has been a kind of fatality attending the affair of sending out the clothing. A number of unforeseen and unaccountable accidents have delayed and prevented it from time to time. Part of it is however at length gone, and the rest in a fair way of going soon, with the

---

said Morris to Franklin, on January 11, 1783, "your sovereigns will expect your most vigorous exertions, and your country will, I trust, be indebted to you in a degree for her political existence." And these vigorous exertions were made, and made as successfully as they had been during his whole diplomatic career, and though made amid the bitterest personal opposition, and without a statesman from his own country at his side to consult with and share his labors. But the work throughout was immense, immense in the correspondence and completed accounts it required; enormous in its vast responsibilities; enormous in the exercise of mental and physical power it required.

2. The charge of illicit correspondence with the enemy had no foundation. Franklin no doubt communicated to the English leaders of opposition such facts as would aid them in the attempt on their part to bring about an acknowledgment of American independence. But, as has been already shown, the true intelligence of American and French movements that went from Paris to London and the false intelligence of British movements that went from London to Paris passed through the traitorous secretaries of Arthur Lee.

3. There was no peculation on the part of Franklin or his associates. Franklin lent to Congress all his available funds when he went to France, and he came back from France poorer than when he reached her shores. Chaumont threw so much of his funds into the purchase of supplies that he was virtually insolvent in 1780, and all that he came out of the war with was land in New York, which, as we have seen, paid him ultimately nothing. Williams, a man who afterwards distinguished himself greatly for his fidelity to duty and for his services to his country at home, charged for the work done by him as commercial agent the narrowest commissions then allowed. He was succeeded by William Lee, under whom, or whose subagents (a nephew remaining in the counting room), the charges were greatly augmented, William Lee remaining permanently abroad. It is true that while Franklin, Arthur Lee, William Lee, John Adams, Izard, and Dana were acting as ministers plenipotentiary abroad each of them received a salary, which made an enormous aggregate expense. But if the charge was to be made of receiving salaries without work, it should not have been made by gentlemen who never even visited the courts to which they were sent, or never were received by such courts, and who, not succeeding in obtaining loans themselves, were obliged for even their salaries to go to Franklin for payment.

To what, then, is such a letter as that given above by Arthur Lee to be attributed? In part, it may be said, to the bad English society in which he was immersed when the war broke out—a society in which Wilkes was the centre, in which Wilkes was the model in morals and politics, and Junius the model in style. But the immediate cause was monomania. How this broke out in reference to the Scotch has been already shown. The text shows how it broke out in reference to Franklin. Had the charges been subtly made another explanation might be given. But, keeping in mind the fact that Arthur Lee, violent and reckless as he was, was a man honest and patriotic in heart, the only reasonable explanation is that, with respect to Franklin as it was with respect to the Scotch, he was under an insane delusion.

rms, powder, etc. You may depend on my procuring and forwarding ll I can that is necessary for the operations of our army.

I congratulate you on the escape from Arnold's treachery. His char- cter is in the sight of all Europe already on the gibbet, and will hang here in chains for ages.

I wish you had been more particular relating to the plan you mention f the eastern States, as I do not fully understand it.

You, being now upon the spot, can easily obtain and send me all the uthenticated accounts of the enemy's barbarity that are necessary for ur little book, or, what is better, get somebody there to write it, and end me a copy, that I may adapt the cuts to it. I have found an ex- ellent engraver for the purpose.

My best wishes always attend you, being with the most perfect esteem, tc.

P. S.—My grandson presents his respects.

J. Adams to Van der Capellen.*

AMSTERDAM, *December* 9, 1780.

SIR: I have received the letter which you did me the honor to write ne on the 28th ultimo. The pamphlet which I took the liberty to send ou may possibly excite in some minds a curiosity to read the original *emoire*, and turn the attention of many to a subject that deserves a erious consideration. It is very probable that Mr. Pownall meant to larm this republic, and perhaps other nations, by several things vhich he has inserted in his work, for he is by no means a friend of America. The truths he tells of America do not come from a willing vitness.

These little alarms and jealousies of merchants or of nations are not nuch to be regarded. The American question, one of the greatest that ras ever decided among men, will be determined by the cabinets of Europe according to great national interests. But let these decide as hey will, America will be independent. It is not in the power of Eu- ope to prevent it. Little mercantile apprehensions and less family ompetitions and alliances among princes may light up a general war n Europe. It is possible that a jealousy of the house of Bourbon may nkindle a war of several powers against those nations who follow the everal branches of that family. But this would promote rather than etard American independence. American independence is no longer question with one man of sense in the world who understands any- hing of the subject.

That merchant must be a very superficial thinker indeed who dreads he rivalry of America independent in the fisheries, in freight, and in

---

* 7 J. Adams' Works, 339.

the coasting trade, and yet could not be afraid of it connected with Great Britain. The possibility of America's interfering with any nations in any of those things will certainly be retarded by her independence.

I believe with you that the credit of America was never lower in the Low Countries than at this hour; but I am unfortunate enough to differ from your opinion concerning the causes of it. The tales of Gates and Arnold and the French and Spanish fleets, etc., are ostensible reasons. The true one is the apparent obstinacy and fury of England, manifested several ways, particularly in the treatment of Mr. Laurens and the rage at the discovery of his papers. These have intimidated everybody. Every one dreads the resentment of the English party, and no one dares to stand forth in opposition to it. So be it. Let them go on lending their money and hiring their ships to England to enable her to murder people of whom neither the lender nor the borrower is worthy. Time will show them how much wisdom there is in their unfeeling sacrifice of every sentiment and every principle upon the altar of Mammon. The less America has to do with such people the better it will be for her.

As to authentic information, sir, no information from America would alter sentiments which are formed upon motives which lie altogether in Europe. No information from America could alter the constitution of this republic; give the stadtholder less decisive influence in it, or destroy the relations between the families of Hanover and Orange. I should not, therefore, think it wise or honest in me to deceive America with any kind of hopes of assistance in any way from this republic.

There are a few, very few, individuals—among the foremost of whom you, sir, will ever be remembered—who would wish from generous motives to do us service; but they are so overborne by the opposite party, that they never will be able to do much, excepting in a case in which we should have no need of their assistance.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

Franklin to Chaumont.

PASSY, *December* 11, 1780.

SIR: It was because I know myself to be perfectly ignorant of mercantile affairs that I left it totally to Mr. Williams to freight the vessel wanted to transport our merchandise, and to make the agreement necessary for that purpose. It is for the same reason that I can not take upon me to judge of and decide the difference that has arisen between you and him upon that agreement, but to finish the dispute in the most expeditious manner possible. Since your principal objection to the decis-

on of the arbitrators named by yourself to Mr. Williams is that they eard him without hearing you, I would propose to take no advantage f the opinion they have given, but to submit the affair again to their onsideration, and that you should furnish them in writing with all our reasons in support of your demand. If after being thus instructed hey determine differently, I shall willingly abide by their judgment, nd I hope you will do the same if they continue to be of the same senti- nent as expressed in the decision already given. If you agree to this roposition, we can each of us write accordingly to Nantes by to-morrow's ost, and you can write to correspondents at Bordeaux to act agreea- le to the decision that may be forwarded to them from Nantes. This ill save much time. The delays of which you complain as so prejudi- ial to your interests are not owing to us, it appearing by the letter f Messrs. Jauge and Fils, which you have just communicated to me, hat the ship is not to this day ready to sail for want of hands. But he long delay of her departure from Bordeaux has been infinitely prej- dicial to our affairs, the troops in America being half naked.

With great esteem, etc.

Washington to Luzerne.*

NEW WINDSOR, *December* 14, 1780.

SIR: Yesterday brought me the honor of your excellency's favor vithout date; but which I suppose to have been written on the 5th nstant, as it accompanied a letter from the Marquis de la Fayette of hat date.

Receive, my good sir, the expressions of gratitude which are due to our excellency for the important intelligence you have communicated elative to the design of the Spanish court upon the Floridas. I have ransmitted the account of these interesting events to Count de Ro- hambeau and the Chevalier de Ternay, with propositions which, f acceded to, I shall do myself the honor of communicating to your xcellency.

It would have been fortunate for the army if your excellency's feel- ngs for its want of clothing could have been relieved by the agreeable idings of the arrival of that article; but, alas! we are so accustomed o want that we dare not flatter ourselves with relief.

Your excellency's despatches for Rhode Island, accompanying your etter to me, came to hand at the instant the post was setting out, and were committed to his care. It is the only means of conveyance now eft me, since the chain of expresses formed by the dragoon horses, which were worn down and sent to their cantonment, have been dis-

---

*5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 711.

continued. The quartermaster-general has it not in his power, for want of money, to furnish an express upon the most urgent occasion.

I anticipate with much pleasure the visit I shall receive from the Chevalier de Chastellux and the other gentlemen of the French army on their return to Rhode Island, and beg the favor of your excellency to present my compliments to them and to M. de Marbois.

With great respect and personal attachment, I have the honor to be, etc.,

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.*

AMSTERDAM, *December* 14, 1780.

SIR: I am every day accepting the bills of exchange which were drawn upon Mr. Laurens; but I have no prospect of obtaining money to discharge them from any other person than Dr. Franklin.

For some years before I came to Holland every person I saw from this place assured me that in his opinion money might be borrowed, provided application was made with proper powers directly from Congress to solid Dutch houses. After my arrival here these assurances were repeated to me by persons whose names I could mention, and who I thought could not be deceived themselves, nor deceive me. But now that powers have arrived, and application has been made to Dutch houses undoubtedly solid, these houses will not accept the business. In short, I can not refrain from saying that almost all the professions of friendship to America which have been made turn out upon trial to have been nothing more than little adulations to procure a share in our trade. Truth demands of me this observation. Americans find here the politeness of the table and a readiness to enter into their trade, but the public finds no disposition to afford any assistance, political or pecuniary. They impute this to a change in sentiments, to the loss of Charleston, the defeat of General Gates, to Arnold's desertion, to the inactivity of the French and Spaniards, etc. But I know better. It is not the love of the English, although there is a great deal more of that than is deserved, but it is fear of the English and the stadtholderian party.

I must, therefore, entreat Congress to make no more drafts upon Holland until they hear from me that their bills can be accepted, of which at present I have no hopes.

People of the first character have been and are still constantly advising that Congress should send a minister plenipotentiary here, and insist upon it that this would promote a loan. It is possible it may, but I can see no certainty that it will. Sending a few cargoes of produce would do something.

---

*MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Di[illegible]. Rev. Corr., 276; 7 J. Adams' Works, 341.

The Dutch are now felicitating themselves upon the depth and the felicity of their politics. They have joined the neutrality and have disavowed Amsterdam, and this has appeased the wrath of the English, the appearance of which in Sir Joseph Yorke's memorial terrified them more than I ever saw any part of America intimidated in the worst crisis of her affairs. The late news we have of advantages gained by our arms in several skirmishes in Carolina contributes a little to allay the panic. But all in Europe depends upon our success.

I say,

"Careat successibus opto
Quisquis ab ventu, facta notanda putat."

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

J. Adams to Cushing.*

AMSTERDAM, *December* 15, 1780.

DEAR CUSHING: I writ to you on the 2d instant by way of France under cover to Congress, but our friend Heartwell, who delivered me your despatches, going out by way of St. Eustatia, may get this letter to you sooner than the other. You will have heard of the unfortunate capture of poor Laurens with his papers, and the British ambassador's memorial to the States-General in consequence thereof. What it may produce is yet doubtful, though the general opinion here is that it will be nothing alarming. Sir Joseph Yorke has presented a second memorial, but you may depend upon it the States will not be bullied into anything. It is thought that England will not at this conjuncture widen the breach with the republic, but, even if they should, it will do us no harm for them to have more enemies to contend with. A rash step taken by them at this time, when all the powers of Europe are jealous of them and favorably inclined to American independence, may prove their entire ruin. Our independence is considered here as established. The Empress of Russia has already, in effect, taken a decided part in our favor, and other European nations are well inclined to support our cause.

In this city we have many powerful friends, who, as well as all Europe, disdain the pride of the British ministry, which is not less conspicuous in the memorials presented to their high mightinesses than it was in the answer returned to the petition of Congress. Pride, indeed, seems to be endemial to that nation; but I think it won't be long before we see its downfall.

---

*Annual Register, 1781, (vol. 24,) 259, where it is said to have been found on board the prize brigantine *Cabot*, and carried into Christopher's. Whether the text was tampered with before publication, as was the case with other "intercepted" letters, can not now be determined. The position taken towards the refugees is in the same line as that taken in his letter to Congress of June 17, 1780.

I protest I see no grounds for your gloomy apprehensions. You talk of the difficulty of recruiting the army, the depreciation of Congress notes, the complaints of public creditors, and the flood of counterfeit money among you, etc. These doubts and fears are really provoking, and the source of them only in your own irresolute breast. Can you expect to gain your point or accomplish anything great without the common incidents of war? Compare yourselves with other countries, and see their exertions for things of much less moment. England, for example, at the beginning of this war was a hundred and thirty millions in debt, and yet the British ministry, merely to gratify their pride, involved their country in an expense of twenty millions per annum more. This causes a depreciation of their money and complaints among their creditors, who have quite as much reason as yours, most of them having already sunk forty per cent. of their capital. Shall we then, who have our all at stake, talk of burdens and the perplexities of a paper medium?

Different nations have different modes of raising money for the public expenditure, which is usually done according to the genius of the people and the form of their government. Most of those in Europe have occasionally been driven to the use of paper money or making public securities serve the purposes of a medium in trade, and the English have gone more extensively into this expedient than other nations, but I believe none have ever made use of it with less inconvenience, or given their creditors less cause of complaint, than the States of America have done heretofore. But when almost every public department among you is filled, as I am informed, with men of rapacious principles, who sacrifice the common weal to their private emolument, who encourage gambling, voluptuousness, and every vice, what good can be expected from the wisest institutions? I wish these good gentlemen whom you mention would exert themselves in their several professions to stop those growing enormities which are the source of all the calamities of the country, and which sooner or later, if not stopped, must end in its destruction.

Our money matters are in a good way, which I writ to you fully upon in my last. You must have patience till they can be accomplished, and in the mean time do the best you can. Many here who know the country laugh at your complaints, and say that a few duties and excises judiciously laid throughout the continent would pay the whole army expenses without being felt. I advise to restraining the consumption of foreign superfluities and introducing sumptuary laws; though it may be policy, for the encouragement of soldiers, to indulge them in a livery as splendid as may be convenient. I am sorry to see you so anxious for an accommodation, and wish you had shown how it could be done. Are you aware of the revolutions that will unavoidably take place? New arrangements made and the States new modeled, the better to serve the purposes of despotism; the captors of British

property obliged to disgorge; a debt of four millions sterling to be paid to the British merchants to settle old scores; your fishery restrained and put under new regulations; forfeited estates returned to their former owners; a door opened for innumerable lawsuits for illegal payments; the property of the whole continent set afloat, and, after all, are you sure our *great ally* would consent to it? In truth, I can see nothing short of independence that can settle it without the remedy being more fatal than the disease.

It is true, I believe, what you suggest, that Lord North showed a disposition to give up the contest, but *was diverted from it, not unlikely, by the representations of the Americans in London, who, in conjunction with their coadjutors in America, have been thorns to us indeed on both sides the water; but I think their career might have been stopped on your side, if the executive officers had not been too timid in a point which I so strenuously recommended at first, namely, to fine, imprison, and hang all inimical to the cause, without favor or affection. I foresaw the evil that would arise from that quarter, and wished to have timely stopped it. I would have hanged my own brother if he had took a part with our enemy in this contest.*

I believe there never was an instance of such delusion as those people are under, to sacrifice their country, their interest, and their best connections, to side with a people who neither reward nor thank them; and I have good authority to say that a good proportion of them have nothing to live upon but their loyalty. One would think that this alone, if it was known and believed, would be enough to prevent others from falling into the same snare. *Heartwell, who has been some time incognito in London, will give you much useful information;* he will tell you the talk we have had about a stipend for ———, which would be money well laid out. Those who exert themselves so much in our cause ought to be rewarded, as we are most essentially served by it; but profound secrecy must be observed.

I shall write to the governor, wherein I shall be more explicit upon some matters which I have writ to Congress upon, and which he probably will communicate, which makes it unnecessary to add any more to you at present.

I am, your affectionate friend, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

La Fayette to the Chairman of the Committee of Congress.*

PHILADELPHIA, *December* 16, 1780.

SIR: I have received the letter you honored me with on the 16th instant, and in compliance with the desire of the honorable committee of Congress, which I understand has been directed to make these questions, I think it my duty to give to Congress (as their officer) such in-

* MSS. Dep. of State.

telligence I am master of as relate to the extraordinary and distressing affair of our clothing.

Upon an application to the court of France three millions of their livres were lent to the American minister; the whole would have been employed in purchases had not Mr. Franklin become timid by the frequent drafts of congress, whose bills ought not to be protested, and 700,000 livres, I think, were destined to the getting of the most necessary articles.

The sum was at first divided between clothing and military stores, but upon my undertaking to obtain fifteen thousand stands of arms and one hundred thousand of powder it was determined that the money be employed in getting ten thousand complete suits ready made.

Some days after this I informed Dr. Franklin that Prince de Montherrey had promised to let us have the quantity of powder and arms mentioned, the last of the best model I knew of.

On the point of leaving France, I got the minister of war to write a letter, wherein he promises that the stores shall be delivered into American hands, and a letter from Dr. Franklin gives also to me assurances of having *ten thousand suits ready made*, and of one hundred twenty-two bales, the last of which Mr. Ross can give a better account of.

I was also promised in writing by the minister of the navy that all American public property should be shipped on board the fleet then making ready, which promise I could not at the time mention to the minister, as I had given my honor not to speak a word to anybody relating to the expedition; but by private letters from the minister of foreign affairs I see that since my departure the arrangement had been altered. The reason of it I can not ascertain. What I know is by a letter of the 3d of June, after the departure of the fleet, the same minister says that all our clothing and stores are going with and under convoy of the *Alliance*.

Upon an application from Dr. Franklin (before my departure) I had obtained that the frigate appointed for my passage should disembark provisions and take in clothing. The American minister sent his orders to Nantes, but they were some days retarded in port. No clothing came to Rochfort, which was attributed to various accidents.

I am told that to the disappointment of Dr. Franklin the *Alliance* was taken from Captain Jones by Captain Landais; that notwithstanding application from the French commander at Port Louis, Landais refused to take military stores offered in the name of the French court; that he denied a passage to Count de Vauban, who had, it is said, important despatches, which have not yet come to hand.

These intelligences I got from my secretary and two other French gentlemen then present. But Mr. Arthur Lee, who was on board, must know of this matter.

Dr. Franklin has from time to time mentioned to me his orders to the American agents, which I thought to be very proper. How far

these gentlemen have forwarded or neglected the business I am not able to ascertain to Congress.

With the greatest respect and esteem, I have the honor to be, sir, your most obedient servant,

LA FAYETTE.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.*

AMSTERDAM, *December* 18, 1780.

SIR: War is to a Dutchman the greatest of evils. Sir Joseph Yorke is so sensible of this, that he keeps alive a continual fear of it by memorials after memorials, each more affronting to any sovereignty of delicate notions of dignity than the former. By this means he keeps up the panic, and while this panic continues I shall certainly have no success at all. No man dares engage for me; very few dare see me.

On Tuesday last, the 12th of December, the British ambassador had a conference with the president of the States-General, and upon that occasion presented to their high mightinesses the following memorial:

HIGH AND MIGHTY LORDS: The uniform conduct of the king towards the republic, the friendship which has so long subsisted between the two nations, the right of sovereigns, and the faith of engagements the most solemn will, without doubt, determine the answer of your high mightinesses to the memorial which the subscriber presented some time ago by the express order of his court. It would be to mistake the wisdom and the justice of your high mightinesses to suppose that you could balance one moment to give the satisfaction demanded by his majesty. As the resolutions of your high mightinesses of the 27th of November were the result of a deliberation which regarded only the interior of your government, and it was not then in question to answer the said memorial, the only remark which we shall make upon those resolutions is, that the principles which dictated them prove evidently the justness of the demand made by the king. In deliberating upon this memorial, to which the subscriber hereby requires, in the name of his court, an answer immediate and satisfactory in all respects, your high mightinesses will recollect, without doubt, that the affair is of the last importance; that the question is concerning a complaint made by an offended sovereign; that the offense, of which he demands an exemplary punishment and complete satisfaction, is a violation of the Batavian constitution, whereof the king is the warranty, an infraction of the public faith, an outrage against the dignity of his crown. The king has never imagined that your high mightinesses would have approved of a treaty with his rebel subjects. This would have been on your part a commencement of hostilities and a declaration of war. But the offense has been committed by the magistrates of a city which makes a considerable part of the state, and it is the duty of the sovereign power to punish and repair it. His majesty, by the complaints made by his ambassador, has put the punishment and the reparation into the hands of your high mightinesses, and it will not be but in the last extremity, that is to say, in the case of a denial of justice on your part, or of silence which must be interpreted as a refusal, that the king will take this charge upon himself.

Done at The Hague the 12th of December, 1780.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

---

* MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 278.

Carmichael to the Committee of Foreign Affairs.*

MADRID, *December* 19, 1780.

GENTLEMEN: I wrote to the committee the 20th ultimo, to which letter I beg leave to refer them. Having now an opportunity of writing by a vessel which conveys a copy of my last, I seize it to inform them that the situation of our affairs here is much the same as at that period. Mr. Jay has touched near eighteen thousand dollars to pay the bills first accepted, and this, with the twenty-five thousand dollars expected from France, will give us a respite until the month of March. In the interval I hope the court will enable Mr. Jay to answer the others as they become due, though this will depend much on the facility it finds to procure money. I have reason to think that the ministry expect some treasure from America; that they hope to negotiate in Holland a loan of forty million reals, and another at home and abroad for eight million dollars. I shall be glad to see these expectations realized.

The United States of Holland have acceded to the armed neutrality. Notwithstanding this, the English continue to take their ships every day, and it is not improbable that orders have been given to attack their possessions in the East Indies. No satisfaction has as yet been given by the States in answer to the memorial of Sir J. Yorke, mentioned in my last. The Dutch minister and his secretary have each told me that it would be considered as words and would be answered as such.

The empress queen is dead, which leaves the emperor to act at full liberty. He is said to be ambitious and revengeful, and is believed to be well disposed to Great Britain. I know that his ambassador at this court is strongly attached to the interests of that country; but his father, the Prince de Kaunitz, was too long the favorite of the mother to expect to hold the same influence with the son. It is to be hoped that the ensuing campaign will pass before the emperor can be in a situation to embroil the affairs of Europe.

The Count d'Estaing, who sailed from Cadiz the 7th ultimo, was not arrived in France at the departure of the last courier. This is an unlucky circumstance, as it will retard the operations of the ensuing year. Mr. Cumberland is still here and entertains hopes of success, or affects to do so. The Count de Montmorin seems to have no apprehensions, and while that is the case I flatter myself that we need not be uneasy at a circumstance which in itself is very extraordinary. I do not think M. Gardoqui will leave Spain, however, until all hopes of negotiation cease. We have no advices, or indeed arrivals, since the departure of the frigate which brought the son of M. Rochambeau to France. Many of the letters taken with Mr. Laurens have been published in England. I take the liberty of reminding the committee that I have never had the honor as yet to receive their orders.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

WILLIAM CARMICHAEL.

* MSS. Dep. of State; 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 42, with verbal corrections.

Dumas to the President of Congress.*

AMSTERDAM, *December* 19, 1780.

SIR: Since my last they have advised in the States of Holland not to answer at all to the memorial of Sir Joseph Yorke. This, I think, is the best they can do in these circumstances. But Sir Joseph Yorke has presented a new memorial, as offensive at least as the preceding one, and the several provinces are now deliberating on its contents. But their resolution, I am assured, will not please the British court.

I had the honor, some days ago, of presenting Mr. Searle to the French ambassador, and of serving them both as an interpreter in an interesting conversation as to the best method of expelling the enemy out of the United States and of putting a speedy end to the war in America. The intention of a majority of fifteen out of the eighteen cities of Holland, by disavowing the conduct of Amsterdam concerning the projected treaty, is visibly to leave no pretext at all to Great Britain for attacking this republic on other grounds than that of resentment for her accession to the armed neutrality.

DECEMBER 26.

The States of this province have taken unanimously the provisional resolve of putting the *project of a treaty* between the United States and this republic, together with the letter of the city of Amsterdam concerning the same, into the hands of the provincial court of justice, to be examined by them, and to decide *if there is any constitutional law of the union which can be said to have been violated by the regency of Amsterdam in this affair*. Supposing, for a moment, this should be the case, the high sheriff of the city would then be requested to pursue the violators of such a law. But as this can not be the case, the said States, who are to assemble on the 5th of January, will take the final resolution, 1st, of asking satisfaction of the court of Great Britain for her indecent memorials; and, 2dly, of laying the whole proceedings before the northern courts, and showing them the false pretense under which the said court endeavors to conceal her resentment against this republic for her accession to the armed neutrality.

DECEMBER 27.

The States having acquainted Sir Joseph Yorke with the aforesaid provisional resolve, he refused to receive the communication; and on the 25th instant he set out early in the morning, according to the orders of his king, for Antwerp. The very day of his leaving The Hague the committee of Holland residing constantly at The Hague sent circular letters to the several cities of this province acquainting them with this event, and summoning them for coming immediately, *with proper instructions from their cities*, to form a *speedy, cordial, and vigorous resolve.* One of these letters has been shown to me in the original.

* MSS. Dep. of State; 5 Sparks', Dip. Rev. Corr., 321, whose version, condensing the original, is here taken.

DECEMBER 28.

Consequently the second pensionary and other deputies of the city of Amsterdam have set out this morning for The Hague, where all will meet to-morrow. The first pensionary, M. Van Berckel, will follow them as soon as he shall see himself justified by the decision of the court of Holland.

THE HAGUE, *January* 12, 1781.

Last Monday a courier, who left Petersburgh on the 19th of December, arrived with despatches to the grand pensionary of Holland, containing, "that the empress, satisfied with that of their high mightinesses of November 27, had seen with indignation, rather than astonishment, the two last memorials of Sir Joseph Yorke; that she was greatly disposed in favor of the republic; that the convention would soon be signed, and the acts of it sent by another courier." Yesterday was resolved and to day begins the distribution of letters of marque both for men of war and privateers. The decision of the court of justice of Holland can not come out before the 15th of February because of the absence of several of its members, but everybody knows already that it can not but be a good one. Till then M. Van Berckel will not appear here.

JANUARY 23.

On the 21st the grand pensionary of Holland received a letter from M. de Swart, the Dutch resident at Petersburgh, of which the following extract is taken by myself from an authentic copy communicated to me:

January 5.—On the 31st of December last the Dutch plenipotentiaries and M. de Swart had a final conference with the Russian plenipotentiary, when, having settled the matter of command in case of their men-of-war or squadrons meeting or acting jointly in the same manner as this republic is used to do with all other crowns, and the whole transaction having been laid before the empress and approved by her, the accession of this republic to the treaties of Russia, Sweden, and Denmark, for the mutual protection of the trade and navigation of their subjects, has been concluded and signed on January 4 by the plenipotentiaries of the parties, and the acts of it despatched (they also arrived here on the 21st) to be ratified by their high mightinesses. During the transaction of this treaty the English had left no artifice untried in order to get the republic excluded from this alliance, and even to the last moment they strived most desperately against her admission. But the empress and her ministry, unshaken, rejected their memorials with firmness, and even with indignation.

With all my heart I congratulate the United States upon this happy event, an event which must accelerate the humiliation of their proud enemy, and assert, with the acknowledged liberty of America, that of the seas through the world, the latter of which can not be obtained without the former.

Couriers have been sent from hence eleven days ago for the purpose of asking from the three northern powers the stipulated succor, as being attacked in resentment for having acceded to their alliance. The money which this republic has now occasion to take up from her subjects will

greatly increase the difficulty of the English in obtaining money, and sink their stocks still more.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

DUMAS.

Instructions to Francis Dana, as Minister Plenipotentiary to the Court of St. Petersburgh.*

IN CONGRESS, *December* 19, 1780.

SIR: The great object of your negotiation is to engage her Imperial majesty to favor and support the sovereignty and independence of these United States, and to lay a foundation for a good understanding and friendly intercourse between the subjects of her Imperial majesty and the citizens of these United States, to the mutual advantage of both nations.†

You will readily perceive that it must be a leading and capital point if these United States shall be formally admitted as a party to the convention of the neutral maritime powers for maintaining the freedom of commerce. This regulation, in which the empress is deeply interested, and from which she has derived so much glory, will open the way for your favorable reception, which we have the greater reason to expect, as she has publicly invited the belligerent powers to accede thereto, and you will give it an attention suitable to its importance.

Your success will, however, depend on the variety of sources and contingencies; on a more perfect knowledge of the state of Europe than can be obtained at this distance; on the ultimate views of her Imperial majesty, the temper of her cabinet, the avenues to their confidence, the dispositions of the neutral powers with whom she is connected, and the events of war. Under such circumstances, precise instructions for your conduct can not be expected; on the contrary, the greatest room must be left for the exercise of your own penetration and assiduity in gaining proper information, and for your prudence and address in improving it to the best advantage. Your zeal for the public interest will lead you to embrace every favorable incident and expedient which may recommend

---

* MSS. Dep. of State: 4 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 549, with verbal changes.

† IN CONGRESS, *December* 15, 1780.

"Whereas a good understanding and friendly intercourse between the subjects of her Imperial majesty the Empress of all the Russias and these United States may be for the mutual advantage of both nations:

"*Resolved*, That a minister be appointed to reside at the court of the Empress of Russia.

"*Ordered*, That Monday next be assigned for electing such minister.

"*Ordered*, That a committee of three be appointed to prepare a commission and draft of instructions for the said minister.

"*December* 19, 1780.—Congress proceeded to the election of a minister to reside at the court of the Empress of Russia; and the ballots being taken, the Hon. Francis Dana was elected."

these States to the friendship of her Imperial majesty and her ministers Your attachment to the honor and independence of your country wil restrain you from every concession unbecoming the dignity of a free people. The diplomatic order in which you are placed by your com mission will prevent embarrassments which in so delicate a case migh arise from the punctilio of ceremony, while it entitles you to all the confidence and protection essential to the office of a public minister.

For the further execution of your trust you will conform as far as possible to the following instructions:

(1) You shall communicate your powers and instructions to our min isters plenipotentiary at the court of Versailles and for negotiating peace, and avail yourself of their advice and information; and it may be prudent through them to obtain the sense of the court of France thereon.

(2) You shall communicate the general object of your mission to the minister of his most Christian majesty at the court of Petersburgh, and endeavor through his mediation to sound the disposition of her Imperial majesty or her ministers towards these United States.

(3) If the result of your inquiries should point out a fair prospect of an honorable reception, you are to announce your public character and deliver your letters of credence in the usual form.

(4) You are to manifest on all proper occasions the high respect which Congress entertain for her Imperial majesty; for the lustre of her char acter and the liberality of her sentiments and her views; and particu larly you are, in the strongest terms, to testify our approbation of the measures which her Imperial majesty has suggested and matured for the protection of commerce against the arbitrary violations of the British court. You will present the act of Congress herewith trans mitted, declaring our assent to her Imperial majesty's regulations on this subject, and use every means which can be devised to obtain the consent and influence of that court that these United States shall be formally invited or admitted to accede as principals and as an inde pendent nation to the said convention. In that event, you are author ized to subscribe the treaty or convention for the protection of commerce in behalf of these United States either with her Imperial majesty con junctly with the other neutral powers, or if that shall be inadmissible separately with her Imperial majesty or any one of those powers.

(5) You are to impress her Imperial majesty and her ministers with a sense of the justice of our cause, the nature and stability of our union, and the solemn engagements by which not only the States but his most Christian majesty are reciprocally bound to maintain the sov ereignty, rights, and jurisdiction of each of the thirteen States inviola bly, and the utter impracticability of our acceding to any treaty of peace with Great Britain on the principles of a *uti possidetis*, or on any other terms than such as shall imply an express or tacit acknowledg ment of the sovereignty of each and every part, and which shall be

onsistent with the letter and spirit of our treaty of alliance and friend-
ip and commerce with his most Christian majesty. You shall repre-
nt in pointed terms the barbarous manner in which, contrary to the
ws of all civilized nations, the war has been conducted by the enemy,
e difficulties which we have surmounted, and the certain prospect,
nder the Divine blessing, of expelling our enemies, and establishing
ur independence on such basis as will render us useful to the whole
ommercial world and happy in ourselves. You shall assure her Im-
erial majesty of our ambition to number so wise and magnanimous a
incess among our friends and to assign her a distinguished place
mong those illustrious personages of ancient and modern times who
ave delighted in promoting the happiness of mankind and in disarm-
g tyrants of the power of doing mischief.

(6) You shall assure her Imperial majesty and her ministers of the
ncere disposition of these United States to enter into a treaty of friend-
ip and commerce with her on terms of the most perfect equality,
eciprocity, and mutual advantage, and similar to those expressed in
ur treaty with his most Christian majesty; and you are authorized to
ommunicate with her Imperial majesty's ministers on the form and
rms of such treaty and transmit the same to Congress for their ratifi-
cation.

(7) You shall communicate punctually with our respective ministers
Europe, and avail yourself of their advice and information and of
e success of their respective negotiations to raise our importance and
pport our interest at the court of Petersburgh.

(8) You shall endeavor to acquire a perfect knowledge of the manners
d etiquette of the court at which you reside, and particularly in the
iplomatic line; and of the manufactures and commerce of that empire;
d point out in your correspondence how far and on what conditions
e two nations can be mutually beneficial to or improve each other in
ommerce or policy, arts or agriculture.

Lastly. And, in general, you shall pursue all such measures as shall
pear to you conducive to the interests of the United States, to the
ithful discharge of your important trust, and which circumstances
ay point out to be salutary and beneficial.

I am, etc.,

SAMUEL HUNTINGTON,
President.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.*

AMSTERDAM, *December* 21, 1780.

SIR: The sentiments and affections of a people may be learned from
any little circumstances which few persons attend to. The poets and
rators are generally considered as the surest repositaries of popular

* MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 279, with verbal changes and
missions.

ideas both in ancient and modern nations. The clergy may be classe among the latter, and it is very certain that most public preachers a commodate both their sermons and their prayers in some degree t the general taste of their hearers, and avoid everything which will u necessarily give them offense.

At Rotterdam there are several English churches. The Presbyteria church, which would be the least likely, one should think, to be bi oted to England, I attended. The parson, after petitioning Heaven i his prayer for the States of Holland and West Friesland, the State General and council of state, and for the Prince of Orange, their here itary stadtholder and governor, etc., added a petition for England, f the king, queen, and royal family, for their health, long life, and pro perity, and added, with peculiar emphasis, that he might triumph ov all his enemies in the four quarters of the globe.

At Amsterdam I have attended both the Episcopal and Presbyteria churches, and heard similar supplications to Heaven in both. A Utrecht I attended the Presbyterian church, and there heard a praye for the English with more fervor still and in greater detail. The pa son was quite transported with his zeal, and prayed that the rebellio which has so long prevailed might be suppressed and hide its head i shame. At Leyden there is another English church. The parson, I a told, is a tory, but prudently omits such kind of prayers.

This is a work of supererogation in these reverend zealots, and i therefore, a stronger proof that such sentiments are popular. Th English, who are numerous in all these cities, are universally in fav of the British ministry. But there are so many Dutch families wh understanding the English language, worship in these churches, th the clergy would not give them offense if such prayers were offensiv This is the more remarkable, as the religion of North America is muc more like that of this republic than like that of England. But suc prayers recommend the parsons to the Prince of Orange and the Englis party, and no other party or person has influence or courage enough t take offense at them.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

Lovell to Franklin.*

PHILADELPHIA, *December* 21, 1780.

SIR: The bearer, William Palfrey, our late paymaster general, ha been appointed consul in France, with powers adequate to a gener agency in our commercial concerns there. But while I take up my pe to introduce him to your patronage, I ought to use it rather, perhap by way of apologizing for myself, in the line of a member of the con

* MSS. Dep. of State; 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 133.

ttee of foreign affairs, from whom you will find no letter. There was prospect of much business being committed to you by this opportunity, but it was altogether depending upon the President and secretary to transmit it, which it seems they were prevented from doing an arrangement being but partly accomplished which Congress has ought fit to connect with those affairs. The proceeding is of a nature t to admit of my enlarging upon it, because neither my head nor heart ggests anything of eulogium, and my conscience forbids me to pur- e the usual style of minorities.

The journals which I send you will show that we have had no letter m you since that of May last, except two short ones lately respecting e private concerns of two officers, Baron d'Arendt, and another, ose name is not now in my memory. Colonel Palfrey will be able give you information additional to the gazettes.

I am, sir, your most humble servant,

JAMES LOVELL,
For the Committee of Foreign Affairs.

Congress—Instructions to Laurens.*

IN CONGRESS, *December* 23, 1780.

SIR: You will herewith receive a commission appointing you our nister at the court of Versailles; in pursuing the objects of which u will conform to the following instructions:

Upon your arrival you will communicate fully to our minister plenientiary at that court the business on which you are sent, and avail rself of his information and influence for obtaining the aids menned in the estimate delivered to you. Instructions to him for that rpose are herewith transmitted, which you will deliver immediately your arrival. You will convey to his most Christian majesty the teful sense Congress have of the noble and generous part he has en with regard to the United States, and use every possible means impress him with the urgent and critical state of our affairs at pres-, which induced the appointment of a special minister to solicit his ctual aid.

You will, in particular, give him full information of the present state ur military affairs, and the measures taken for providing a respect- e force for the ensuing campaign. It will be proper, at the same e, to point out the causes which rendered the last campaign unsucsful.

You are to use every effort in your power to enforce the necessity of intaining a naval superiority in the American seas. You will assure most Christian majesty on our part that, if he will please to comnicate to us his intentions respecting the next campaign in America,

*MSS. Dep. of State; 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 145.

we will use every effort in our power for an effectual co-operation. You are to give his majesty the most positive and pointed assurances of our determination to prosecute the war for the great purposes of the alliance, agreeable to our engagements.

Should his majesty grant the aids requested, and send to our assistance a naval force, you will take advantage of that conveyance for forwarding the articles furnished. If no naval armament should be ordered to America, you will endeavor to obtain some vessels of force to transport the said articles, or take advantage of some convoy to America, which may render the transportation less hazardous. You will call upon William Palfrey, our consul in that kingdom, for such assistance as you may stand in need of for forwarding any supplies which you may obtain. You are authorized to draw upon our minister plenipotentiary for such sums as you may from time to time stand in need of, giving him early notice thereof, that he may aid you from funds procured on our account, without doing injury to our other concerns. You may also draw upon any other funds which you may know to have been procured for us in Europe.

You will, on your arrival at the court of Versailles, present the letter to his most Christian majesty which you will herewith receive. Previous to your departure from the United States you are to confer with the commander-in-chief of the American army, the minister plenipotentiary of France, the commanders-in-chief of his most Christian majesty's fleet and army at Rhode Island, the Marquis de la Fayette, if it should not retard your voyage, upon the subject of your commission, and avail yourself of every information you may obtain from them respectively. You will embrace every opportunity of informing us of the success of your negotiations, and receive and obey such instructions as you may from time to time receive from Congress.

When the purpose of your mission shall be as fully effected as you may deem practicable you are to return and report your success to Congress without delay, unless you shall previously receive other orders.*

We pray God to further you with His goodness in the several objects hereby recommended, and that He will have you in His holy keeping.

SAMUEL HUNTINGTON,
President.

Robert Morris to Dumas.†

PHILADELPHIA, *December* 24, 1780.

SIR: Your letter of the 7th of January last was long on its passage, and, I am sorry to say, has remained too long in my possession without an answer, which you must attribute entirely to the multiplicity of em-

* For additional instructions to Dr. Franklin respecting Colonel Laurens' mission, see *infra*, December 27, 1780.

† MSS. Dep. of State; 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 324.

loyments, in various ways, that occupy very fully my whole time. Had complied with the dictates of that respect and esteem which Dr. Franklin first and your steady adherence to this country since inspired, ou would have heard from me immediately; but men who are involved much business, as I am, can not follow their inclinations, but must ubmit to such things as call most pressingly for their attention.

The letter you enclosed to me for Messrs. Sears & Smith I sent forward mmediately, and you may depend on me for much more important serv-es when in my power to render them to you or any of your friends.

After serving my country in various public stations for upwards of our years my routine in Congress was finished, and no sooner was I ut, than envious and malicious men began to attack my character; but y services were so universally known, and my integrity so clearly roved, I have, thank God, been able to look down with contempt on hose that have endeavored to injure me; and, what is more, I can face he world with that consciousness which rectitude of conduct gives to hose who pursue it invariably.

You will excuse me for saying so much of myself. I should not have entioned the subject had I not been attacked; and, as I think no man ught to be insensible to applause and approbation, I can not help wish-g to retain that opinion you have been pleased to entertain of me.

As I maintain my acquaintance amongst the present members of ongress, you will be assured I will most cheerfully promote your in-ter-st whenever I can, for I feel the force of your observations on that sub-ct.

Mr. Carmichael is returned to Europe and Mr. Deane is about em-arking for France, and I dare say you will hear from them both.

I most sincerely wish an honorable, happy, and speedy end to the war e are engaged in; and, with sentiments of great esteem and respect, I emain,

ROBERT MORRIS.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.*

AMSTERDAM, *December* 25, 1780.

SIR: Affairs are still in suspense. This day being Christmas, and esterday a Sunday, there was no public exchange held on either. ut business, and especially stockjobbing, goes on without ceasing, eing held at the coffee-houses on Sundays and holidays when it can ot be held upon 'change.

The English mail, which had been interrupted by contrary winds for ree posts, arrived on Saturday. The English gazettes of the 19th nounced that Sir Joseph Yorke was recalled and a Dutch war inev-

* MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 283, with verbal changes; 7 J. dams' Works, 346.

itable. Private letters announced that the Count de Welderen was about leaving the British court, and that an embargo was laid on all Dutch ships in Great Britain; the stocks had fallen between two and three per cent., and that a war was unavoidable. The stockjobbers, Englishmen, and others, at the coffee-houses, had very melancholy countenances and more than common anxiety. News was also propagated from The Hague that Sir Joseph Yorke was gone. Others said that he had received his orders to go. As there was no public exchange, the public judgment is not yet made up whether there will be war or not. Some gentlemen of knowledge and experience think all this a farce, concerted at The Hague between Sir Joseph and his friends there and the ministry in England, in order to spread an alarm here, intimidate the States into an answer which may be accepted with a color of honor, etc., or to do something worse, that is, rouse a spirit among the nobility against the burgomasters. I can not, however, but be of opinion that there is more in this, and that the ministry will carry their rage to great extremities. They have gone too far to look back without exposing themselves to ridicule, without emboldening their enemies, and confounding their friends. A few hours, however, will throw more light upon this important subject. The plot must unravel immediately.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.*

J. Adams to the President of Congress.†

AMSTERDAM, *December* 25, 1780.

SIR: The dispute between Great Britain and the United Provinces is now wrought up to a crisis. Things must take a new turn in the course of a few days, but whether they will end in a war or in the retraction of one party or the other time alone can determine.

I have before transmitted to Congress the two memorials of Sir Joseph Yorke against M. Van Berckel and the burgomasters of Amsterdam. The language of both is conformable to that domineering spirit which has actuated the councils of St. James from the beginning of this reign, and they have committed the honor and dignity of the king and engaged the pride of the nation so far that there is no room left for a retreat without the most humiliating mortification. On the other hand, there is authentic information that the States, proceeding in their usual forms, have determined to refer the conduct of Amster-

* This letter (December 25, 1780) is given with some variations in 7 J. Adams' Works, 346, with a note, in which, among other things, it is said that "the apprehension at this time was very general that M. Van Berckel and one or two of the burgomasters, Hooft, at least, were to be immolated, like the De Witts; and not a few expected that the American ambassador would not escape."

† MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 281.

am to a committee of lawyers, who are to consider and report whether
ne burgomasters have done anything which they had not by law and
ne constitution authority to do. It is universally known and agreed
nat the report must and will be in favor of the burgomasters. This
eport will be accepted and confirmed by the States, and transmitted
o all the neutral courts, in order to show them that neither the repub-
c in general nor the city of Amsterdam in particular have done any-
ning against the spirit of the armed neutrality. The States have also
etermined to make an answer to the British ambassador's memorials,
nd to demand satisfaction of the king, his master, for the indignity
ffered to their sovereignty in those memorials. In this resolution the
tates have been perfectly unanimous, the body of nobles, for the first
me, having agreed with the generality. The question, then, is which
ower will recede. I am confidently assured that the States will not;
nd, indeed, if they should, they may as well submit to the king, and
urrender their independence at once. I am not, however, very clear
hat they will do. I doubt whether they have firmness to look a war
n the face. Will the English recede if the Dutch do not? If they
hould, it would be contrary to the maxims which have invariably gov-
rned them during this reign. It will humble the insolent, overbear-
ng pride of the nation; it will expose the ministry to the scoffs and
corn of opposition; it will elevate the courage of the Dutch, the neu-
al powers, and the house of Bourbon, not to mention the great effect
will have in America upon the whigs and tories, objects which the
ritish court never loses sight of.

This republic is certainly, and has been for several weeks, in a very
iolent struggle. It has every symptom of an agony that usually pre-
des a great revolution. The streets of the city swarm with libels of
arty against party. Some masterly pamphlets have been written in
vor of the burgomasters. Thousands of extravagant and incredible
ports are made and propagated. Many new songs appear among the
ppulace, one particularly adapted for the amusement of the sailors,
d calculated to inspire them with proper sentiments of resentment
ward the English. A woman who sung it in the streets the day be-
re yesterday sold six hundred of them in an hour and in one spot.
ese are symptoms of war. But it is not easy to conquer the national
ejudices of a hundred years' standing, nor to avoid the influence of
e stadtholder, which is much more formidable. In this fermentation
e people can think of nothing else, and I need not add that I have
chance of getting a ducat of money; but I think Congress will see
e necessity of having here, in these critical times, more ample
wers.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.*

AMSTERDAM, *December* 25, 1780.

SIR: It is very difficult to discover with certainty the secret springs which actuate the courts of Europe; but whatever I can find with any degree of probability I shall transmit to Congress at one time or another.

The Prince of Orange is himself of the royal family of England. His mother was a daughter of King George the Second, and this relation is no doubt one among the several motives which attach the stadtholder to England. His princess is a niece of the King of Prussia, and it is believed is not perfectly agreed with his most serene highness in his enthusiasm for the English court. The King of Prussia has a great esteem and affection for his niece, with whom he frequently corresponds. In one of his letters he is supposed to have expressed his sentiments freely upon the prince's conduct, intimating that his highness would take too much upon himself, and make himself too responsible, if he persevered in a resolute opposition to the armed neutrality. The Empress of Russia, who possesses a masterly understanding and a decided inclination for America, is thought, too, to have expressed some uneasiness at the prince's political system. The King of Sweden, who was lately at The Hague, is reported to have had free conversation with the prince upon the same subject. All these intimations together are believed to have made his most serene highness hesitate a little, and consider whether he was not acting too dangerous a part in exerting all his influence in the republic to induce it to take a part in opposition to the general sense and inclination of the people and to all the maritime powers of Europe.

The English court is undoubtedly informed of all this. They dread the accession of the Dutch to the armed neutrality more than all the other branches of that confederation, because of the rivalry in commerce, and because the Dutch will assist the royal marines of France and Spain more than all the others. The present conduct of the English indicates a design to go to war with the Dutch on pretense of an insult to their crown, committed two years ago by a treaty with America, in hopes that they will not be supported in this quarrel by the confederated neutral powers. But they will be mistaken. The artifice is too gross. The confederated powers will easily see that the real cause of offense is the accession to the armed neutrality and the conduct of Amsterdam in projecting a treaty with America only a pretense.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

*MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 280.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.*

AMSTERDAM, *December* 26, 1780.

SIR: The public papers of this morning inform us that Sir Joseph rke left The Hague on the morning of the 24th, without taking ve of anybody, and bent his course to London, by the way of Antrp and Ostend.

Some time in the month of April last a certain British ambassador, o had an inclination to take a few of the pleasures of Paris in his y to Germany, said in that city, where I received the information the time of it, "to be sure the Americans will carry their point and ablish their independence, for there will infallibly be a war between gland and Holland before Christmas."

If the war is considered to commence from the departure of the amssador, Sir Joseph went off exactly in time to accomplish the ophecy. Since the departure of Sir Joseph has been generally known e city has been in a fermentation. The English ministry are cursed re as heartily as anywhere in general. Things are said by our ends to be in a very good situation, but I never know what to beve. The English are very bold, I think; they are very enthusiastical; ey are sure of the assistance of Providence; as sure of success against their enemies as the old lady was of relief from want and making fortune by drawing a prize in the lottery. "But have you bought icket, mamma?" said her daughter. "No, my child," said the old ly, "I have no ticket; but Providence is almighty, and therefore I sure of the highest prize, ticket or no ticket."

I have the honor to be, etc.

JOHN ADAMS.

Additional Instructions from Huntington, President of Congress, to Franklin.†

IN CONGRESS, *December* 27, 1780.

SIR: Since your last instructions‡ Congress have thought it expeent to send Colonel John Laurens, with powers to negotiate specially important affairs to which they more immediately relate. This ntleman, from the nature of his services and situation, has had opctunities of information which peculiarly qualify him for giving to his st Christian majesty a more lively idea of our circumstances, of our ispensable wants, and of the great advantages which must result the allies from his majesty's complying with our request.

The negotiation is, besides, so critically important, that it was deemed ghly requisite by the mission of this special minister to guard against

---

*MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 284, with verbal changes.
†MSS. Dep. of State; 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 134.
‡November 29, 1780, *supra*.

the accident of your want of health and the consequent delay in making the application.

Notwithstanding this appointment, should the duplicates of the despatches reach you before this minister's arrival, you will consider it as the desire of Congress that you take, with all possible expedition, every step in your power for effecting the business, or at least for disposing his most Christian majesty and his ministers to take a favorable impression from the presentation which Colonel Laurens, from his advantages of fuller information, may be better able to make.

It is intended, and it is well known to be his own disposition, to avail himself of your information and influence; and Congress doubt not that the success of this measure will be much promoted by the assistance he will derive from you; and they desire you to consider your attention to him as a matter which will be very satisfactory to Congress and advantageous to your country.

I have the honor to be, etc.

SAMUEL HUNTINGTON,
President.

Additional Instructions to Laurens.*

IN CONGRESS, *December* 27, 1780.

SIR: With respect to the loan, we foresee that the sum which we asked will be greatly inadequate to our wants. We wish, however, to depend as much as possible on our internal exertions. In this negotiation the state of our finances require that you should endeavor to procure as long a respite after the war for the payment of the principal as may be in your power. You may agree for an interest not exceeding the terms allowed or given on national security in Europe, endeavoring to suspend the discharge of the interest for two or three years, if possible.

You are hereby empowered to pledge the faith of the United States by executing such securities or obligations for the payment of the money as you may think proper, and also that the interest shall not be reduced nor the principal paid during the term for which the same shall have been borrowed without the consent of the lenders or their representatives.

You are to stipulate for the payment of both principal and interest in specie. The loan must prove ineffective unless the specie is actually remitted. Experience has shown that the negotiation of bills is attended with insupportable loss and disadvantage.

His most Christian majesty, we are persuaded, will see in the strongest light the necessity of despatching an effective naval armament to the American seas. This is a measure of such vast moment, that your

* MSS. Dep. of State; 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 147.

most address will be employed to give it success. By such a conyance the specie may be remitted in different ships of war with a ospect of safety.

SAMUEL HUNTINGTON,
President.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.*

AMSTERDAM, *December* 28, 1780.

SIR: The Dutch say that the English are acting the part of the ilor, who, having quarreled with three others as stout as himself d got his bones broken and his eyes beat out in the squabble, chalged four more to fight him at the same time, that he might have it his power to make up with all seven *with honor.*

If the English are not actuated by the same blind and vindictive pasons which have governed them so many years, it is impossible to see rough their policy. I think it is impossible they should be ignorant the articles of confederation of the neutral powers. These articles, I am informed, warrant to all the neutral powers their treaties with gland, and stipulate that if either is attacked after the 20th of Nomber last it shall be made a common cause.

If the English should issue letters of marque against the Dutch, the ates-General will not immediately issue letters of marque in return, t will represent the facts to the congress at Petersburgh, and deand the benefit of the treaty of armed neutrality, and all the powers o are parties to that confederation will join in demanding of Engd restitution, and in case of refusal, will jointly issue letters of rque and reprisal.

The political machine that is now in motion is so vast, and compreends so many nations whose interests are not easy to adjust, that it perhaps impossible for the human understanding to foresee what ents may occur to disturb it. But at present there is no unfavorable pearance from any quarter. We are in hourly expectation of intering news from the English, French, and Spanish fleets, from Petersgh, from London, and The Hague, and especially from North Amer-

Every wheel and spring in the whole political system of Europe uld have its motions rapidly accelerated by certain news from Amerof any decisive advantage obtained over Cornwallis in South Caro-, so true it is that America is the very centre and axis of the whole. The death of the empress queen, it is generally thought, will make alteration in the system of Europe. Yet it is possible after some e there may be changes; none, however, which can be hurtful to us.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

---

* MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 285.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.*

AMSTERDAM, *December* 30, 1780.

SIR: The province of Zealand having been opposed to the othe provinces in so many instances, and having lately protested against th resolutions of the States General, which begin to be thought spirited, i may be useful to explain to Congress the causes which influence tha province to a conduct which is generally thought to be opposite to th true interest of the republic.

In the States of Zealand there are only five voices, three of which ar absolutely in the discretion of the Prince of Orange, who has one voic as stadtholder of this province, another as marquis of Veere, and third as first noble. The stadtholder is therefore absolute in this prov ince which accounts at once for its conduct upon every occasion. Th friends of the prince, of England, and of Zealand are not willing, how ever, that the world should believe that the prince's power and his at tachment to England are the sole causes of the conduct of the province and therefore they enlarge upon several topics as apologies and excuse for conduct which can not wholly be justified. The arguments in ex cuse of Zealand are drawn from four principal sources: First, the sit uation of the islands which compose it. Secondly, the interests of it particular commerce. Thirdly, the weakness of its interior forces Fourthly, the state of its finances.

(1) The territory of Zealand consists of five or six islands, two o which are moderately large and the rest very small. These islands ar formed in the mouth of the Escaut (Scheldt) by the sea, or by the di ferent branches of the Escaut. In case of a sudden invasion thes islands, separated from the province of Holland by an arm of the sea are too unconnected to receive any immediate assistance. Such an in vasion is so much the more easy for the English, as Zealand is ver near them. They may invade this province even before a suspicio should be conceived that the project had been formed. Who shall op pose their enterprise? Shall it be the French, who are now friendly Dunkirk, it is true, is near enough, but what forces are there at Dun kirk? The only naval force there consists of a few privateers, wh could neither oppose an armament escorted by British men-of-war no venture to transport troops to oppose it, even supposing the invasio was not made by surprise. Shall the Zealanders themselves make resistance to the English? Separated from one another by water which would necessarily retard their junction, the island of Walcheren the principal of all, would be in possession of the enemy before the could put themselves in a posture to repel force by force. It is, more over, not only possible but easy to make a descent on Zealand by s many places, that the Zealanders with their own forces alone could no

* MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 286, with verbal changes an omissions.

defend effectually all the passages. Eight thousand English, or even a smaller number, would force the Zealanders everywhere, because there is nowhere a fortress capable of holding out twelve hours. The ports of Flushing and Veere are the only ones which have any defense; but these are very far from the state in which they ought to be to stop an enemy determined upon pillage, animated by revenge, and whom the pleasure of doing mischief instigates forcibly. It is conceded that the English descended in Zealand would be constrained to abandon it very soon; that they might and would be driven from it in a few days; that the figure they would make would be neither glorious nor honorable, and that their temerity would cost them dear; but the disorder caused by an invasion remains after the expulsion of the invaders. The people invaded are always the victims of the evils which they have suffered, and these evils, always considerable to the individuals, are seldom compensated. When an incendiary has burned my house, whether he is hanged or not my house is consumed and lost to me. The exactions, the pillage, and all the abominations which follow the *coups de main* of an unbridled soldiery would be cruelly felt by the unfortunate Zealanders even after the perpetrators should be driven out or sacrificed to the public resentment.

[In 1761 fifteen thousand English landed in the neighborhood of the village of St. Ka, situated on the northern coast of Brittany; from thence they extended themselves to the village of Kankale, in the neighborhood of the former. They pillaged the houses of the inhabitants, they broke their furniture, took away their provisions and their cattle, and violated their wives and daughters. Six soldiers ripped open with a knife a woman big with child, after having satiated one after another their brutality. In a word, the English gave a free course to their cruelty, and indulged themselves in all sorts of excesses which the laws of war reprobate as well as those of nature. The massacre of the pregnant woman of Brittany may be put in parallel with that of the unfortunate women whom the savages, under command of Burgoyne, scalped in America. These acts of cruelty prove at least to what excesses the fury of the English may proceed. But it may be asked if it can be said that all the disorders committed in Brittany were repaired when the ten thousand French ran to the assistance of these unfortunate Britons and had killed, drowned, and taken the whole English army? No! the miserable inhabitants of St. Ka and Kankale were not the less ruined; their wives and daughters were not the less dishonored; and, in one word, the English fury did not remain the less deeply imprinted on this part of Brittany with characters of blood. In truth England lost fifteen thousand men, without deriving the smallest advantage from her temerity; but the French employed at St. Ka did nothing but avenge the honor of their nation. France, in one word, only made her rival feel how dangerous it is to insult the firesides of her subjects. This lesson may have intimidated the English, but it is not

certain that it has corrected them. A sheepfold situated upon the borders of a forest is always exposed to be ravaged by the wolves, if the shepherd can not watch all the avenues. If the wolves enter and tear a part of the flock, the shepherd will have lost the sheep that are devoured, and though he should kill some of these carnivorous animals, their skins will not indemnify his loss.*]

(2) The peculiar commerce of Zealand. This province has no other than that small commerce which is known by the name of the coasting trade. This kind of trade is considerable in the provinces of Holland, North Holland, and Friesland. The number of vessels employed in these three provinces in this kind of trade is inconceivable, and the greatest part of them is destined for the service of France. All which France furnishes to foreigners and all which it receives from them is carried in these Holland vessels, and if there were no other profit than the freight for the masters and owners of these vessels this would still be of the greatest consideration. Thus it is not surprising that the province of Holland has taken such strong measures in favor of France. Its particular commerce would naturally determine it this way. On the contrary, Zealand employs the small number of her merchant ships in a commerce with England, a commerce so much the more lucrative as it is almost entirely contraband or smuggled.

The profits to be made on brandy and other spirituous liquors imported clandestinely into England are very considerable, and it is Zealand that makes these profits, because they are her subjects who entertain a continual correspondence with the English smugglers. The proximity of the coasts of Zealand to those of England renders this commerce, which is prohibited to English subjects, sure for the inhabitants of Zealand. Fishing barks are sufficient to carry it on, and these barks are rarely taken, whether it is that they are difficult to take or whether there is not much desire to take them. These barks arrived upon the coasts of England find others which come to take what they bring. The place where this traffic is held is generally some creek upon the coast of England where the vessel may be loaded and unloaded in secrecy. Moreover, those whom the English ministry appoint to prevent this commerce at sea are those who favor it. We know very well the decided inclination of the English in general, and above all of their seamen, for strong liquors. Zealand concurring openly in the measures which the republic is now taking against England, or, if you will, against the powers at war, would draw upon itself particularly the hatred, anger, and vengeance of a nation without which it is impossible to sustain its trade, and this province would by this means deprive a great number of its subjects of a source of gain which places them in a condition to furnish the imposts which they have to pay. Is it not, then, the part of prudence in the states of Zealand to avoid with care everything that might embroil them, par-

*Passage in brackets omitted in Sparks' ed.

icularly with England? Is it not also the wisdom of the States-General to have a regard to the critical situation of one of the seven provinces which compose the union?

(3) The weakness of her internal forces. Zealand is open on all sides to the English. To set them at defiance she ought to have in herself forces capable of intimidating Great Britain. But where are such forces to be found? In the garrisons which the republic maintains there? Two or three thousand men, dispersed at Flushing, at Veere, and in some other cities, are but a feeble defense against a descent of six or seven thousand English, well determined. Will these troops of the republic be supported by armed citizens? Suppose it; their defeat will not be less certain. These citizens, who have never seen a musket discharged, are more proper to carry an empty one; to mount guard at a state-house which is never to be attacked, than to march to the defense of a coast threatened with a descent, or to present themselves upon the parapet of a fort battered with machines that vomit forth death [and make it scatter on the ramparts*]. These soldiers of a moment would carry disorder into the ranks and do more injury than service, by giving countenance to the flight of those brave warriors who make it a point of honor to combat with a steadfast foot. Moreover, who are these citizens [that] might be joined to the regular troops? Are they the principal inhabitants? Those who have the most to lose? Those to whom birth and education have given sentiments of honor and of glory? No. These have, by paying sums of money, exemptions which excuse them from taking arms to defend the country in time of peace. Is it credible that in the most critical moments they will generously renounce these exemptions? It will be, then, the citizens of the second order, the artisans, or people who have little or nothing to lose, who will serve for the re-enforcement to the veterans.

Experience demonstrates at this day in Europe what dependence is to be placed at this day upon such militia. It would be in vain to oppose to this the time of the revolution; those times of the heroism of the ancestors of the Dutch. The cause is not the same. They attack at this day in a different fashion, and perhaps the defense, too, would be made in a very different manner. It might be otherwise if the coasts of Zealand were fortified with good forts, or if the cities of Flushing and Veere were in a condition to sustain a siege of some months, and with their little garrison stop the assailants until the arrival of succors. But one must be very little informed not to know that the English, although they might be incommoded in their landing, would nevertheless effect it with little loss.

(4) The state of her finances. Zealand, of all the seven provinces, costs the most for the maintenance of her dikes. More exposed than any other to be drowned by the sea, her coasts require continual repairs. These reparations can not be made but at great expense.

* Passage in brackets omitted in Sparks' ed.

Unprovided with wood suitable for the construction of ramparts capable of stopping the waves which beat upon her continually, she is obliged to import from foreigners those numberless and enormous timbers which art substitutes in the place of those rocks which nature has granted to other countries for holding in the ocean and restraining its fury. It is necessary, therefore, that a great part of the public revenue of the province should go to foreigners. She must, moreover, furnish her quota to the general treasury of the republic, from whence it follows that she can not expose herself to the inevitable necessity of increasing her imposts to furnish the new expenses which an extraordinary armament would bring upon all the state. More than once, in time of peace, the public coffers of the state have been obliged to furnish to the province of Zealand the succors which she could not find at home without reducing her subjects to the most horrible distress. To what condition, then, would these subjects be reduced, if in the progress of the armed neutrality, or in a war with England, they should be obliged to pay new contributions? All the world agrees that Zealand is poor. It must be acknowledged then that she will be plunged in the lowest indigence if the expenses of the country are augmented, although there are many individuals in Zealand who are very rich and grand capitalists, and luxury among the great is carried to an excess as immoderate as it is in Holland. Zealand has so long embarrassed the republic in all their deliberations concerning the armed neutrality, and lately concerning the serious quarrel that England has commenced, that I thought it would at least gratify the curiosity of Congress to see the causes which have governed it laid open, as I find them explained in conversations and in public writers. Zealand's reasons, however, seem to be now overruled, and the prince's absolute authority there of little avail. To all appearance the English must recede or contend with a bitter enemy in the republic. Old prejudices seem to wear off, and it is now said publicly that the friendship between the English and Dutch has been like the brotherly love between Cain and Abel. Yet I [have been so often disappointed in my expectations here that I *] can never depend upon anything here until it is past.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.†

AMSTERDAM, *December* 31, 1780.

SIR: It will scarcely be believed in Congress that, at a time when there are the strongest appearances of war, there has not been a newspaper nor a letter received in this city from London since the 19th or

* Passage in brackets omitted in Sparks' ed.

† MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 291, with verbal changes; 7 J. Adams' Works, 348.

20th of the month. There are symptoms of a more general war. If Britain adheres to her maxims, this republic will demand the aid of Russia, Sweden, Denmark, and Prussia, in pursuance of the treaty of armed neutrality. Those powers will not be duped by the artifice of the British court, and adjudge this war not a *casus fœderis*, when all the world agrees that the accession of the republic to the armed neutrality is the real cause of it, and the treaty between Mr. Lee and M. de Neufville only a false pretense. If the armed neutral confederacy takes it up, as nobody doubts they will, all these powers will be soon at war with England, if she does not recede. If the neutral powers do not take it up and England proceeds, she will drive this republic into the arms of France, Spain, and America. In this possible case a minister here from Congress would be useful. In case the armed neutrality takes it up, a minister authorized to represent the United States to all the neutral courts might be of use.

The empress queen is no more. The emperor has procured his brother Maximilian to be declared coadjutor of the bishopric of Munster and Cologne, which affects Holland and the Low Countries. He is supposed to have his eye on Liege; this may alarm the Dutch, the King of Prussia, and France. The war may become general, and the fear of it may make peace; that is, it might if the King of England was not the most determined man in the world. But depressed and distracted and ruined as his dominions are, he will set all Europe in a blaze before he will make peace. His exertions, however, against us can not be very formidable. Patience, firmness, and perseverance are our only remedies; these are a sure and an infallible one; and with this observation I beg leave to take my leave of Congress for the year 1780, which has been to me the most anxious and mortifying year of my whole life. God grant that more vigor, wisdom, and decision may govern the councils, negotiations, and operations of mankind in the year 1781.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.*

AMSTERDAM, *January* 1, 1781.

SIR: The mail from London arrived this morning brought us, for a new year's entertainment, the following manifesto:

GEORGE R.:—Through the whole course of our reign our conduct towards the States-General of the United Provinces has been that of a sincere friend and faithful ally. Had they adhered to those wise principles which used to govern the republic, they must have shown themselves equally solicitous to maintain the friendship which has so long subsisted between the two nations, and which is essential to the interests of both; but from the prevalence of a faction devoted to France, and following the dictates of that court, a very different policy has prevailed. The return made to our friendship for some time past has been an open contempt of the most solemn engagements, and a repeated violation of public faith.

---

*MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 292.

On the commencement of the defensive war in which we found ourselves engaged by the aggression of France, we showed a tender regard for the interests of the States-General, and a desire of securing to their subjects every advantage of trade consistent with the great and just principles of our own defence. Our ambassador was instructed to offer a friendly negociation to obviate everything that might lead to disagreeable discussion; and to this offer, solemnly made by him to the States-General the 2d of November, 1778, no attention was paid. After the number of our enemies was increased by the aggression of Spain, equally unprovoked with that of France, we found it necessary to call upon the States-General for the performance of their engagements. The fifth article of the perpetual defensive alliance between our crown and the States-General, concluded at Westminster the 3d of March, 1678, besides the general engagement for succors expressly stipulates "that that party of the two allies that is not attacked shall be obliged to break with the aggressor in two months after the party attacked shall require it." Yet two years have passed without the least assistance given to us—without a single syllable in answer to our repeated demands. So totally regardless have the States been of their treaties with us, that they readily promised our enemies to observe a neutrality, in direct contradiction to those engagements, and whilst they have withheld from us the succors they were bound to furnish, every secret assistance has been given to the enemy; and inland duties have been taken off for the sole purpose of facilitating the carriage of naval stores to France.

In direct and open violation of treaty they suffered an American pirate to remain several weeks in one of their ports, and even permitted a part of his crew to mount guard in a fort in the Texel.

In the East Indies the subjects of the States-General, in concert with France, have endeavored to raise up enemies against us. In the West Indies, particularly at St. Eustatia, every protection and assistance has been given to our rebellious subjects. Their privateers are openly received in the Dutch harbors, allowed to refit there, supplied with arms and ammunition, their crews recruited, their prizes brought in and sold; and all this in direct violation of as clear and solemn stipulations as can be made.

This conduct, so inconsistent with all good faith, so repugnant to the sense of the wisest part of the Dutch nation, is chiefly to be ascribed to the prevalence of the leading magistrates of Amsterdam, whose secret correspondence with our rebellious subjects was suspected long before it was made known by the fortunate discovery of a treaty, the first article of which is: "That there shall be a firm, inviolable, and universal peace and sincere friendship between their high mightinesses the estates of the Seven United Provinces of Holland and the United States of North America, and the subjects and people of the said parties; and between the countries, islands, cities, and towns situated under the jurisdiction of the said United States of Holland and the United States of America, and the people and inhabitants thereof, of every degree, without exception of words or places."*

This treaty was signed in September, 1778, by the express order of the Pensionary of Amsterdam, and other principal magistrates of that city. They now not only avow the whole transaction, but glory in it, and expressly say, even to the States-General, that what they did was what their indispensable duty required. In the mean time the States-General declined to give any answer to the memorial presented by our ambassador; and this refusal was aggravated by their proceeding upon other business, nay, upon the consideration of this very subject to internal purposes; and while they found it impossible to approve the conduct of their subjects, they still industriously avoided to give us the satisfaction so manifestly due. We had every right to expect that such a discovery would have roused them to a just indignation at the insult offered to us and to themselves, and that they would have been eager to give us full and ample satisfaction for the offence, and to inflict the severest punishment

* See the whole of this treaty *supra*, following letter from W. Lee to Committee of Foreign Affairs, October 15, 1778.

upon the offenders. The urgency of the business made an instant answer essential to the honor and safety of this country. The demand was accordingly pressed by our ambassador, in repeated conferences with the ministers, and in a second memorial. It was pressed with all the earnestness that could proceed from our ancient friendship and the sense of recent injuries; and the answer now given to a memorial on such a subject, presented more than five weeks ago, is, that the States have taken it *ad referendum*. Such an answer upon such an occasion could only be dictated by the fixed purpose of hostility meditated and already resolved by the States, induced by the offensive councils of Amsterdam, thus to countenance the hostile aggression which the magistrates of that city have made in the name of the republic.

There is an end of the faith of all treaties with them if Amsterdam may usurp the sovereign power, may violate these treaties with impunity by pledging the States to engagements directly contrary, and leaguing the republic with the rebels of a sovereign to whom she is bound by the closest ties. An infraction of the law of nations by the meanest member of any country gives the injured State a right to demand satisfaction and punishment; how much more so when the injury complained of is a flagrant violation of public faith, committed by leading and predominant members of the State? Since, then, the satisfaction we have demanded is not given, we must, though most reluctantly, do ourselves that justice which we can not otherwise obtain.

We must consider the States-General as parties in the injury which they will not repair, as sharers in the aggression which they refuse to punish, and must act accordingly. We have, therefore, ordered our ambassador to withdraw from The Hague, and shall immediately pursue such vigorous measures as the occasion fully justifies, and our dignity and the essential interest of our people require. From a regard to the Dutch nation at large we wish it were possible to direct those measures wholly against Amsterdam; but this can not be unless the States-General will immediately declare that Amsterdam shall upon this occasion receive no assistance from them, but be left to abide the consequences of its aggression.

Whilst Amsterdam is suffered to prevail in the general councils, and is backed by the strength of the State, it is impossible to resist the aggression of so considerable a part without contending with the whole. But we are too sensible of the common interests of both countries not to remember, in the midst of such a contest, that the only point to be aimed at by us is to raise a disposition in the councils of the republic to return to our ancient union, by giving us that satisfaction for the past and security for the future which we shall be as ready to receive as they can be to offer, and to the attainment of which we shall direct all our operations. We mean only to provide for our own security by defeating the dangerous designs that have been formed against us. We shall ever be disposed to return to friendship with the States-General when they sincerely revert to that system which the wisdom of their ancestors formed, and which has now been subverted by a powerful faction, conspiring with France against the true interests of the republic no less than against those of Great Britain.

St. JAMES, *December* 20, 1780.

At the Court at St. James, the 20th of December, 1780.

Present: The King's Most Excellent Majesty in Council.

His majesty having taken into consideration the many injurious proceedings of the States-General of the United Provinces and their subjects as set forth in his royal manifesto of this date, and being determined to take such measures as are necessary for vindicating the honor of his crown and for procuring reparation and satisfaction, is pleased by and with the advice of his privy council to order, and it is hereby ordered, that general reprisals be granted against the ships, goods, and subjects of the States-General of the United Provinces, so that as well his majesty's fleet and ships as also all other ships and vessels that shall be commissioned by letters of marque or general reprisals or otherwise by his majesty's commissioners for executing the office of lord high admiral of Great Britain shall and may law-

fully seize all ships, vessels, and goods belonging to the States-General of the United Provinces or their subjects or others inhabiting within any of the territories of the aforesaid States-General, and bring the same to judgment in any of the courts of admiralty within his majesty's dominions. And to that end his majesty's advocate-general, with the advocate of the admiralty, are forthwith to prepare the draft of a commission and present the same to his majesty at this board, authorizing the commissioners for executing the office of lord high admiral or any person or persons by them empowered and appointed to issue forth and grant letters of marque and reprisals to any of his majesty's subjects or others whom the said commissioners shall deem fitly qualified in that behalf for the apprehending, seizing, and taking the ships, vessels, and goods belonging to the States-General of the United Provinces, and their vassals and subjects, or any inhabiting within the countries, territories, or dominions of the aforesaid States-General; and that such powers and clauses be inserted in the said commission as have been usual and are according to former precedents; and his majesty's said advocate general, with the advocate of the admiralty, are also forthwith to prepare the draft of a commission and present the same to his majesty at this board, authorizing the said commissioners for executing the office of lord high admiral to will and require the high court of admiralty of Great Britain and the lieutenant and judge of said court, his surrogate or surrogates, as also the several courts of admiralty within his majesty's dominions, to take cognizance of and judicially proceed upon all manner of captures, seizures, prizes, and reprisals of all ships and goods that are or shall be taken, and to hear and determine the same; and according to law to judge and condemn all such ships, vessels, and goods as shall belong to the States-General of the United Provinces or their vassals and subjects, or to any others inhabiting within any of the countries, territories, and dominions of the aforesaid States-General; and that such powers and clauses be inserted in said commission as have been usual and are according to former precedents; and they are likewise to prepare and lay before his majesty at this board a draft of such instructions as may be proper to be sent to the courts of admiralty in his majesty's foreign governments and plantations for their guidance herein; as also another draft of instructions for such ships as shall be commissioned for the purposes aforementioned.

I have the honor to be, etc., JOHN ADAMS.

Dana to J. Adams.*

HOTEL VALOIS, RUE RICHELIEU,
Paris, January 1, 1781.

DEAR SIR: I will no longer omit to acquaint you of my safe arrival here; I should have done it before, but I wished first to obtain the sight of the British declaration against the Dutch, which I could not effect till last evening. Will the Dutch remain firm and in good earnest set about the equipment of their navy? If they will, we may hope something from their exertions. Let me have your sentiments upon this important event, so far at least as it may in any way effect our particular business. It appears to me to have thrown open the door wide, and let us enter without hesitation. If the second matter is necessary to accomplish the first, I would if in your case undertake it provisionally. All circumstances considered, I am persuaded such a step would meet with the approbation of those whom it immediately concerns. It is sometimes necessary to step over a prescribed line, and when this is done with a

* 7 J. Adams' Works, 349.

incere intention to promote the general interest of one's country by seiz-
ng upon an *unexpected* event, the man who will not suffer it to pass
way unimproved is entitled to much merit. He hazards something,
ut it is with the purest views. I have presumed to offer to your con-
ideration these hints, not doubting but you will take them in good
art; besides, I sincerely wish the honor of effecting both these matters
ay be yours; and it really appears to me vain to expect one without
eing willing to do the other. Would they hesitate upon this provis-
onal ground? Is it not easy to give them assurances that it is safe
nd firm? But I have said perhaps more than enough on this subject.
shall hope for your sentiments in return.

I have some reason to wish you would give a gentle hint to a certain
entleman of our acquaintance, about whom we do not differ in opinion,
o be somewhat more upon the reserve.

Soon after my arrival here, which was on the evening of the 23d, I
ad a visit from *Francisco*, a long one, during which we went over much
olitical ground, which convinced me everything we had heard of the
ery extraordinary conversation of this man (Deane) * was strictly true.
Our country according to him was already conquered; the power of
Great Britain rising above all control; that of her enemies almost spent;
Holland absolutely to be crushed in the course of three months; the
armed neutrality in consequence to be annihilated; the British manifesto
extolled for its cogent reasons above all the similar acts of the belliger-
ent powers; all Europe blind to their own interests, which in fact were
n direct repugnance with those of America, particularly those of Hol-
and and all the northern powers; Congress a mere cipher, having lost
ll its influence everywhere in America; and to crown the whole, an
pology for the infamous apostate Arnold. I kept my temper and heard
im out. You may easily conjecture what my feelings were on such an
ccasion, and I manifested them in some part of my replies. I have read
General C.'s letter to Governor Greene in Mr. Luzac's Leyden paper of
he 27th of last month. What does he mean by this reflection? Re-
erring to the part of his letter which speaks of Vermont, "Vu que
'issue en sera probablement de porter le nombre des États-Unis à qua-
orze, *au cas qu'aucun de seux qui composent actuellement l'Union Améri-
caine n'en soit finalement démembré à la paix.*" It is holding up an idea
which ought not to appear, and I do not see that it was natural in this
lace. I am at a loss, therefore, how it came to be inserted by M. Luzac.

If the commodore has not sailed I presume the change of public
ffairs has cleared away all difficulties. You will please to present my
egards to him, Mr. Searle, Mr. Thaxter, and any others who you think
care about me, not forgetting the young gentlemen.

* There now can be little question that this is Deane. If so, Deane was much more unguarded with Dana than he was with Franklin, who, on Jan. 18, 1781, had no suspicion of Deane's apostacy. Of this, however, Franklin had no doubt at the time of his letter to Livingston of Mar. 4, 1782, *infra*.

No news yet of Comte d'Estaing, de Guichen, and convoy. The winds have been favorable several days, and 'tis probable they are at this time at Brest. I can not yet learn what assistance America may hope for the approaching campaign. I pray God she may not be again flattered by any false hopes. Let our allies give essential aid or withdraw all they have sent, when our country will see they must work out their own political salvation. I wish to write you much more largely, but I have several letters besides this to copy into my book, and have not time. Yours to the doctor I delivered to him yesterday; he read it, but said nothing. Its contents I know nothing of.

I am, with the greatest respect, etc.,

FRA. DANA.

P. S.—I wish you to give me a secret address.

Huntington, President of Congress, to J. Adams.*

PHILADELPHIA, *January* 1, 1781.

SIR: You will receive herewith enclosed a commission as minister plenipotentiary to the United Provinces of the Low Countries, with instructions for your government on that important mission, as also a plan of treaty with those States,† and likewise a resolve of Congress relative to the declaration of the Empress of Russia respecting the protection of neutral ships, etc.‡

Proper letters of credence on the subject of your mission will be forwarded by the next conveyance; but it is thought inexpedient to delay the present despatches on that account.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

SAMUEL HUNTINGTON,
President.

* MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 292.

† See this commission, the instructions, and the plan of a treaty in the secret journals, vol. 2, p. 376, *et seq.*

‡ The following is the resolve of Congress here alluded to:

"IN CONGRESS, *October* 5, 1780.

"Her Imperial majesty of all the Russias, attentive to the freedom of commerce and the rights of nations, in her declaration to the belligerent and neutral powers, having proposed regulations founded upon principles of justice, equity, and moderation, of which their most Christian and Catholic majesties, and most of the neutral maritime powers of Europe, have declared their approbation, Congress, willing to testify their regard to the rights of commerce, and their respect for the sovereign who has proposed and the powers who have approved, the said regulations,

"*Resolved*, That the board of admiralty prepare and report instructions for the commanders of armed vessels commissioned by the United States conformable to the principles contained in the declaration of the Empress of all the Russias on the rights of neutral vessels.

"That the ministers plenipotentiary from the United States, if invited thereto, be, and hereby are, respectively empowered to accede to such regulations, conformable to the spirit of the said declaration, as may be agreed upon by the congress expected to assemble in pursuance of the invitation of her Imperial majesty."

Credentials of John Adams.*

JANUARY 3, 1781.

To his Most Serene Highness the Prince of Orange:

HIGH AND SERENE PRINCE: The United States of America in Congress assembled, impressed with a deep sense of your wisdom and magnanimity, and being desirous of cultivating the friendship of your highness and of the Seven United Provinces of the Netherlands, who have ever distinguished themselves by an inviolable attachment to freedom and the rights of nations, have appointed the Honorable John Adams, late a delegate in Congress from the State of Massachusetts, and member of the council of that State, to be their minister plenipotentiary at your court, that he may give you more particular assurances of the great respect they entertain for your highness and for the people over whom you preside as Stadtholder.

We beseech your highness to give entire credit to everything which our said minister shall deliver on our part, especially when he shall assure you of the sincerity of our friendship and regard. We pray God to keep your Highness in His holy protection.

Done at Philadelphia, etc.

J. Laurens to the President of Congress.†

PHILADELPHIA, *January* 3, 1781.

SIR: Although my instructions relative to the objects of my mission do not explicitly direct what conduct I am to observe in case the aids solicited from the court of France can not be obtained in their full extent, yet I presume it is not the intention of Congress to confine me without alternative to the precise demands which they have made. There is the more reason that this matter should be clearly understood, as my prospects, especially in the important article of pecuniary succors, are far from being flattering. I apprehend, then, that I shall have satisfied my duty by aspiring, with every effort, to complete success, and upon failure of that, by approaching it as nearly as shall be found practicable.

With regard to the estimate of the board of war, as it descends into the minutest detail, and includes a great variety of articles, it appears to me that it will be necessary to attach myself in preference to the objects of first necessity for the ensuing campaign, that the most indispensable supplies may not be retarded by those of a secondary nature, and that, the former being secured as far as possible and the latter left in a train of execution, I may the sooner be at liberty to return and make my report. As I apprehend that these ideas need

* MSS. Dep. of State. † MSS. Dep. of State; 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 147.

only be submitted to Congress to obtain their sanction, I shall consider myself authorized to act in consequence, unless I receive new orders to the contrary.

I have the honor to be, with the profoundest respect, etc.,

JOHN LAURENS.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.*

AMSTERDAM, *January* 4, 1781.

SIR: Notwithstanding the influence of the English nation, notwithstanding the influence of old prejudices and habits, notwithstanding the apprehensions that are entertained for immense sums in the English funds, and for the sudden destruction of an innumerable navigation at the commencement of a war, and, above all, notwithstanding the authority and influence of the Stadtholder, I am confidently assured by several gentlemen that the national opinion and affection is with us. The Baron van der Capellan, with whom I have the honor of an agreeable acquaintance, is of opinion that four-fifths of the nation wish us success in our enterprise.

The symptoms of popularity in this city are decisive. The Sunday before last, in the Presbyterian meeting, the parson, beginning as usual to pray for the King of England, was absolutely interrupted by a general murmur. On Christmas day he attempted to repeat his imprudence, and was interrupted by still greater confusion; so that last Sunday he had learned discretion, to leave out wholly this offensive clause. On the evening of the New Year's day, at the theatre, the public were entertained with the national tragedy, as it is called, *Gysbrecht Van Amstel*, after which the actors, as is customary, addressed the audience. There were many strokes in this address which sufficiently indicated the spirit of the times, particularly a solemn injunction that "they must not be slaves," and a quotation from a very popular song with which the streets have rung these ten days, which were deeply and universally applauded.

The presses swarm with pamphlets, handbills, songs, and poems, generally much against the English, and commonly with some favorable hints concerning the Americans. The conversation in private families and the toasts in jovial circles indicate a tremendous spirit in the body of this people, which, if once let loose from restraint and properly directed, would make this nation the worst enemy that England ever had. It is essential to attend to these symptoms of popularity at this time and in this country, because it is manifest that the whole system of the English, in concert with their faction in the republic, is now bent to excite the populace against the burgomasters of Amsterdam. They succeeded in 1748, and accomplished a change in the regency.

---

* MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 297, with verbal changes.

f they could succeed in the same manner now, they would change the olitical system of this nation entirely, and by this means, in the present ituation of affairs in Europe and America, it is plain they would work s entire and irretrievable ruin.

Yet the course is so circuitous to apply to the courts of Russia, weden, and Denmark to induce them to join in demanding satisfac- on of England; the shocks upon 'change will be so great by the udden capture of so many ships; so many insurers, merchants, etc., ill be ruined, and there will be so many arts to divide and discourage is people, that I can not pretend to foresee what will happen. The onfusion is yet so great, that I have no hopes at present of obtaining oney. There must be time for the fermentation to go off; and the uarrel with England must become in the minds of all irreconcilable efore we can try the experiment whether we have any credit or not.

If Congress should think proper to send powers here to treat with ie States-General, I beg leave to submit to their consideration the ase of M. Dumas. He was early employed in our affairs here, has eglected all other business, has been attentive and industrious, and is gentleman of extensive learning and amiable character. I believe e is not ambitious nor avaricious, but moderate in his expectations. Whoever shall be honored with powers from Congress to reside here ould find his assistance useful, for he is much devoted to the American ause. I hope, therefore, Congress will pardon me if I venture to recom- end him to their attention.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

Carmichael to the Committee of Foreign Affairs.*

MADRID, *January* 4, 1781.

GENTLEMEN: I wrote you the 24th ultimo,† since which I am advised hat the Abbé Hussey is on his way from Lisbon to this capital, as is pposed with further propositions on the part of England. I think ey will be as fruitless as the former. I have the pleasure of inform- g you that on the 19th ultimo Great Britain declared war in form gainst Holland. A courier brought the news this morning, which has ven great pleasure to the court, if one may be allowed to judge from ppearances. Expresses were immediately despatched by the ministry the seaports to advise the Dutch consuls of this event, and to offer e protection of convoys, etc.

It is supposed that the Empress of Russia will resent this declaration England, as it is posterior to the notification of the accession of the public to the armed neutrality, which is the real, though not the leged, cause of the war; for I make no doubt events will discover that

*MSS. Dep. of State; 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 43. †Missing.

this measure was resolved the instant the English ministry knew that the accession of the States to that treaty was inevitable. I shall take care to give you minute and regular advice of the consequences likely to result from this event; meantime permit me to felicitate you on the acquisition of new friends.

The English fleet returned to Portsmouth in a bad condition without having made any attempt against that of Count d'Estaing, of which they were thrice in view. The French fleet was not arrived when the courier who brought the agreeable intelligence before mentioned left France. This court expects to obtain the sums necessary for the expenses of the year. I hope to transmit the plan of the proposed loan in my next letters.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

WILLIAM CARMICHAEL.

P. S.—Lest my letter of the 24th ultimo should miscarry, I repeat that the court has engaged to supply Mr. Jay with three millions of reals, in addition to eighteen thousand dollars already furnished, which with the twenty-five thousand promised by France, will nearly pay the bills already presented, and I hope ways and means will be found to provide for the payment of the residue drawn and sold before reception of Mr. Jay's letters of advice.

W. C.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.*

AMSTERDAM, *January* 5, 1781.

SIR: On the 10th of November, 1780, the memorial of Sir Joseph Yorke to the States-General was presented for a disavowal, satisfaction proportioned to the offence, and punishment of the guilty.

November 28. A formal disapprobation of the States-General of the conduct of the regency of Amsterdam.

December 12. Second memorial of Sir Joseph Yorke, for a satisfaction proportioned to the offence and the punishment of the guilty.

December 14. Answer of the States-General, despatched by express to London, importing that their high mightinesses had taken the said memorials *ad referendum*.

December 16. Order of his Britannic majesty to Sir Joseph Yorke to withdraw from The Hague without taking leave, despatched by express; arrived at The Hague on the 23d.

December 19. Letter of the Count de Welderen to the States-General, acknowledging the receipt of those of the 12th and of the 15th; declaration of the States-General touching their accession to the confederation of the north.

---

* MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 299; 7 J. Adams' Works, 352.

December 20. Signature of the manifesto of his Britannic majesty, ıblished the 21st in the London Gazette extraordinary.

December 21. Expedition of an express to Sir Joseph Yorke arrived The Hague on the night of the 23d, with the manifesto published e 21st.

December 22. Resolution of the States-General to refer the affair of e satisfaction and punishment of the guilty to the provincial court justice.

December 25. The departure of Sir Joseph Yorke for Antwerp.

December 26. Expedition of an express to the Count de Welderen, ith orders to present the declara'ion touching the confederation of e north, and to withdraw from London without taking leave.

December 28. The ordinary packet from London not yet arrived, and e last letters from London are of the 19th.

In this rapid succession have events rolled one after another, until e war has seemingly become inevitable.

The Prince of Orange has made a requisition or proposition to the tates-General to augment their navy with fifty or sixty vessels of war ıd their army to fifty or sixty thousand men. The ships of war will e agreed to, but the troops not, as I am told. Once more I beg leave say I can believe nothing until it is past.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

Huntington, President of Congress, to J. Adams.*

IN CONGRESS, *January* 10, 1781.

SIR: Congress consider your correspondence with the Count de ergennes on the subject of communicating your plenipotentiary powers the ministry of Great Britain as flowing from your zeal and assiıity in the service of your country; but I am directed to inform you at the opinion given to you by that minister relative to the time and rcumstances proper for communicating your powers and entering ɔon the execution of them is well founded.

Congress have no expectations from the influence which the people England may have on the British counsels, whatever may be the sposition of that nation or their magistrates towards these United tates. Nor are they of opinion that a change of ministers would proıce a change of measures. They therefore hope you will be very cauɔus of admitting your measures to be influenced by presumptions of ch events or their probable consequences. (By order of Congress.)

I am, sir, with great respect, etc.,

SAMUEL HUNTINGTON,
President.

---

* 7 J. Adams' Works, 353.

Organization of a Foreign Department.*

IN CONGRESS, *January* 10, 1781.

Congress took into consideration the report of the committee appointed to consider and report a plan for the department of foreign affairs, wherein they state,

That the extent and the rising power of these United States entitle them to a place among the great potentates of Europe, while our political and commercial interests point out the propriety of cultivating with them a friendly correspondence and connexion;

That, to render such an intercourse advantageous, the necessity of a competent knowledge of the interests, views, relations, and systems of those potentates is obvious;

That a knowledge in its nature so comprehensive is only to be acquired by a constant attention to the state of Europe, and an unremitted application to the means of acquiring well-grounded information;

That Congress are moreover called upon to maintain with our ministers at foreign courts a regular correspondence, and to keep them fully informed of every circumstance and event which regards the public honor, interest, and safety;

That to answer those essential purposes the committee are of opinion that a fixed and permanent office for the department of foreign affairs ought forthwith to be established, as a remedy against the fluctuations, the delay, and indecision to which the present mode of managing our foreign affairs must be exposed: whereupon,

Resolved, That an office be forthwith established for the department of foreign affairs, to be kept always in the place where Congress shall reside;

That there shall be a secretary for the despatch of business of the said office, to be styled "Secretary of Foreign Affairs;"

That it shall be the duty of the said secretary to keep and preserve all the books and papers belonging to the department of foreign affairs; to receive and report the applications of all foreigners; to correspond with the ministers of the United States at foreign courts, and with the ministers of foreign powers, and other persons, for the purpose of obtaining the most extensive and useful information relative to foreign affairs, to be laid before Congress when required; also to transmit such communications as Congress shall direct to the ministers of the United States and others at foreign courts and in foreign countries; the said secretary shall have liberty to attend Congress, that he may be better informed of the affairs of the United States, and have an opportunity of explaining his reports respecting his department; he shall also be authorized to employ one, or, if necessary, more clerks to assist him in the business of his office; and the secretary, as well as such clerks, shall, before the President of Congress, take an oath of fidelity to the United States and an oath for the faithful execution of their respective trusts.

* MSS. Dep. of State; 6 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 45.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.*

AMSTERDAM, *January* 14, 1781.

SIR: In an excursion which I have lately made through the princi-al cities of this province, Haerlem, Leyden, The Hague, and Rotter-am, I have had an opportunity of perceiving that there is a spirit of esentment against the English very general among the people. Not-ithstanding this, everything is so artfully retarded, the manifesto, he letters of marque, and above all the decision of the court of justice f Holland is so studiously delayed, while the English are making such ast depredations upon the defenceless merchant vessels, that we can not et be sure that war is decided. The counsels of the prince, united ith those of the proprietors of British funds, and the distresses of mer-hants may yet induce the republic, against the general sense of the ation, to sue for a dishonorable peace.

I have received a letter, however, since my return, from M. Dumas, f last Friday, which informs me that a letter is received from the pleni-otentiaries at Petersburgh, dated the 19th of December, announcing hat the Empress of Russia was well satisfied with all that had passed; hat she had seen the two last British memorials presented by Sir oseph Yorke to their high mightinesses, and that she had more indig-ation than surprise at the sight of them (it may be doubted whether his is not a mistake, as the last memorial was dated the 12th and the etter the 19th, which leave but seven days to go from The Hague to 'etersburgh), that the signature was to be on the 23d, after which these inisters were to display the character of ambassadors extraordinary, nd that they would forthwith despatch another express with the con-ention signed. This express is now expected every moment, and as oon as he arrives, their high mightinesses will publish the manifesto. 'his little delay is but a pure formality. In the mean time, they resolved n the 12th of this month to distribute letters of marque to privateers, nd orders to the men-of-war to seize everything they can belonging o the English.

Notwithstanding this, there are no privateers ready, and fewer ships f war than there ought to be. It will be long before the Dutch can do ny great things, and they must suffer very severely. Such are the ffects of mistaken policy. War is now so terrible a thing to this peo-le, they are so divided in sentiment, their minds are so agitated with ncertainty, irresolution, and apprehension, that there is as yet no pos-ibility of borrowing any money.

I must, therefore, repeat the request that Congress would not think f drawing for any more money here until they receive certain advices rom me that there is some in hand.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

---

* MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 300, with verbal changes.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.*

AMSTERDAM, *January* 15, 1781.

SIR: Zealand is still endeavoring to divert the republic from its interest and its duty, to embarrass its operations, and involve it in disgrace and ruin.

The directors of the Company of Commerce and that of Ensurance, and a great number of merchants established at Middleburg, in Zealand, have presented a petition to the States-General, to supplicate their high mightinesses to try again the way of negociation, to endeavor to prevent by this means the damages with which the subjects of the republic are still threatened by a war with England, and to come to a friendly accommodation. This petition has been supported by a resolution of the States of Zealand, transmitted to the Assembly of the States-General; but it is said that this petition has been rendered commissorial, and will not be taken into consideration, unless the English should make some proposition of peace. The state of the marine of the republic during the year 1781, as it has been proposed by the petition of the council of state, is two vessels of seventy guns and five hundred and fifty men; nine of sixty guns and four hundred and fifty men; fifteen of fifty guns and three hundred men; two of forty guns and two hundred and seventy men; one of forty guns and two hundred and fifty men; fourteen of thirty-six guns and two hundred and thirty men; thirteen of twenty guns and one hundred and fifty men; five sloops, one hospital ship, four packet boats, twelve large armed vessels, sixteen smaller; making in the whole ninety-four ships and eighteen thousand four hundred and ninety men.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

Luzerne to the President of Congress.†

[Translation.]

PHILADELPHIA, *January* 15, 1781.

SIR: I have just received an authentic copy of a letter from the king to the Duc de Penthièvre, admiral of France, in relation to prizes taken by American privateers in the ports of the kingdom. I have thought it proper, sir, to communicate it to you, in order that the Americans who take that course may be duly informed of the regulations which it contains, and may know that it is the intention of his majesty that they shall be treated in the same manner as his own subjects in the judgment of the prizes which they shall bring into the ports of the kingdom.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

LUZERNE.

---

* MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 303, with verbal changes.

† 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 712.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.*

AMSTERDAM, *January* 15, 1781.

SIR: The prince on the 26th of December made a proposition to the States-General, viz., in substance as follows:

That his most serene highness had already communicated the last year to the respective provinces his advice to equip fifty or sixty vessels of war and to augment the land forces to fifty or sixty thousand men, to put the frontier places in a good position of defence, and to provide necessary magazines of warlike stores, to the end to be in a condition to defend the lawful rights of the republic; that his most serene highness had seen with satisfaction that as far as respected the marine it had been made better in some degree; and that he flattered himself that the States of all the provinces would reinforce it for the ensuing year with redoubled zeal, since they could not be too much upon their guard in the present conjuncture; that it was equally necessary to put the republic in a convenient state of defence on the land side; and that he hoped that they would at this day think seriously of it; that they could augment the fortifications and supply the magazines, since, if they failed in this, his most serene highness would not be responsible for the events, etc.

The States-General, after having thanked the Stadtholder for his assiduous zeal and solicitude to maintain the republic in the enjoyment of its liberty and independence, resolved:

That the proposition of his most serene highness should be communicated to the respective provinces, and that it should be represented to them that his most serene highness, animated with the purest love of his country, insists with reason (at this day when the danger is immediate and war appears inevitable) upon the necessity of making unanimous efforts to the end to resist this danger and to preserve the republic by joining courage to prudence; that the maritime forces of the republic are not yet sufficient to protect the commerce, the source of the well-being of the republic in all its branches, and to ensure from all invasion the possessions of the republic both in the East and the West Indies; that, therefore, their high mightinesses think themselves under obligation to pray the members of the union, in a manner the most affectionate and the most pressing, to fix their attention as soon as possible upon these objects and to accomplish them with vigor, since the storm which approaches at sea may easily, by a sudden revolution, discharge itself upon the continent, so that an augmentation of land forces is as indispensably necessary as the armament by sea; that from these motives their high mightinesses assure themselves that since there no longer remains for the republic a choice between peace and war, the respective members of the union will endeavor, as far as possible, to defend their country and all which is dear to them by acting with unanimity, courage, and candor.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

* MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 304, with verbal changes.

J. Adams to the President of Congress. *

AMSTERDAM, *January* 15, 1781.

SIR: The following is the declaration of the States-General of their accession to the armed neutrality:

DECLARATION.

Their high mightinesses, the States-General of the United Provinces of the Low Countries, having had nothing more at heart since the commencement of the present war, and having desired nothing more earnestly than to observe invariably the most strict and the most perfect neutrality between the belligerent powers, and to fulfill at the same time their essential and indispensable obligations by granting a convenient protection to the commerce and the navigation of their subjects, and by maintaining and defending the rights and liberties of their neutral flag, have learned with the highest satisfaction that her majesty the Empress of all the Russias, constantly animated with noble and generous sentiments, which must transmit to the latest posterity the immortal lustre and renown of her glorious reign, has thought fit to declare to the belligerent powers "that, being in the intention to observe during the present war the most exact impartiality, she is determined to maintain, by all the means the most efficacious, the honor of the Russian flag, as well as the safety of the commerce and the navigation of her subjects, and not to suffer any of the belligerent powers to give them any interruption." The sentiments and the views of their high mightinesses answer perfectly and are entirely conformable to the principles which make the basis of the declaration of her Imperial majesty; and they consequently do not hesitate to lay open, after her example, to the belligerent powers the same principles which they are determined to follow and to maintain in concert with her Imperial majesty, viz.:

First. That neutral vessels may freely navigate from port to port and upon the coasts of the powers at war.

Second. That the effects belonging to the subjects of the powers at war shall be free upon neutral vessels, excepting only merchandises of contraband.

Third. That with regard to contraband their high mightinesses adhere to what is stipulated by the treaties concluded between them and the belligerent powers, and more expressly by the sixth article of the treaty of marine with the crown of Spain of the 17th of December, 1650; the third article of the treaty of marine with the crown of England of 1st of December, 1674, and the sixteenth article of the treaty of commerce, of navigation, and of marine with the crown of France of the 1st of December, 1739, for twenty-five years. The dispositions and determinations of which treaties, in their full extent relative to merchandises of contraband, their high mightinesses consider as entirely founded on natural equity and the law of nations.

Fourth. That no place shall be adjudged blockaded but when ships of war stationed in the neighborhood shall hinder that no vessel can enter without evident danger.

Fifth. That these principles shall serve as rules to judge of the lawfulness or the unlawfulness of prizes.

As these principles form and constitute the universal rights of neutral powers, and as they are, moreover, confirmed by treaties which can never be lawfully annulled or altered or suspended but by a common act and reciprocal consent of the contracting parties, their high mightinesses flatter themselves that the belligerent powers will acknowledge and respect the justice of them, by giving no obstruction to the commerce of the subjects of their high mightinesses, and by not troubling them in the free enjoyment of rights, the propriety of which can not be contested, to the flag of neutral and independent powers.

I have the honor to be, etc., JOHN ADAMS.

* MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 302.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.*

AMSTERDAM, *January* 15, 1781.

SIR: Congress will not expect me to write upon the subject of peace at this time, when the flames of war are spreading far and wide with more rapidity than ever and I have no comfortable tidings on the subject of money.

In the first place, I believe there is not so much money here as the world imagines; in the next place, those who have what there is have now no confidence in any nation or individual. All credit seems at a stand.

The republic will want a loan; the northern neutral powers will want loans; and even a loan will be wanted to support the credit of a number of houses in the mercantile way which are affected by the violent and sudden revolution of the times and by the piratical depredations of the English. I hope, therefore, that Congress will not venture to draw here until they have certain information that they may draw with safety.

I have the honor to be, etc., JOHN ADAMS.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.†

AMSTERDAM, *January* 18, 1781.

Sir: At length one act has appeared which looks like war. The following placard was resolved on the 12th of this month:

The States-General of the United Provinces of the Low Countries to all those who shall see, hear, or read these presents, greeting: Know ye, that the King of Great Britain, having thought proper, without any lawful cause, to attack in a hostile manner this republic, and as we are obliged to neglect nothing which can serve for our defence, and to use at the same time the right, the example of which the conduct of the said crown has commenced by setting us, and to act against it, in the same manner as they act against us, and consequently to do to the said king and to his subjects all the prejudice which shall be in our power; for these causes, and for the protection of the commerce and of the navigation of this country, we have thought fit to establish and to permit to all the subjects of these States who shall take or destroy any English vessels of war or privateers the following rewards:

I. All those who shall fit out a privateer and shall have obtained from his highness the Prince of Orange and Nassau, in quality of admiral-general of these countries, suitable commissions, after having given beforehand the requisite securities, shall not be held to furnish the third man of their crew as is ordained by the placard of their high mightinesses of the 26th of June, 1780, excepting those who will load with merchandises and take at the same time the said letters of marque.

Those who shall have taken and conducted into one of the ports or roads within the jurisdiction of one of the colleges of admiralty of this country a vessel of war or privateer of the King of Great Britain shall draw moreover a bounty of one hundred and fifty florins for each man who shall be found at the commencement of the combat on

---

* MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 305.

† MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 306.

board of the said vessel of war or privateer, as also a like sum for each pound of ball which the artillery which shall be found on board the said vessel at the time aforesaid can discharge at one time, not including the swivels, or the balls of the new artillery called carronades, valued only at one quarter of their weight; in such sort, that if one of our privateers shall make herself master of an English vessel of war, or privateer mounted, for example, with forty pieces of cannon, carrying altogether three hundred and fifty pound weight of ball—that is to say, forty carronades and fourteen hundred balls of eight pound—and the crew of which shall be two hundred and twenty men, shall receive for bounty or reward, by calculating each man and each pound of ball upon the footing of one hundred and fifty florins, the sum of eighty-five thousand eight hundred florins, and thus more or less in proportion to the crew and the caliber of the cannon which shall be found at the time of the combat upon the English ship, besides the booty and the prize and all the effects which shall be found on board, without any other deduction to be made from it than the tenth for the admiral.

II. The said recompenses assigned for prizes shall also take place in case the English vessel of war or privateer shall be totally destroyed, whether our armed vessels shall have sunk her or burnt her or shipwrecked her, or whether the said vessel shall have perished in any other manner, after having been taken; provided, nevertheless, that this recompense is not to be claimed in the whole, at least if the crew of the vessel destroyed has not been taken or killed. And if it should happen that they have only driven the enemy's vessel on shore, so that the vessel has perished, but the crew has saved itself, our letters of marque shall not enjoy in this case but one half of the bounty or reward promised; so that in the case last mentioned they shall receive only forty-two thousand nine hundred florins instead of eighty-five thousand eight hundred.

III. Provided, nevertheless, that neither the prize nor the bounty shall ever be adjudged to any of our letters of marque until after the affair shall have been carried before one of the colleges of the admiralty of this country, and the sentence shall have been there pronounced in our favor.

IV. The said colleges of the admiralty may not adjudge these rewards until after the captain, lieutenant, and pilot of the privateer, as well as those who shall have freighted her, their book-keepers, and others authorized, shall have declared by a solemn oath that the vessel of war or privateer of which they have made themselves masters has been duly taken, without any collusion, directly or indirectly, with the English, or with any other known to them. In case the freighters who claim the adjudication of prizes and bounties are out of the country, absent, or hindered by some other obstacle, it shall suffice that the book-keepers, or some other authorized, take the oath but so far as it is of his knowledge for himself and for his freighters, conformably to the special procuration which he shall have for this effect; the freighters, nevertheless, shall be obliged to take an oath beforehand before the magistrate of their residence, or before other persons competent, whose testimonies they shall send.

V. And for the better encouragement of the said ships which shall have armed as privateers, we ordain that those who shall have been wounded in a combat with the English ship shall be maintained at the expense of the state, without its costing anything to the proprietors of the privateers, or those who shall be on board. We ordain also that those who shall be maimed in fighting an English ship shall be gratified on the part of the state, and without it costing anything to the freighters, with the moiety of the recompense granted by the republic to those who serve on board vessels of war; they shall not, however, have a right but to those rewards which are given once, and not to those which shall be granted weekly or monthly, or otherwise. As to what respects the maintenance of the wounded, the account of it shall be presented to the competent college of the admiralty, to be there examined and duly regulated, so that the maimed, to the end that they may enjoy the

moiety of the recompense proposed, may procure themselves an act of the said college of the admiralty, after having furnished it the necessary proofs.

VI. For the encouragement of the ships of war, as well as the merchant vessels which may be provided with commissions, to make use of, in case of need, to cause to the English ships all the prejudice possible, we intend that the English ship of which they may make themselves masters, of what nature or denomination soever it may be, shall be given them entire, the tenth for the admiral excepted, without pretending, however, to any further recompense.

VII. If it should happen that our privateers, merchant vessels, or others armed for a cruise at the expense of individuals of this country, should retake any vessels or effects belonging to the subjects of the state, and that such recapture shall be made in the space of forty-eight hours after they shall have been in the hands of the enemy, they shall enjoy, in that case, one-fifth of the just value of the vessels or effects which they shall have delivered; but if the recapture shall be made in the space of four days after the vessel shall have been in the hands of the English, they shall have one-third of the said value; and if the recapture shall be made after four days, they shall have the moiety of it, without having any further regard to the greater or lesser time that the said vessels or effects retaken shall have been in the hands of the English after the expiration of the four days.

VIII. The adjudication of any one of the said recompenses, as well as the acts of the respective colleges of the admiralty in favor of the maimed or wounded, being shown to the receiver-general of the duties of entry and clearance to receive the appointed recompense, the payment of it shall be promptly made by the said receiver-general at The Hague, or in the place of the college of admiralty in which the sentence or the taxation shall have been pronounced, as it shall be most convenient for the said receiver-general.

IX. Which receiver-general shall be provided with sufficient sums of money to satisfy the said payments, and he shall always take care that, after having paid some bounties, he has always wherewith to satisfy promptly those which may be demanded of him in the sequel, either by the second moiety of the duties of Last and Vielgeld, or by negociating successively the sums which he shall have occasion for for a supply.

X. In all cases the privateer who shall have taken or destroyed any English vessel ought to take care to give, without delay, and as soon as he arrives, notice to the said receiver-general of the value of the bounties which he has a right to claim, to the end that the said receiver-general may be in a condition to make prompt payment.

XI. And in all the respective colleges of admiralty where the case shall be brought, they shall take care to render prompt sentences, even by postponing to other times the other affairs which may be before them.

XII. And in case an appeal or revision should be demanded, and by this means the sentences of the said colleges shall be annulled, we have desired that in this case the recompenses assigned by the sentences of the admiralty should be delivered to the said privateers, so that the demand of revision may not suspend or hinder the payment; we mean, at the same time, that the sureties which the ships going to cruise ought to furnish shall be obliged in that case to augment the surety, and to promise a prompt restitution of what shall have been paid to the said privateers in consequence of sentences of the admiralty, in case that these sentences shall be reversed in the revision and the privateers denied their demand. And to be the more sure that the sums delivered in such cases be restored, we have declared, and do declare by these presents, that the vessels, and all which belongs to them, with which the said prizes shall have been made shall be held judicially to make restitution of the bounties received; and that the said juridical obligation shall commence from the day that the said privateers shall have received their commissions and shall go upon a cruise.

XIII. And this placard shall have its effects from the day of this publication; and that nobody may pretend ignorance, we request and demand the lords, the States, the Stadtholder, the counsellors, committees, and the deputies of the States of the respective provinces of Guelderland, and the Earldom of Zutphen, of Holland, and West Friesland, of Zealand, of Utrecht, of Friesland, of Overyssel, and of Groningen and Ommelanden, and all other members and officers of justice, that they announce, publish, and post up this ordinance immediately in all the places of this country where it is customary to make such announciations, publications, and postings; we charge and enjoin, moreover, the counsellors of the admiralty, the advocates of the treasury, secretaries-general of convoys, and licencers, receivers, masters of convoys, controllers, and searchers, and at the same time the receiver-general of the augmentation of the duty of Last and Vielgeld, and to all others to whom it belongs, to govern themselves exactly according to the tenor of these presents.

Their high mightinesses have also published the following:

The States-General of the United Provinces to all those who shall see, hear, or read these presents, greeting: We make known that to the end to encourage the loyal inhabitants of this state, we have thought proper, by the present publication, to notify to all and every one, and to assure them that all those who, employed in the service of the republic in the war at sea, may be maimed in such a manner as to become incapable of gaining their livelihood by labor, and shall desire to be assisted by a sum of money, payable once for all, shall receive, in proportion to the importance of their wounds, that which follows:

(1) For the loss of two eyes, fifteen hundred florins; for the loss of one eye, three hundred and fifty florins; as to other accidents which may happen under the same case mentioned, gratifications shall be given according to the good pleasure of the respective colleges of the admiralty.

(2) For the loss of two arms, fifteen hundred florins; for the loss of the right arm, four hundred and fifty florins; for that of the left arm, three hundred and fifty florins; and for other accidents and wounds in these members, at the discretion of the colleges of the admiralty upon which each one depends.

(3) For the loss of two hands, twelve hundred florins; for the loss of the right hand, three hundred and fifty florins; for that of the left hand, three hundred and fifty florins; as to lesser accidents, valuable at sums less considerable, at the discretion aforementioned.

(4) For the loss of two legs, seven hundred florins; for the loss of one leg, three hundred and fifty florins; for accidents less serious, the gratification shall be fixed by the colleges of the admiralty.

(5) For the loss of two feet, four hundred and fifty florins; for that of one foot, two hundred florins; and for smaller wounds, at the discretion of the respective colleges.

(6) Moreover, all those who in the service of the republic shall be maimed to such a degree as to be no longer able to gain a living by labor, nor to provide in any manner for their subsistence, shall receive during their lives one ducatoon a week; and all other wounds or mutilations less considerable shall be paid in proportion.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

J. Adams to Dana.*

AMSTERDAM, *January* 18, 1781.

MY DEAR SIR: Yesterday I had the pleasure of yours of the 7th; both of the packets came safe and in good order. As to a secret address, you may address under cover A Madame la veuve de M. Henry Schorn, op de Agterburg wal, by de Hoogstraat, Amsterdam.

It is not possible to suppress all suspicions after the conversation you heard, but your own coolness and judgment will be sufficient, without any hint from me to be cautious about mentioning these suspicions until evidence shall appear.

The newspapers are all paid for a year from the time of subscription, which was in the spring; it is not worth while to subscribe anew for the *Gazette de France*, nor for more than one foreign gazette. As I take the English papers here at a horrid expense, I wish you would pay Mr. Genet, and let me know the amount. My most cordial respects to that gentleman, for whom I have the highest esteem, and I think you may depend upon his friendship and sincerity. My respects to Dr. Folke, and thanks for the newspaper. I have conceived a great esteem for that young gentleman. Mr. Edwards is gone to France. I shall get published the contents of his newspaper.

This nation can hardly yet believe that the English are or will be at war with them. Instead of depending upon themselves, they now look up to Russia and the northern powers; if these should fail them, which I think however they can not, I know not what would be the consequence.

But I shall never get a ducat until it is decided whether the neutral union will support the republic. Every party and every man almost is afraid to do the least thing that England can complain of and make a noise about, lest the blame of involving the country in war should be thrown upon them. What I shall do I know not. Congress draws upon me, but I shall have no resource but from Dr. Franklin to pay a farthing. If that fails me, I am undone. I wish our countrymen would assume courage enough to augment the taxes upon themselves and reduce the needless expenses, so as to do without succors which are unattainable.

At least I think nothing will ever be done here until a treaty is concluded between the two republics. There are a million jealousies about the *Escaut*, about trade with the emperor's dominions, about the succession of the empire, or rather another election in the house of Austria, etc. Individuals dare nothing in this country until the countenance of government is given, nor in any other part of Europe. A treaty with this country is so great a work that it would require time, and this is said not to be the proper time to talk about it.

Affectionately yours,

JOHN. ADAMS.

* 7 J. Adams' Works, 353.

Franklin to Dumas.*

PASSY, *January* 18, 1781.

DEAR SIR: Since my last I have been favored by yours of December 1st, 7th, 14th, 21st, 25th, and January 1st, by which you have kept me constantly well informed of the state of affairs. Accept my thanks. You may depend on my mentioning your diligence and services to Congress in the manner they merit.

Though I have been some weeks free from the gout, my feet are still tender and my knees feeble, so that going up and down stairs is exceedingly difficult and inconvenient to me. This has prevented my going out much, so that I had not the honor I wished of waiting on the ambassador when he was here and paying the respects I owe him, and he returned suddenly.

I much approve of the step you took the 16th of December before Messrs. Adams and Searle. I received a copy. I wondered to find that you had not in Holland on the 28th received the declaration of war, but have since learned how it happened. Surely there never was a more unjust war; it is manifestly such from their own manifesto. The spirit of rapine dictated it, and in my opinion every man in England who fits out a privateer to take advantage of it has the same spirit, and would rob on the highway in his own country if he was not restrained by fear of the gallows. They have qualified poor Captain Jones with the title of pirate, who was only at war with England; but if it be a good definition of a pirate that he is *hostis humani generis*, they are much more pirates than he, having already made great progress towards being at war with all the world. If God governs, as I firmly believe, it is impossible such wickedness should long prosper.

You will receive this by Mr. Deane, who has a great regard for you, and whom I recommend to your civilities, though the gentlemen at present with you may be prejudiced against him, prejudices that time will cause to vanish by showing they were groundless.† I enclose a packet for Leyden, which I shall be glad to hear is delivered safe, and therefore desire your care of it.

I am, etc., B. FRANKLIN.

JANUARY 20.

P. S.—Since writing the above I have received yours of the 12th instant. I am glad to hear that the affairs of the republic have taken so good a turn in Russia. With this you will receive three letters for Mr. Laurens which I request you will forward to Mr. Adams. Be of good courage and keep up your spirits. Your last letter has a melancholy turn. Do you take sufficient bodily exercise? Walking is an excellent thing for those whose employment is chiefly sedentary.

---

* 7 Bigelow's Franklin, 190.

† It turned out otherwise, as his apostasy was admitted by Franklin when writing to Livingston on Mar. 4, 1782, *infra*.

Franklin to Jay.*

PASSY, *January*, 27, 1781.

DEAR SIR: I believe my last to you was of the 2d October. I was soon after laid up with a long and severe fit of the gout, which confined me for near eight weeks, and I have not quite recovered the full use of my feet. This put my writing business a good deal behindhand, and has brought me much in arrears with you; having since I wrote received your several favors of October 5, 25, 30, and December 25, which I will now endeavor to answer.

I have not made any use of your good king's offered responsibility here, where there has been no chance of obtaining a considerable loan, and one would not expose it for a trifle.

I sent you the credit you desired in yours of the 25th of October, tho' I did not otherwise answer the letter. Prince Massarano arrived here while I was ill, and came to see me. I have not been able to return his civility and pay my respects to him in Paris till yesterday. I took occasion to thank him and the princess for their civilities to my country folks at Madrid; they expressed much esteem for you and Mrs. Jay and Mr. Carmichael. But I have not seen or heard anything of the Duke de Crillon.

I have been and am so continually obliged to make new demands for more money here to answer Congress and other drafts upon me, that I find it will be absolutely impossible for me to aid you with more than I mentioned in mine of October 2d, and I should be happy if you could do without that, as I apprehend I may have much difficulty to pay honorably all my acceptances. I accepted your bill for 19,770 livres, which I think it will be best to consider as part of the 25,000 dollars; the credit for £26,459 2*s*, being according to my reckoning the balance to complete both your salaries for one year. Please to let me know if it agrees with your account. Perhaps you will find it best to continue drawing on me for the rest of the 25,000 dollars. I know not what method was proposed by Mr. Grand to the Marquis d'Yranda. But it may be well to ask his advice about it, and if any other method will be more advantageous. Mr. Grand is sorry that there has not been a more free communication between you and the marquis, who he thinks has such interest at court as might be useful to your affairs. The marquis writes that you are rather reserved. I mention this, but at the same time think that you can there judge better for yourself what connections to form and cultivate than anyone here can judge for you.

Mr. Deane is gone to Holland for a few weeks, where Mr. Adams continues, but Mr. Dana is returned to Paris, I know not on what account. Mr. Searle is also just returned hither from Holland.

Our last advices from America, which come down to the middle of

* MSS. Dep. of State.

November, continue favorable. It is said that our affairs in the south mend daily. That the new paper money keeps its credit, and that much silver and gold now appear in common currency. I received by some of the late ships a number of letters and packets for you, which I made up into two parcels, and left at Versailles with Mr. de Rayneval, at the bureau des affaires etrangeres, to be sent by the court courier, which I understood would go in 5 or 6 days. This goes by a courier of Prince Massarano's, who was so obliging as to acquaint me with the opportunity.

I was pleased to find by our last despatches from Congress that the sentiments expressed in mine of October 2, in respect to selling the river, happened to coincide with theirs. If your court thinks of exacting such sacrifices from us, and suffers the bills drawn on you, however imprudently drawn, to go back protested, my great opinion of Spanish wisdom will be somewhat diminished; for this is precisely their time to obtain and secure a firm and lasting friendship with a near neighbor, and not a time to obtain little advantages with a risque of laying foundations for future quarrels.

The English have got another war, and perhaps not the last, upon their hands. They are making large strides towards becoming what pirates are said to be, enemies to all mankind.

The Dutch, tho' slow, are seriously preparing to act with vigour, being thoroughly provoked by the injustice of the attack; which has evidently been made for the sake of plunder.

Make my respects acceptable to Mrs. Jay, and believe me, with sincere and great esteem, etc.,

B. FRANKLIN.

Carmichael to the Committee of Foreign Affairs.*

MADRID, *January* 29, 1781.

GENTLEMEN: My last advised the committee of the declaration of Great Britain against Holland. The capture of a great number of prizes in consequence of this unexpected attack encourages the former and has greatly irritated the latter. The States, Zealand excepted, seem disposed to act with vigor against the common enemy. If they persevere they may finally disappoint their rapacious projects. They depend on the interference of Russia, and I believe with reason, although a day or two ago the Count de Kaunitz, the imperial ambassador here, offered his master's mediation, in conjunction with the Empress of Russia, to terminate the differences subsisting between the belligerent powers. No answer to this offer has yet been given. The minister from Russia has not yet received the orders of his court thereon.

The offer is rather ill-timed, and I have reason to think is not very

* MSS. Dep. of State; 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 44, with verbal corrections.

agreeable to the courts of Versailles and Madrid, which will act with entire union on this occasion, and as long as the present King of Spain lives, it is probable that this good understanding will, on the whole, continue, although there are some here who I believe would wish to see it interrupted. While it subsists Spain will not abandon our interests, though it may not support them with such good will as they would have been induced to do by the obligations of previous engagements with the United States. It is not likely that these will soon take place, notwithstanding the appearance of good will and the repeated assurances which Mr. Jay has received of his majesty's favorable disposition. Nor will the late change of measures adopted by Congress effect this, if I am not misinformed. I have not seen these resolutions in full, nor do I know that Mr. Jay has received them, but I have reason to believe that the court has a knowledge of them, either by intercepted letters or by a direct communication from America. In short, I repeat to the committee what I have taken the liberty of remarking before, that it was probably the policy of this court to leave the adjustment of their claims to be settled at the general negociation of a treaty of peace, and to reserve to themselves the liberty of acting then according to circumstances, unless they can previously secure in their own manner their favorite objects. This accords with the conduct they have hitherto observed and with maxims of policy long adopted and persevered in by this court.

In the mean time, they show a vigorous disposition to continue the war. They expect some treasure from America. They are likely to procure eight millions of dollars on loan, and have propositions from other quarters. The taxes have been augmented this year, the produce of the last having, as I have been told, fallen short of the expectations of the ministry. They have thirty sail of the line under sailing orders at Cadiz, which fleet will probably cruise to meet the treasure ships expected and to intercept the succors destined to Gibraltar. They have ordered a press throughout the kingdom to fill up their regiments. The ships with the treasure were to sail from Vera Cruz to the Havana the 11th of October. The court seems apprehensive of the emperor's intentions, and cultivates the friendship of the King of Prussia, for which purpose it is about to send a minister to Berlin, where they have had none for many years past. This matter is not yet public, and will undoubtedly chagrin the court of Vienna.

Mr. Jay has been promised a part of the three millions of reals mentioned in my former letters to enable him to discharge the bills which become due the ensuing month, and I suppose will receive the whole, as the bills become payable, until this sum is exhausted; before which time funds must be provided for such as have been since presented or may hereafter come to hand. It is with pain I have lately entered to the amount of between thirty and forty thousand dollars at three months' sight, as there is yet no certainty of their being paid, yet I flatter myself that the court, with the good disposition it appears to have, will not

suffer our credit to be ruined after what it has done and promised to do to preserve it.

M. Gardoqui, so often mentioned, will embark in six weeks or two months. Mr. Cumberland is still here, inspiring all the distrust and jealousy in his power to prejudice our affairs. I hope, however, he will soon be dismissed. Vigorous preparations are making in France, and I flatter myself that the Count d'Estaing will once more revisit our coasts in force. I believe he desires it, and I am told he is on good terms with the new minister of marine. The Count de Vergennes was in a bad state of health by the last advices from Paris, but for information from that quarter I refer the committee to letters I suppose Congress will receive from Dr. Franklin. It is with hesitation I venture to give my sentiments, and if I should be deceived, it is not for want of pains, but of opportunity of obtaining more accurate information.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

WILLIAM CARMICHAEL.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.*

AMSTERDAM, *February* 1, 1781.

SIR: One of the most brilliant events which has yet been produced by the American Revolution is the following treaty of marine, concluded at Copenhagen the 28th of June, 1780, old style, between her majesty the Empress of Russia and his majesty the King of Denmark and of Norway, for the maintenance of neutral mercantile navigation, and in which his majesty the King of Sweden, as well as their high mightinesses the States-General of the United Provinces, have taken part and acceded, and which has been signed respectively at St. Petersburgh the 21st of July, 1780, and the 5th of January, 1781:

TREATY OF MARINE BETWEEN RUSSIA AND DENMARK.

As by the war by sea, which has actually broken out between Great Britain on one side and France and Spain on the other, the commerce and the navigation of neutral powers suffer considerable damages, her majesty the Empress of Russia and his majesty the King of Denmark and of Norway, in consequence of their assiduous attention to unite their proper dignities and their cares for the safety and the well-being of their subjects, from the regard which they have so often testified for the rights of nations in general, have found it necessary in the present circumstances, to determine their conduct according to those sentiments.

Her majesty the Empress of Russia has, by her declaration dated the 28th February, 1780, to the belligerent powers, exposed to light, in the face of all Europe, the fundamental principles which spring from the original law of nations, which she claims, and which she adopts as a rule of her conduct in the present war. As this attention of the empress to watch over the reciprocal rights of nations has united the suffrages of all the neutral powers, so she has engaged herself in it as an affair which concerns the most essential of her interests, and she has carried it to that length that we may seriously consider it as a subject worthy of the times present and to come,

* MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 312, with verbal changes.

onsidering that it is to bring into one system and establish permanently the rights, rerogatives, and engagements of neutrality.

His majesty the King of Denmark and of Norway, convinced of these principles, as likewise established and demanded them in the declaration of the 8th of July, 780, which he has caused to be presented, as well as that of Russia, to the belligerent powers; and to give them support he has caused to be equipped a part of his eet. From hence has arisen the harmony and unanimity with which her majesty ie Empress of Russia and his majesty the King of Denmark and of Norway have idged necessary, by a reciprocal friendship and confidence, and conformably to the nterests of their subjects, to confirm these common engagements, to be concluded by ormal convention. In this view, their said Imperial and Royal majesties have chosen nd named for their plenipotentiaries, viz.: Her majesty the Empress of Russia, M. harles Van Osten, named Saken, present counsellor of state, knight of the Order of t. Anne, minister plenipotentiary of her said majesty to the court of Denmark, tc.; and his majesty the King of Denmark and of Norway, M. Otten, Count de hott, privy counsellor, knight of the Order of the Elephant, etc.; M. Joachim Otten e Schack-Reventlaw, privy counsellor, knight of the Order of the Elephant, etc.; I. Jean Henri d'Eichstedt, privy counsellor, governor of his royal highness the ereditary prince, knight of the Order of the Elephant, etc.; and M. André Pierre, ount de Bernstorff, privy counsellor, secretary of state for the department of foreign ffairs, director of the royal German chancery, and knight of the Order of the Elehant, etc., who, after having exchanged their full powers, which are found in good nd due form, have agreed and resolved upon the articles following:

ARTICLE I. That their said majesties have sincerely resolved to maintain conantly the most perfect friendship and concord with the powers actually engaged in he war, and to observe the most scrupulous neutrality; that they declare, in conequence, to hold themselves exactly to this, that the prohibition to carry on comerce of contraband with the powers actually at war, or with those who may in he sequel be engaged in it, shall be strictly observed by their subjects.

ARTICLE II. To avoid all error and misunderstanding concerning the subject of the ame of contraband, her majesty the Empress of Russia, and his majesty the King f Denmark and Norway, declare that they acknowledge only as effects of contraand those which are comprehended in the treaties subsisting between the said ourts and one or the other of the belligerent powers.

Her majesty the Empress of Russia conforms herself entirely to the tenth and eventh articles of her treaty of commerce with Great Britain, and extends also the ngagements of this treaty, which are entirely founded upon natural law, to the rowns of France and Spain, which, at the date of the present convention, have no reaty of commerce with her empire. His majesty the King of Denmark and Norway nforms himself on his part principally to the second article of his treaty of comerce with Great Britain and to the twenty-sixth and twenty-seventh articles of his reaty of commerce with France, and extends also the engagements of this latter to pain, considering that he has not with this last crown any treaty which determines ny conditions upon this subject.

ARTICLE III. As by this means the contraband is determined and fixed, conformbly to special treaties and conventions subsisting between the high contracting rties and the belligerent powers, and principally in the treaty between Russia and reat Britain of the 20th of June, 1766, as well as by that between Denmark and reat Britain dated the 11th of July, 1670, and by that concluded between Denmark nd France the 23d of August, 1742, the will and intention of her Russian Imperial ajesty and his majesty the King of Denmark and Norway are that all other comerce shall be and remain free.

Already their majesties, in their declarations presented to the belligerent powers, ave grounded themselves upon the general principles of the law of nature, from hence are derived the liberty of commerce and of navigation, the rights of neutral tions, and have resolved to depend no longer upon the arbitrary interpretations

that partial advantages and momentary interests may dictate. In this view they have agreed upon the following articles:

1. That it shall be lawful for every vessel to navigate from one port to another and upon the coasts of the belligerent powers.

2. That the effects belonging to the subjects of the belligerent powers shall be free upon neutral vessels, except merchandises of contraband.

3. That to determine what ought to be held a port blocked, that alone can be considered as such in which the vessels which would enter shall be exposed to an evident danger by the force which with this view attacks it, and by its vessels which shall have taken a station sufficiently near.

4. That neutral vessels may only be stopped for just causes and upon evident proofs; that, without loss of time, right shall be done them, and the procedures shall be always uniform, prompt, and according to the laws, and that every time, besides reparation to those who shall have suffered without cause, there shall be also given a complete satisfaction for the insult committed against the flags of their majesties.

ARTICLE IV. To the end to protect the general commerce of their subjects, supported by the fundamental rules above laid down, her majesty the Empress of all the Russias and his majesty the King of Denmark and Norway have thought fit, each one in particular, in order to obtain these ends, to equip a proportional number of vessels of war and frigates. The squadron of each one of these respective powers shall be stationed in a certain latitude, and shall be employed in convoys, according to the exigence of the case in which the commerce and the navigation of each nation may be.

ARTICLE V. If the merchant ships of one of the contracting powers shall be in a part of the sea where the ships of war of their own nation are not stationed, and for this reason can not enjoy their protection, in that case the commander of the vessels of war of the other power, being thereto required, shall grant them, with good faith and sincerity, the necessary assistance, and in this case the vessels of war and frigates of one of the two powers shall protect and support the merchant vessels of the other; provided, nevertheless, that, under shelter of the protection demanded, there be not exercised any prohibited commerce contrary to the laws adopted by the neutrality.

ARTICLE VI. The present convention can not be retroactive, and, by consequence, we can not take part in differences which have arisen before its conclusion; at least if these affairs do not concern the violences which continue still, and which tend to oppress all the neutral nations of Europe.

ARTICLE VII. If, in spite of the vigilant and friendly care of the two powers, and the exact observation of the neutrality on their part, the Russian or Danish merchant vessels are insulted or taken by the vessels of war or privateers of one or the other of the belligerent powers, in that case the minister of the party offended shall make represesentations to the court whose vessels of war or privateers shall have been guilty of this act, shall demand the restoration of the vessel taken, and shall insist upon a suitable reparation, without ever losing sight of the satisfaction for the insult done to the flag. The minister of the other contracting party shall second efficaciously and seriously these representations, and shall thus continue them conjointly and unanimously; but if they refuse, or put off from time to time to do right touching such grievances, in this case their majesties shall make reprisals against the power which refuses to do them right, and shall unite themselves forthwith in the most efficacious measures for this just reprisal.

ARTICLE VIII. If one or the other of the contracting powers, or both together, in virtue of this convention, or any other which may be made, which may have relation to it, are disturbed, molested, or attacked, it is agreed that the two powers shall act in concert to defend themselves reciprocally, and to procure themselves, by united efforts, an entire and satisfactory reparation, both for the insult done to the flag and for the loss caused to their subjects.

ARTICLE IX. This convention is resolved and fixed for all the time that the present war shall continue, and shall serve as the basis of all the engagements which may be contracted in the sequel, according to the circumstances of the times, and upon occasion of new wars at sea, which may unfortunately trouble the repose of Europe; besides, these conditions shall be regarded as subsisting, and shall have a legal validity in the affairs both of commerce and navigation, and in the determination of the rights of neutral nations.

ARTICLE X. As the end and the principal motive of this convention is to assure the general liberty of commerce and of navigation, her majesty the Empress of Russia and his majesty the King of Denmark and of Norway agree and engage beforehand to permit that other neutral powers accede to this convention, and by taking cognizance of these principles, to partake also of the obligations and advantages of the said convention

ARTICLE XI. To the end that the belligerent powers may not pretend a cause of ignorance of these said engagements between the said courts, the high contracting parties will communicate in a manner the most friendly to all the belligerent powers these maxims in which they have united, which measures are so much the less hostile as they are not hurtful to any other power, but have solely for their object the safety of the commerce and of the navigation of their respective subjects.

ARTICLE XII. The present convention shall be ratified by the two contracting parties, and the ratifications shall be exchanged in good form in the term of six weeks, to be computed from the signatures, or even sooner, if it may be. In faith of which we have, in virtue of our full powers, signed the present, and sealed it with our seals.

Done at Copenhagen the 19th of July, 1780.

CHARLES VAN OSTEN, named SAKEN.
O. THOTT.
I. SCHACK REVENTLAW.
A. P. COMTE DE BERNSTORFF.
H. EICHSTEDT.

The ratifications of this convention were exchanged at Copenhagen the 16th of September, 1780, by the same ministers plenipotentiary who signed it, and as to this end the ministers plenipotentiary named to this purpose, viz., on the part of her Imperial majesty, M. le Comte Nikia Panin, actually privy counsellor, senator, chamberlain in exercise, and knight of the Orders of St. Andrew, St. Alexander Newsky, and St. Anne; and M. le Comte John Osterman, vice chancellor, privy counsellor, and knight of the Orders of St. Alexander Newsky and St. Anne; and on the part of his majesty, the King of Sweden, M. le Baron Frederick Van Nalken, envoy extraordinary of his Swedish majesty at the court of her Imperial majesty, chamberlain, commandant of the Order of the Polar Star, knight of the Orders of the Sword and of St. John, have signed, the 21st of July, 1780, at St. Petersburgh, a similar convention, conceived in the same form, and word for word of the same tenor with that signed at Copenhagen, except the second article, in which the stipulations of contraband being resolved and ratified, to which they are to adhere, in consequence of treaties subsisting between the crown of Sweden and the other powers, we have to this purpose, to avoid the repetition of what has been already said, added here literally the said second article.

We ought further to recollect that the two kings, who have joined in this affair to her Imperial majesty, have acceded as principal contracting parties to the treaties concluded between her Imperial majesty and the said courts, and have signed with their own hands upon this subject on one part and the other an act, which has been exchanged at St. Petersburgh by the ministry of her Imperial Russian majesty.

Here follows the second article of the treaty concluded and signed at Petersburgh the 21st of July, 1780, between her Imperial majesty and his majesty the King of Sweden:

ARTICLE II. To avoid all error and misunderstanding on the subject of the name of contraband, her Imperial majesty of Russia and his majesty the King of Sweden declare that they acknowledge only as effects of contraband those which are contained in the treaties subsisting between the said courts and one or other of the belligerent powers.

Her majesty the Empress of Russia conforms herself in this entirely to the tenth and eleventh articles of her treaty of commerce with Great Britain, and extends also the engagements of this treaty, which are entirely founded upon the law of nature, to the crowns of France and Spain, which at the date of the present convention have no treaty of commerce with her empire. His majesty the King of Sweden refers himself principally on his part to the eleventh article of his treaty of commerce with Great Britain, and to the tenor of the preliminary treaty of commerce concluded in the year 1741 between the crowns of Sweden and France, although in this last the contents of contraband are not expressly determined, but that as the two powers have therein understood to consider one another as *gens amicissima*, and that as Sweden has therein reserved the same advantages which the Hanseatic cities enjoy in France from the most remote times to the present, the advantages which are comprehended in the treaty of Utrecht being confirmed, the king has not found anything necessary to be added. With regard to Spain, the king finds himself in the same case as the empress, and after her example he extends to this crown the engagements of the said treaties wholly founded on natural law.

Their high mightinesses the States-General of the United Provinces of the Low Countries have acceded the 20th of November, 1780, upon the same footing to the said convention, and it has been signed the 5th of January, 1781, at St. Petersburgh, only with the addition of a thirteenth article, which, with relation to command, in case of rencounter or combination of the squadrons and the vessels of war of the two parties, there shall be observed what has been the usage between crowned heads and the republic.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

J. Laurens to the President of Congress.*

BOSTON, *February* 4, 1781.

SIR: I do myself the honor of informing Congress that I arrived at this place on the 25th ultimo.

After passing two days at Morristown in fruitless expectation of meeting the commander-in-chief, I proceeded to headquarters, where my conference with the general on the objects of my mission detained me three days. The impediment of floating ice in the North River, which induced the necessity of crossing it much higher than at the usual place, and other difficulties of the season, will account for the rest of my delay on the journey.

Upon delivering my despatches to the navy board, I found that the two indispensables, men and money, were wanting to fit the *Alliance* for sea. I urged the necessity of the most prompt and decisive exertions on their part. They returned me such assurances as left me no reason to doubt that the general court would authorize an impress to complete the deficiency of our crew, and that a sufficient supply of money would be procured. This determined me to devote the interval of preparation to making my visit to New York. On my return this day I learned with great surprise and mortification that the motion for an impress had been rejected, private motives having superseded those of general good. In these circumstances I was obliged to apply to General Lincoln for authority to engage such of the recruits of this State and soldiers of the invalid corps as might be qualified for the marine service. This resource, however, has afforded us but few men. I have just obtained permission from Governor Hancock to enlist volunteers from the guard of the castle. The navy board has commissioned a merchant of popularity and influence among the seafaring men to offer a tempting bounty, with such precautions as will prevent uneasiness among those who entered for a smaller consideration. I am now addressing the principal merchants to spare a few men from their ships, to be replaced by the navy board. In the mean time the rendezvous of the frigate continues open.

But these are all precarious expedients, and my expectations are by no means sanguine. Nothing, however, shall be left unattempted. If my prospects do not brighten I shall try the effect of a second memorial to the general court, and finally insist upon Captain Barry's putting to sea with the crew he can obtain by the middle of the week. There is an additional difficulty in procuring the remainder of the ship's complement, which is the necessity of having not only seamen, but natives, as a counterbalance to the bad composition of men already on board, too many British prisoners having been admitted; their numbers, the value of the ship, and the business on which she is employed are temptations to an enterprise in favor of their ancient connexions.

*MSS. Dep. of State; 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 148, with verbal changes.

Several gentlemen go as passengers, on condition of serving on the quarter deck in case of an encounter, and they will reinforce the party of the officers in case of a mutiny. I have endeavored to procure every useful information in the several conferences directed by Congress. The general and admiral at Newport received me with that politeness which characterizes their nation, and professed an earnest desire to promote, as far as depends on them, the objects of my mission. I must, however, apprize Congress, that the French army and navy are demanding in the most pressing terms pecuniary supplies for themselves. Their bills of exchange sell at a discount from twenty-five to twenty-eight per cent. This demand and the tenacity of the Spaniards in pursuing their favorite object, Gibraltar, are unfavorable to my negociation. Upon the whole I am more than ever convinced that the most powerful and unremitting efforts at home will be required to accomplish the great objects of the war.

I have the honor to be, with the profoundest respect, etc.

JOHN LAURENS.

Dumas to the President of Congress.*

THE HAGUE, *February* 5, 1781.

SIR: A courier despatched by the Russian ambassador here on the 29th of December last, with the news of Sir Joseph Yorke having left The Hague by order of his court, without taking leave, has come again with letters from the Dutch plenipotentiaries at Petersburgh to the great pensionary, the contents of which are still very satisfactory, so that there is no doubt nor uneasiness concerning a favorable answer which they expect here, but not before the end of this month, to the demands made by a courier despatched from hence on the 12th of January last.

By letters from Ostend we are told that the Russian minister at London had left that court without taking leave. If this proves true, or whenever else the expected rupture between Russia and Great Britain will be fully ascertained, then it will be time to set on foot a negociation with the four new allied powers for the acknowledgment of the independency of America and making treaties with her of amity and commerce. The first, and perhaps only, application for this purpose must then be made to Russia; and I am now carefully watching the moment when such an application will be proper, and attended with the prospect of success, in order to inform Mr. Adams, and take with and under him such measures as may be necessary. Till then we must keep them close, and make no application to this republic, which, since her accession, can not, and will not, make any private step without the

*MSS. Dep. of State; 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 325, which version, paraphrasing the original, is here taken.

quadruple alliance, of which Russia is the leading power, and, as I have good reason to think, well disposed towards the United States.

I have been repeatedly assured that the exportation of the two thousand lasts of grain to England from Ostend has been refused at Brussels to Sir Joseph Yorke, and that he is going, if not already gone, from Antwerp to Ostend, to embark for England. This gives no great opinion of the pretended negociation set on foot between the emperor and Great Britain.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

DUMAS.

Carmichael to Franklin.*

MADRID, *February* 6, 1781.

DEAR SIR: I sincerely grieve for the cause that hath deprived me of the honour of hearing from you lately, and I hope that this will find it removed and your excellency restored to health and spirits. Mr. Cabarus charges himself with the delivery of it.

This gentleman was among the first of my friends here, and hath been uniformly such to our country. He enjoys the confidences of the ministry in general, and more particularly that of the minister of finance. He negotiated a loan for 9 millions of dollars last year, and at present negotiates another for the Spanish Government, of the first payments of which Mr. Jay hath been promised a part. This gentleman can in one conversation give you a better idea of the political and literary situation of this country than I can do by many letters, and I am sure he will be happy to contribute in any manner to your satisfaction, as he hath long expressed an ardent desire of being known to you.

He is very intimate with Mr. Campo-Moues, and to him I owe my good reception at that gentleman's. My gratitude leads me to return the obligation, and I do it fully in presenting him to you.

I am, with great respect, your excellency's, etc.,

W. CARMICHAEL.

Proceedings in Congress—Organization of the Finance Department.†

IN CONGRESS, *February* 7, 1781.

Congress resumed the consideration of the plan for the arrangement of the civil executive departments of the United States; and thereupon

Resolved, That there be a superintendent of finance, a secretary at war, and a secretary of marine.

That it shall be the duty of the superintendent of finance to examine into the state of the public debts, the public expenditures, and the public revenue; to digest and report plans for improving and regulat-

* MSS. Dep. of State. † MSS. Dep. of State; 6 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 251.

ing the finances, and for establishing order and economy in the expenditure of the public money; to direct the execution of all plans which shall be adopted by Congress respecting revenue and expenditure; to superintend and control the settlement of all public accounts; to direct and control all persons employed in procuring supplies for the public service and in the expenditure of public money; to obtain accounts of all the issues of the specific supplies furnished by the several States; to compel the payment of all moneys due to the United States, and in his official character, or in such manner as the laws of the respective States shall direct, to prosecute in behalf of the United States for all delinquencies respecting the public revenue and expenditures; to report to Congress the officers who shall be necessary for assisting him in the various branches of his department.

IN CONGRESS, *February* 20.

Congress proceeded to the election of a superintendent of finance; and the ballots being taken, Robert Morris was unanimously elected.

J. Laurens to the President of Congress.*

BOSTON, *February* 7, 1781.

SIR: Since my letter to your excellency on the 4th instant the measures taken by Governor Hancock relative to the castle guard proving insufficient, I addressed a memorial to the general court. Their permission to engage volunteers from that corps, and a sum of specie granted for the purpose, the volunteer draft from the Continental troops, and the unremitting exertions of General Lincoln put us at length barely in condition to go to sea. I shall embark to-day, and expect Captain Barry will sail with the first wind. I have to acknowledge the receipt of your excellency's letter of the 12th ultimo and the letter and packets enclosed. Particular attention shall be paid to your instructions relative to the latter.

I have the honor to be, with the profoundest respect, etc.,

JOHN LAURENS.

J. Adams to Dana.†

AMSTERDAM, *February* 8, 1781.

DEAR SIR: I had yesterday the pleasure of receiving two letters from you—one dated February 1st, and one without a date, but I suppose written the day before. With these I received the packets, but there are in them no letters from my wife. The resolution of Congress of the 12th of December gives me great pleasure, as it proves that we had the good fortune to be possessed of the true principles of Congress,

---

* MSS. Dep. of State; 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 150.

† 7 J. Adams'. Works, 368.

and to enter fully into their views in the resolutions of last March respecting the paper money; but I can not recollect what were the two papers in the duplicate more than in the original; there is no minute in the book to show. I assure you, sir, I have not had more satisfaction in the resolution than in the affectionate manner in which Mr. Lovell and you have communicated it to me. I am prepared in my own mind to receive from Congress resolutions of a different nature; but of these we will say nothing until we see them. I must beg you to send a key to the ciphers; the letter is wholly unintelligible to me for want of one. I see by the journals that we are authorized to accede to the principles of the Empress of Russia; but I find no commission for that purpose, nor any resolution of Congress authenticated by the secretary or the committee. Will you talk with D. D. and Fun about what is proper to be done?*

All accounts from all parts of America show that a great spirit reigns triumphant; a vigor, an elasticity appears in all parts, notwithstanding the croaking of Sullivan, Pickering, and Francisco (Deane?);† the last has been here and gone away without doing me the honor of a visit. Rodney's and Vaughan's repulse is a grand stroke, a balance for five or six Jersey affairs. All things in all quarters conspire to show that the English will have their fill of glorious war. Gillon's hour of sailing is uncertain; not for a long time, I fear. Do you learn anything of Davis's arrival, or capture, or loss? If I had a commission as minister here I verily believe I could borrow money. Without it no man ever will, in any considerable quantity.

JOHN ADAMS.

William Lee to the President of Congress.‡

BRUSSELS, *February* 10, 1781.

SIR: Be pleased to inform Congress that I have received information, which I think is to be depended on, that the British cabinet has lately determined not to send any more troops for this campaign to North America § I therefore submit to the wisdom of Congress the propriety of making every possible vigorous effort this year to expel the British troops from the continent; for there may be reason to apprehend, if this is not done, and Great Britain can by any means extricate herself

---

* See Dana to Adams, Jan. 1, 1781, *supra*.

† The allusions in this letter are not perfectly easy to explain. From the tenor of the answer, which is even more enigmatical, it is inferred that D. D. and Fun stand for Dr. Franklin and Count de Vergennes. Francisco is Silas Deane. The references to General John Sullivan, and T. Pickering, then quartermaster-general, grew out of publications made by them at the time, explaining the depressed condition of the army, which terminated in the revolt of the Pennsylvania line.—Note in 7 J. Adams' Works, 368.

‡ MSS. Dep. of State; 1 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 640.

§ There was no such determination arrived at, or any relaxation in the British efforts then making for the campaign of 1781.

from the irresistible northern storm she has raised against her by the mad and foolish attack she has made on the Dutch, that her whole force will be employed next year against America, especially if she does not meet with some signal losses there this campaign.

The secret proposals for peace which Great Britain is now making at Versailles and Madrid are altogether insidious, and only intended to impede the active operations of France and Spain this year, whereby they hope, by getting the start, they may obtain some decisive advantages in the East and West Indies, for which countries their expeditions are all now on the wing. The King of Prussia has been our steady friend, though wisely so, and has been of much service to us; therefore, from motives of gratitude, as well as of justice and sound policy, he ought not to be much longer neglected,* for it is most certain that his wisdom directs greatly the present system of Europe.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

WILLIAM LEE.

Franklin to Vergennes.†

PASSY, *February* 13, 1781.

SIR: I have just received from Congress their letter for the king, which I have the honor of putting herewith into the hands of your excellency. I am charged, at the same time, to "represent, in the strongest terms, the unalterable resolution of the United States to maintain their liberties and independence, and inviolably to adhere to the alliance at every hazard and in every event, and that the misfortunes of the last campaign, instead of repressing, have redoubled their ardor; that Congress are resolved to employ every resource in their power to expel the enemy from every part of the United States by the most vigorous and decisive co-operation with marine and other forces of their illustrious ally; that they have accordingly called on the several States for a powerful army and ample supplies of provisions; and that the States are disposed effectually to comply with their requisitions. That if, in aid of their own exertions, the court of France can be prevailed on to assume a naval superiority in the American seas, to furnish the arms, ammunition, and clothing specified in the estimate heretofore transmitted, and to assist with the loan mentioned in the letter, they flatter themselves that, under the Divine blessing, the war must speedily be terminated with glory and advantage to both nations."

By several letters to me from intelligent persons, it appears that the

*So far from showing any friendship for the United States, Frederick had repelled with no little haughtiness all efforts on the part of the Lees to present to him their commissions. Recognition would have been followed, as it was in the case of Holland, by a declaration of war on the part of Britain, of which Frederick was not desirous, preferring the benefits of a neutral position.

†MSS. Dep. of State; 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 135; 8 Sparks' Franklin, 534.

great and expensive exertions of the last year, by which a force was assembled capable of facing the enemy, and which accordingly drew towards New York and lay long near that city, was rendered ineffectual by the superiority of the enemy at sea, and that their successes in Carolina had been chiefly owing to that superiority and to the want of the necessary means for furnishing, marching, and paying the expense of troops sufficient to defend that province. The Marquis de la Fayette writes to me that it is impossible to conceive, without seeing it, the distress which the troops have suffered for want of clothing; and the following is a paragraph of a letter from General Washington, which I ought not to keep back from your excellency, viz.: "I doubt not that you are so fully informed by Congress of our political and military state, that it would be superfluous to trouble you with anything relative to either. If I were to speak on topics of the kind, it would be to show that our present situation makes one of two things essential to us; a peace or the most vigorous aid of our allies, particularly in the article of *money*. Of their disposition to serve us we can not doubt; their generosity will do everything which their means will permit." They had in America great expectations, I know not on what foundation, that a considerable supply of money would be obtained from Spain; but that expectation has failed, and the force of that nation in those seas has been employed to reduce small forts in Florida, without rendering any direct assistance to the United States; and indeed the long delay of that court in acceding to the treaty of commerce begins to have the appearance of its not inclining to have any connexion with us; so that for effectual friendship, and for the aid so necessary in the present conjuncture, we can rely on France alone and in the continuance of the king's goodness towards us.

I am grown old. I feel myself much enfeebled by my late long illness, and it is probable I shall not long have any more concern in these affairs. I therefore take this occasion to express my opinion to your excellency that the present conjuncture is critical; that there is some danger lest the Congress should lose its influence over the people if it is found unable to procure the aids that are wanted, and that the whole system of the new government in America may thereby be shaken. That if the English are suffered once to recover that country, such an opportunity of effectual separation as the present may not occur again in the course of ages; and that the possession of those fertile and extensive regions and that vast seacoast will afford them so broad a basis for future greatness, by the rapid growth of their commerce and breed of seamen and soldiers, as will enable them to become the *terror of Europe*, and to exercise with impunity that insolence which is so natural to their nation, and which will increase enormously with the increase of their power.

I am, with great respect, your excellency's, etc.,

B. FRANKLIN.

Vergennes to Luzerne.*

VERSAILLES, *February* 14, 1781.

Congress rely too much on France for subsidies to maintain their army. They must absolutely refrain from such exorbitant demands. The great expenses of the war render it impossible for France to meet these demands if persisted in. You must speak in a peremptory manner on this subject; and, to give more weight, you must observe that the last campaign has cost us more than one hundred and fifty millions extraordinary, and what we are now about to furnish will surpass that sum. You may add that our desire to aid Congress to the full extent of our power has engaged us to grant to Dr. Franklin (besides the one million, of which he had need to meet the demands for the last year) four millions more, to enable him to take up the drafts which Congress have drawn on him for the present year. I dare believe that this procedure will be duly estimated in America, and convince Congress that they have no occasion to employ the false policy of Mr. Izard and Mr. Lee to procure succours. If you are questioned respecting our opinion of Dr. Franklin, you may without hesitation say that we esteem him as much on account of the patriotism as the wisdom of his conduct, and it has been owing in a great part to this cause and to the confidence we put in the veracity of Dr. Franklin, that we have determined to relieve the pecuniary embarrassments in which he has been placed by Congress. It may be judged from this fact, which is of a personal nature, if that minister's conduct has been injurious to the interests of his country, or if any other would have had the same advantages.

J. Adams to Franklin.†

AMSTERDAM, *February* 15, 1781.

SIR: This morning the house of Botereau & Co., of this city, presented to me sixty-six bills of exchange, drawn by Congress on the 26th day of October last, in favor of Nathaniel Tracy, of Newburyport, amounting to the sum of ten thousand pounds sterling, payable at ninety days' sight. I was obliged to ask the favor of the house to wait until I could write to your excellency to see if you can furnish the funds to discharge the bills. Without your warranty they must be protested, for I have not yet obtained a single ducat nor any certain assurances of one.

I have at length fixed my plan, and when it shall be made certain that the war with England is to continue, the prospectus will be published and the experiment tried. Some persons think I shall get some money; but there is no certainty of it. If this people should make

* 7 Sparks' Washington, 379.

† MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 319; 7 J. Adams' Works, 369.

eace with England, which they will if they can, we shall get no money t all. I think, however, that a peace is impossible, and therefore am ot without hopes of borrowing some money. I must request the honor f your excellency's answer by the return of post, because at that time . Botereau will expect an answer from me.

With great respect, I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

Instructions to Mr. Jay as to Mississippi River.*

FEBRUARY 15, 1781.

Congress took into consideration the draught of a letter to Mr. Jay hich the delegates of Virginia had moved in pursuance of instruc- ons from their constituents, and the same was agreed to, as follows:

SIR: Congress having since their instructions to you of the 29th eptember, 1779, and 4th October, 1780, relative to the claim of the nited States to the free navigation of the river Mississippi, and to free port or ports below the 31st degree of north latitude, resumed he consideration of that subject; and being desirous to manifest to all he world, and particularly to his Catholic majesty, the moderation of heir views, the high value they place on the friendship of his Catholic ajesty, and their disposition to remove every reasonable obstacle to s accession to the alliance subsisting between his most Christian ajesty, and these United States, in order to unite the more closely in heir measures and operations three powers who have so great a unity f interests, and thereby to compel the common enemy to a speedy, just, nd honorable peace, have resolved, and you are hereby instructed, to ecede from the instructions above referred to, so far as they insist on he free navigation of that part of the river Mississippi which lies elow the 31st degree of north latitude and on a free port or ports elow the same, provided such cession shall be unalterably insisted on y Spain, and provided the free navigation of the said river above the aid degree of north latitude shall be acknowledged and guaranteed by s Catholic majesty to the citizens of the United States in common ith his own subjects. It is the order of Congress at the same time hat you exert every possible effort to obtain from his Catholic majesty he use of the river aforesaid with a free port or ports below the said 1st degree of north latitude for the citizens of the United States under uch regulations and restrictions only as may be a necessary safeguard gainst illicit commerce.

I am, etc,

S. H., *President.*

---

* MSS. secret journals, Dep. of State, printed with verbal changes and omissions Sparks' edition of Secret Journals. See also 4 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 326.

When the question was about to be put to agree to the foregoing letter the previous question was moved by Mr. Burke, seconded by Mr. Lovell, and on the question to agree to the previous question, the yeas and nays being required by Mr. Bee,

New Hampshire	Mr. Sullivan	No.	No.
Massachusetts Bay	Mr. Adams	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Lovell	Aye.	
	Mr. Ward	Aye.	
Rhode Island	Mr. Varnum	No.	No.
Connecticut	Mr. Huntington	No.	Aye.
	Mr. Root	Aye.	
	Mr. Wolcott	Aye.	
New York	Mr. Floyd	Aye.	0.
	Mr. Dougall	No.	
New Jersey	Mr. Burnet	No.	No.
Pennsylvania	Mr. Montgomery	No.	No.
	Mr. Atlee	No.	
	Mr. Clymer	No.	
	Mr. Wynkoop	No.	
	Mr. T. Smith	No.	
Delaware	Mr. McKean	No.	No.
Maryland	Mr. Carroll	No.	No.
Virginia	Mr. Jones	No.	No.
	Mr. Madison	No.	
	Mr. Bland	No.	
North Carolina	Mr. Burke	Aye.	No.
	Mr. Sharpe	No.	
	Mr. Johnston	No.	
South Carolina	Mr. Mathews	No.	No.
	Mr. Bee	No.	
	Mr. Motte	No.	
Georgia	Mr. Walton	No.	0.
	Mr. Few	No.	

So it passed in the negative. On the question to agree to the letter of instructions, the yeas and nays being required by Mr. Lovell,

New Hampshire	Mr. Sullivan	Aye.	Aye.
Massachusetts Bay	Mr. Adams	No.	No.
	Mr. Lovell	No.	
	Mr. Ward	No.	
Rhode Island	Mr. Varnum	Aye.	Aye.
Connecticut	Mr. Huntington	Aye.	No.
	Mr. Root	No.	
	Mr. Wolcott	No.	
New York	Mr. Floyd	No.	0.
	Mr. Dougall	Aye.	
New Jersey	Mr. Burnett	Aye.	Aye.
Pennsylvania	Mr. Montgomery	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Atlee	Aye.	
	Mr. Clymer	Aye.	
	Mr. Wynkoop	Aye.	
	Mr. T. Smith	Aye.	
Delaware	Mr. McKean	Aye.	Aye.
Maryland	Mr. Carroll	Aye.	Aye.
Virginia	Mr. Jones	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Madison	Aye.	
	Mr. Bland	Aye.	
North Carolina	Mr. Burke	No.	No.
	Mr. Sharpe	Aye.	
	Mr. Johnston	No.	

South Carolina	Mr. Mathews ..... Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Bee ..... Aye.	
	Mr. Motte ..... Aye.	
Georgia	Mr. Walton ..... Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Few ..... Aye.	

So it was resolved in the affirmative.

Dana to the Committee of Foreign Affairs.*

PARIS, *February* 16, 1781.

GENTLEMEN: I do myself the honor to acquaint you that I returned o this city the 28th of December, where it is probable I shall continue ill the public business may require me to join Mr. Adams, who still re- nains at Amsterdam. It was judged by both of us that no possible letriment could happen to our public concerns by this separation. On he other hand, Mr. Adams was pleased to say it might be attended vith some benefit.

Shortly after I came to town your despatches by Captain Bell were orwarded to me. Though they were addressed to Mr. Adams, agree- bly to his standing directions, I broke them open, and sent on to him uch of them only as I knew he had not received before and were neces- ary for the regulation of his present business. The additional instruc- ions of the 18th of October, founded on his letters of the 23d and 24th f March last, and all the duplicates, I have still by me, not thinking t advisable to hazard them by the post. I have made Mr. Adams fully cquainted with this.

You will permit me to say that it is by no means prudent to commit o the care of the posts papers of the nature of some of your last de- patches.

Mr. Adams has not been able to obtain the amount of the bills actu- lly drawn on Mr. Laurens. The resolution of Congress of the 23d of November, 1779, expresses a certain sum; so does that of the 6th of October last. But Mr. Searle says it is not the design of Congress to draw to the amount of both resolutions; that they had stayed their hands upon the first, after having drawn for about a quarter part of he sum named in it, for particular reasons, which he mentions. It would have been a relief, under present circumstances, to have had this nade certain. I am persuaded it would be acceptable to every one con- erned in such business to be acquainted as early as possible with the mount of bills drawn upon him from time to time, so that they might ot fall in unexpectedly.

Congress, it appears from their printed journals, have taken into con- ideration the declaration of the Empress of all the Russias relative to he commercial rights of neutral nations, and have thereupon passed

*MSS. Dep. of State; 4 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 552.

several resolutions, and ordered that copies of them should be transmitted to their ministers, yet no such copies have yet been received. Although there does not appear at present any pressing occasion for them, nevertheless it is possible, though I can not say I think probable, that one may offer, in which case there would be a total deficiency of the necessary powers. Mr. Adams, in his last letter of the 8th instant, has desired me to consult with Dr. Franklin upon this business, which I shall soon do. Lest Mr. Adams should not have an opportunity to write from Holland, I would just say that the principal matter then remained in *statu quo*.

I am this moment acquainted by Mr. Temple Franklin that a vessel has arrived at Nantes which left the Capes of Delaware on the 7th of January, and that the doctor has received copies of the resolutions of Congress relative to the above declaration of the Empress of Russia.

I am, gentlemen, with much respect, your most obedient and most humble servant,

FRANCIS DANA.

J. Adams to Franklin.*

AMSTERDAM, *February* 20, 1781.

SIR: Yesterday I had the honor of yours of the 12th, and will take an early opportunity to send you all the lights I can obtain by inferences from the numbers of the bills. Those already presented I shall accept, according to your advice.

The Duc de la Vauguyon is returned. I had the honor to make my compliments to him on Saturday at The Hague, where I attended Dr. McLane's church on Sunday and the prince's review upon the parade afterwards, and where I propose in future to spend more of my time.

You need not be anxious about the result of my demand of an answer. It was a measure to which I was advised by the Duc de la Vauguyon and by the Count de Vergennes, and by several worthy gentlemen in the government here. It was intended to bring necessarily into deliberation a connection with France and America, on one side, at the same time when they considered the mediation of Russia on the other, in order to prevent their accepting the mediation without limitations.

The great city has lately faltered very much in point of firmness. I can not but wish that the proposition for an accession to the alliance between France and America could have been made last week, the critical moment, when it would have infallibly, I think, prevented the acceptation. But France did not think it politic to do anything against the views of Russia. But nothing but delay will come of this mediation. The United States, however, stand here in a more respectable light than in Spain. Here they are openly and candidly demanding an au-

* 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 320.

wer. If they receive one in the negative, it will be no more than the epublic has a right to give, and we shall lose nothing, but remain xactly where we were. If they give no answer for a year to come, the ignity of the United States is safe; that of the United Provinces will e hurt by the delay, if any. In Spain the United States have been vaiting in the person of one of their Presidents now going on three ears, and have no answer. Now, I say it is better to be open. Here he constitution demanded publicity. In Spain it forbid it. But the ignity of the United States is injured more than it would have been if he demand to that court could have been made public. For my own art I own, as a private citizen or as a public man, I would not advise he United States to wait forever either in Spain or Holland. If it does ot suit their affairs to make a bargain with us let them tell us so can-idly and let us all go home, that at least we may not be under the ecessity of calling upon your excellency for water to drink, which had nuch better quench the thirst of our army.

I should be very much obliged to you for a copy of the replication of he two Imperial courts and of the new proposition of the court of London, of which I have only had a confused intimation.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

Lovell to Jay.*

FEBRUARY 20, 1781.

SIR: The President sends you instructions passed in Congress the 5th.

Personally, I am mortified that no letters from you since September 6th have reached us. We have not waited for the minute information vanted in yours of that date, nor have we received any notice of your eceipt of our instructions of October 4th before we discussed anew he old subject. There has been unfair dealing with your despatches. apprehend that we are allowed to see only sentiments somewhat dif-erent from yours. Perhaps the enclosed memorandum may be some lue to your scrutiny.

On the 10th of January Congress resolved to establish an office for oreign affairs, which I hope will make your station more easy and rep-table. I wish most earnestly to have a choice made of the secretary, o whom I may deliver all the papers in my possession connected with is duty.

I am, sir, your friend and humble servant,

JAMES LOVELL,
For the Committee.

* MSS. Dep. of State; 4 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 294, with verbal changes.

Jay to Franklin.*

MADRID, *February* 21, 1781.

DEAR SIR: Your favour of the 15th ult., with the packets mentioned in it, arrived in good order. I regret your long silence, though I am strongly inclined to rejoice in the cause of it; a fit of the gout, it is said, often prolongs life.

Affairs here begin to wear a better aspect. I am promised 3,000,000 reals, that is 150,000 dollars, which, though inadequate to the demands upon me, is still a great consolation, especially as men who are at the pains of planting and watering trees seldom let them perish for want of a few drops extraordinary.

I scarcely know how to desire you to make further advances on account of our salary, four months of which is now due, and yet I find myself under a necessity of doing it. My expenses here, notwithstanding the most rigid economy, are very great.

Since writing the above I have had the pleasure of receiving yours of the 27th January, and sincerely congratulate you on your recovery. The amount of my bill on you shall, agreeable to your request be considered as part of the 25,000 dollars. Your reckoning as to our salaries corresponds with mine, though we have been losers by the exchange.

As to the residue of the 25,000 dollars, my drafts shall be entirely regulated by my necessities, and I shall be happy if they permit me to leave a considerable proportion of that sum in your hands. I shall be constrained, however, to call for a part of that sum shortly; but whether by a bill or by means of the marquis is uncertain. As to that gentleman's complaint of my reserve towards him, I could make many remarks, which, though proper for your perusal, ought not to go further.

A few days after my arrival here a person whom I was told was the marquis was introduced to me. He said he came to pay me a visit by *order of Mr. Grand.* I did not then know I was indebted to that gentleman for a letter of recommendation to the marquis, it not having come to my hands. This singularity struck me, though I appeared not to observe it. The civilities usual on such occasions passed between us, and at parting the marquis gave me a general invitation to dine with him whenever I should find it convenient. I returned his visit, but as general invitations from strangers pass with us for mere matters of compliment, I declined doing myself the honor of dining with him. Interchanges of visits were continued, and the general invitation to dine once or twice repeated. In this line my connection with the marquis remained until I received the offer of the king's responsibility for a loan, etc. Several reasons induced me think it expedient to consult the marquis as to the manner of making this offer useful to us. I waited upon him for that purpose. He told me he could not inter-

* 2 Jay's Life, 70; 2 Corr. and Pub. Papers of John Jay, 1.

meddle in these affairs *without instructions from the court;* but was nevertheless very civil, and expressed a desire of doing me service, etc. As he declined entering into particulars I did not press it, nor had my ideas of his importance risen so high as to reconcile me to the extraordinary and unnecessary measure of applying to the court for the instructions in question. I did not, however, let him know my sentiments or intentions on the subject. It seems he had heard of Mr. Grand having been desired by you to make inquiries for money for me, and he advised me to write to him on the subject, which I accordingly did. In his answer of the 21st October he says:

I am very unhappy to hear you are not benefited on the spot by the facility tendered to you by the court of Spain, so much more so that the nature of circumstances here does not admit of the least hope of success. Too many attempts, all vainless, have already been made for the good of your credit; adding any more to the number would be destructive to it entirely at this particular juncture, chiefly when our government is about raising a sum of money much more enticing and advantageous in its conditions. This perplexing situation suggested me an idea I communicated to Dr. Franklin, etc.

Meanwhile it is highly important to avail yourself of the favorable disposition of the court of Spain, and get it to authorize and charge the marquis to help you in your finance business. He writes me that without orders he can not take it upon himself. It will be better for your excellency not to consult him before making the application to government, etc.

You, my good friend, have seen and thought too much of men and things to need any of my remarks on this letter. I replied to it on the 1st November as follows:

Sir: I have had the honour of receiving your letter of the 21st October last. I had flattered myself that a loan on reasonable terms and adequate security might have been effected for the United States in France, but as that court is raising money on conditions more advantageous and agreeable, I am not surprised at our having little prospect of success.

The hint you gave Dr. Franklin was a good one, and I hope will be productive of good consequences.

Your obliging advice relative to the marquis shall meet with all the attention due to its importance, and if that measure should, on further consideration, appear expedient, it shall be pursued in the manner you recommend.

The marquis, repeating his general invitation about this time, I dined with him. He received and entertained me very politely. We parted, to appearances, pleased with each other; but he has not been at my house since, though a great many visits in my debt.

Ever since my arrival I have been particularly cautious to avoid offending any person of any rank; to endeavour to please all, without becoming the property or sycophant of any. My disagreeable situation was not unknown to him, but the inferences he drew from it proved fallacious. I never find myself less disposed to humility or improper compliances than when fortune frowns. I have uniformly been very civil, though not confidential, to the marquis, nor has anything harsh ever passed between us. He is a man of business, abilities, and observation, and (what is of much importance here) of money. He keeps the

most, and indeed only, hospitable house here, and persons of the first rank and fashion are found at his table. His consequence at court is unequal to his desires, and I think to his capacity of being useful. In a word, he has a good share of sagacity, ambition, and pride. I think it probable that we shall yet be on more familiar terms, for, though I will never court, I shall with pleasure cultivate, his acquaintance.

The Count de Montmorin continues very friendly. I believe him to be an able minister and well attached to our cause.

Mrs. Jay desires me to make her compliments to you. I am, dear sir, with sincere attachment and esteem, etc.

JOHN JAY.

Dumas to the President of Congress.*

THE HAGUE, *February* 22, 1781.

SIR: The expected courier from the Dutch plenipotentiaries at Petersburgh has not yet arrived. They think his departure thence has been delayed till the coming back of another whom they had sent to London. The decision of the court of Holland concerning the conduct of the regency of Amsterdam is not yet given, and will not come out for some weeks. The pretended reason of this new delay is that M. Van Citters, one of the counsellors of that court, must go to Zealand because of the sickness of his mother. The true reason may be to get rid here of certain gentlemen as long as possible, and to gratify their ——— by deferring their justification. A little more resolution, when it was perhaps more proper to dare than to waver, would have spared them such a trick. But now, their honor and dignity not suffering them to appear here till they are justified, those that can not but justify them will delay the doing it as long as they can.

MARCH 2, 1781.

In consequence of orders brought by a courier despatched to the Russian ambassador here, he has presented a memorial† to their high mightinesses, importing that the empress was willing to interpose her mediation between this republic and England to bring on an accommodation. The court of justice of this province will meet on Monday next to draw up their decision concerning the conduct of Amsterdam.

I am, with the greatest respect, etc.,

DUMAS.

---

*MSS. Dep. of State; 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 326; which version, paraphrasing the original, is here taken.

†See this memorial in letter of J. Adams to President of Congress, March 18, 1781, *infra*.

Carmichael to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.*

MADRID, *February* 22, 1781.

GENTLEMEN: My last was of the 29th ultimo, since which I have ferred writing in hopes of having it in my power to give the comttee more distinct information of the actual situation of affairs in rope at this important crisis when its attention is turned to the conct of the Empress of Russia and the armed neutrality, and to that of e emperor, who, notwithstanding the offer of mediation I had the nor to mention in my last is, as I am informed, regarded with a jeals and suspicious eye. But the vessels, which take on board part of e clothing of which I advised you at the time and since it was promd, being about to sail, I seize the present occasion of writing, lest other from the ports of this kingdom should not soon present itself. Our affairs here are in much the same state as when I last wrote the mmittee. No further progress has been made in the negociation. r. Jay has received various letters and papers from Congress dated October. This day he has obtained an order for thirty-two thousand llars, to pay for part of the clothing to be shipped at Cadiz, of which has not yet received the invoices, and to discharge the bills due this nth. The minister promises to furnish the whole of the three llions of reals mentioned in former letters, and to contribute to our ther relief as far as the exigencies of the state will permit him. ese, I have reason to think, are urgent and great, and that the funds sing from the revenues and loans are, for the most part, appropri-d before they are received.

I am not informed that any positive answer has yet been given to e emperor's offer of mediation. It is ill-timed, and I believe, in ality, is not well taken. I know that this court is about to send a nister to Berlin, where they have had none for a long time. The cumstances of such an appointment at this juncture seem to imply prehensions of the emperor's intentions. I enclose two extracts of ters sent to me by M. Dumas, which contain intelligence that indies the intentions of the Empress of Russia. The first letter I know be genuine, for I saw the substance of it here in *good* hands before I ceived M. Dumas' letter. If the Empress does not openly declare ainst England, she will, at all events, protect the Dutch commerce, d this must terminate speedily in open hostilities. I have observed late a change of conduct in the Russian ambassador at this court, om I have an opportunity of meeting frequently in company; from ng cold and distant, he is become complaisant and affable. I also d him very attentive to the French ambassador.

Portugal has been much pressed by Russia to accede to the treaty of e armed neutrality, but the English party at this court is too power- to expect success from these applications. The attachment of this

* MSS. Dep. of State; 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 47, with verbal corrections.

king to his deceased sister, and at present to his niece, the Queen of Portugal, will prevent any violent measures being taken by our ally or Spain to force that nation to adopt other measures. The republican party in Holland are in good spirits. Zealand has dropped the opposition it made to hostile measures, so that at present there is an unanimity in the States on that interesting point.

The troops for America and the East Indies were embarked, and embarking, the last of the past month. They consist of three or four thousand men (recruits included), and of Fullarton's and another ragged regiment, to use the words of Mr. Edmund Jennings, who gives me this information. The greater part of these, it is supposed, are destined to the East Indies, and Commodore Johnson is named by the public to command an expedition, which is to attack the Cape of Good Hope on its passage. The ministry in England is the same. They have a great majority in Parliament. The Protestant associations begin to stir a little. Lord G. Gordon is acquitted. Stocks have fallen considerably since the Dutch war—not less than two and a half and three per cent. The subscriptions for the loans of the present year, it is generally believed, will be paid in slowly. Our ally pushes the preparations for the present campaign vigorously, but on the 14th instant the commander was not named for the fleet, which is to sail next month for the American seas, and which I am told will consist of twenty-five sail of the line. I have no exact account of the number of troops to be embarked, but the lowest computation makes them amount to seven thousand men. The Count de Maurepas was ill by the last advices from Paris.

The Spanish squadron of thirty sail of the line is at sea; that of England it is supposed will sail about this period of time. Mr. Cumberland gives out that he has demanded a passport of the court, but that he is told to have patience. I hope, however, he will not stay here long. M. Gardoqui will probably embark in all next month or the beginning of April. I beg the committee to consider the intelligence I give them from time to time, particularly that from other countries, as the latest and most authentic I can procure, but which I cannot vouch for the truth.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

WILLIAM CARMICHAEL.

Franklin to J. Adams.*

PASSY, *February* 22, 1781.

SIR: I received the letter your excellency did me the honor of writing to me the 15th instant respecting bills presented to you for acceptance drawn by Congress in favor of N. Tracy for ten thousand pounds

* 7 J. Adams' Works, 371.

erling, payable at ninety days' sight, and desiring to know if I can rnish funds for the payment.

I have lately made a fresh and strong application for more money. iave not yet received a positive answer. I have, however, two of the ristian graces—faith and hope. But my faith is only that of which e apostle speaks, the evidence of things not seen. For, in truth, I do t see at present how so many bills drawn at random on our ministers France, Spain, and Holland are to be paid, nor that anything but nipotent necessity can excuse the imprudence of it. Yet I think the ls drawn upon us by the Congress ought at all risks to be accepted; shall accordingly use my best endeavors to procure money for their norable discharge against they become due, if you should not in the ean time be provided. And if those endeavors fail, I shall be ready break, run away, or go to prison with you, as it shall please God.

Sir George Grand has returned to me the remainder of the book of omises signed by us, which his house had not an opportunity of uing. Perhaps the late change of affairs in that country may open way for them. If, on consulting him, you should be of that opinion, vill send them to you.

Late advices from Congress mention that Colonel Laurens is coming er as envoy extraordinary to this court and Colonel Palfrey as con-l-general. They may be expected every day.

With great respect, etc.

B. FRANKLIN.

Luzerne to the President of Congress.*

[Translation.]

PHILADELPHIA, *February* 25, 1781.

SIR: The minister plenipotentiary of France has the honor of inform-g Congress that M. de Tilly, commander of the king's sixty gun ship *Jville* arrived in the Chesapeake Bay on the 11th instant, with two gates. The undersigned has received no news of them later than the th, at which time it seems that the commander of this little squadron oposed to prolong his stay as long as circumstances would permit, in der to co-operate with the land troops commanded by Generals Steu-n and Nelson.

The Chevalier de la Luzerne does not know how long these vessels ll remain in their present station; but as it is important that the mmunications between M. de Tilly and Philadelphia should take ace with the greatest possible despatch, he requests Congress to in-rm him whether the line of expresses has been kept up, and if so, to nom he is to apply in order to make use of it.

LUZERNE.

---

* 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 713.

Carmichael to Franklin.*

MADRID, *February* 28, 1781.

DEAR SIR: The Prince Macerau's courier brought me your favor of the 27th ulto. I am so sensible of the honour and pleasure of your correspondence not to regret it. Yet when I tell you with sincerity that every letter which I receive from you adds to my desire of meriting your esteem, and consequently that of others, you will not, I hope, think your indulgence thrown away upon me. I am much pleased that you have seen the Prince and Princess of Macerau. They were extremely kind to me, and their notice was productive of that of others, as well natives as foreigners of distinction. The manner in which you inform me they are pleased to speak of me is so far flattering as it will convince you that I was neither wanting in sensibility nor attentions in return for this notice. I think I know so well the character of your enemies, and indeed I may venture to call them the enemies of their country, that I can not well be deceived in their plan of operations. A. Lee is to reside at Philadelphia this winter. His pamphlet, although I have never seen, is, as I judge, a prelude of that he means to prosecute by a thousand hints and insinuations to new members of Congress and others to wound your reputation. His brother, R. Henry, is endeavoring by indefatigable pains and a consummate hypocrisy to recover his consequence in the State of Virginia. There is a change in the delegation of the province of Maryland favorable to their projects. In Massachusetts, S. A. and some others have relinquished all apparent power in the State to preserve it in Congress.

In New Hampshire new members are introduced, one of whom quitted the army for this purpose, and is strongly united to the party which opposes General Washington, yourself, and, I may say, the liberal men of the continent. They will work under ground until they think the time ripe for the denouement of the plot. Will you permit me to tell you that frequent letters from you to Congress will blast all these fine-spun clash and malicious schemes, which, if successful, must ultimately tend to the destruction of the confidence that our friends in Europe have still in us. A part of the articles mentioned in my letter of the 5th of November is shipped, but not having yet received the invoices, I can not precisely tell the amount. Probably the whole will cost between twenty and thirty thousand dollars. I have seen your letters to Mr. Jay on the subject of the Mississippi. I am young in politics, and therefore hesitate in saying that there is little appearance of an effectual negotiation taking place here until the general conferences for a peace, unless the objects which prevent it are relinquished on our side before that period. Nay, I will go further, and say in that case they could not have effect unless made with a proviso that our independence is acknowledged prior to a general treaty. Their former and present

*MSS. Dep. of State.

nduct, I think, justifies this conclusion. As you read Spanish, you ll understand a maxim of Charles the 5th, "Yo y el tiempo," which ll preserves its reputation and seems to be followed here. I have in- ired for the Bibliotheca Hispania you mention. It is very rare, and am asked 22 pistoles for the only copy I have found in four and not o volumes folio, as mentioned by you. It will be very easy for me execute your orders respecting curious pamphlets, for I have as yet en none. This is not a mushroom soil for brochures. I shall send u the latest gazettes by the courier which brings this, and shall con- nue to send them by some conveyance in future. Mr. Giusti, who has en secretary of the imperial embassy and occasionally chargé des faires, has been so obliging as to promise me to deliver you the Me- orias de la Sociedad Económica. He will leave this in about a month, d presses me for an introduction to your excellency. You see the x you are obliged to pay for the services you have rendered the orld. We desire to see celebrated men on the same principles that lgrimages were often made to Jerusalem and Mecca—the one gives a reputation for abilities as the other did of holiness. I have the nour of being acquainted, or rather of being well received, by Mr. Cam- manes, at present condé and illustrissima. The founder of the soci- y above mentioned, he hath written several works on political econ- ny which I shall take pleasure in sending you if you have any curi- ity to see them. His tertulias are the resort of the literati of his untry, as the Marquis d'Yranda's house is of good company. His hole family have received me always with much politeness and kind- ss, and I wish to make every return in my power. That Mr. Jay is t on a better footing with him arises more perhaps from the different stoms of this country and ours than from design on either part. Mr. abarrus, whom I recommended to your notice in my last, hath been considerable use to us here. He hath the confidence of the minister finance and of the president of the council and of Mr. Campomanes, d, being highly flattered by your notice of him, his reports on his re- rn will greatly add to our consequence. This gentleman, although mewhat eccentric, is allowed to be well informed of the affairs of this untry by better judges than myself. Mr. Jay, writing by this con- yance, precludes me from the necessity of saying more in our personal d political situation. I shall therefore trespass no further on your tience than in requesting mention me with respect to the Prince and rincess Macerau, whose friends here have no other consolation in eir absence than in the idea that they spend their time agreeably in our capital. I entreat you also to mention me in the proper manner my acquaintance, and to believe me, with great respect and esteem,

Your excellency's most obed. and most humble servant,

W. CARMICHAEL,

MARCH 10.

P. S.—The embassador not having despatched his courier at the time I wrote the above, I have kept it in preference to trusting it to the ordinary conveyance. I have received a letter from Ellbridge Gerry, dated at Marblehead, which gives me a very agreeable account of the situation of our affairs. His letter is of the 10th of January. The Boston papers of the 18th of the same month destroy the hopes our enemies entertained in consequence of Rivington's long account of the revolt and dissatisfaction of part of the Continental army. In my next I will send you a copy of the invoice of the clothing purchased at Bilboa, which I have just received, and the amount of the bills accepted by Mr. Jay. Our personal credit and money expire together, and the latter is at its last gasp.

Luzerne to the President of Congress.*

[Translation.]

PHILADELPHIA, *February* 28, 1781.

SIR: I think it necessary for the information of the department of finance to inform you that Mr. Robert Morris having strongly represented to me that it was of importance to his operations and to those of General Washington to have a stock of bills of exchange, which might enable him to wait for the arrival of the funds brought by Colonel Laurens, I have taken upon myself to authorize him to draw bills of exchange to the amount of 219,018 livres 4s. 8d. Funds to that exact amount will be raised, and I hope that my court will approve of the course which I have taken in consideration of the importance of the operations now going on.

I have the honor to be, sir, etc.,

LUZERNE.

J. Adams to the Duc de la Vauguyon.†

AMSTERDAM, *March* 1, 1781.

SIR: As Friesland has taken the provincial resolution to acknowledge the independence of America, it seems to be high time for me to prepare for the execution of my instructions from Congress of the 16th of August, which I had the honor to communicate to you on the 25th of November, and which had been previously communicated to the minister of foreign affairs at Versailles.

From these instructions it appears that his most Christian majesty had made by his minister to Congress a tender of his endeavors to accomplish a coalition between the United Provinces of the Netherlands and the United States, and that this tender was accepted by Congress as a fresh proof of his majesty's solicitude for their interests.

---

*5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 713. †3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 321.

By another resolution I am instructed to propose a treaty of alliance
tween his most Christian majesty, the United Provinces of the Neth-
lands, and the United States of America, having for its object and
nited in its duration to the present war with Great Britain, and con-
rmed to the treaties subsisting between his most Christian majesty
d the United States.

The system of operations was thus settled at Philadelphia between
e king, by his minister, and the Congress, and for obvious and wise
asons the minister of Congress at The Hague was to make the proposi-
on to their high mightinesses, and the ambassador of his majesty was
countenance and support it either publicly or privately, as he should
dge proper, until the States-General should listen to it, so far as to
ter into the negociation.

In pursuance of these propositions it seems to be necessary for me to
to the president of their high mightinesses, and without offering him
ything in writing, to make him the proposition in the words of the
closed project, or others equivalent.

Friesland has taken so decided a part, and the other provinces,
pecially Holland, are animated with such a spirit, that I can not but
tter myself such a proposition would now run with rapidity through
e seven provinces, and contribute very much to accelerate the period
this bloody and ruinous war.

I have the honor to request your excellency's sentiments upon the
bject, and to be, with the most sincere and inviolable attachment,
ur excellency's most obedient and most humble servant.

JOHN ADAMS.

Luzerne to the President of Congress.*

[Translation.]

PHILADELPHIA, *March* 2, 1781.

SIR: The undersigned, minister of France, has the honor of inform-
g Congress that M. de Tilly has left the Chesapeake Bay with his
uadron. He took there ten prizes, among which are two strong
ivateers, and during his passage from the Chesapeake to Newport,
Rhode Island, he met the *Romulus*, of forty-four guns, pierced for
ty guns. He took her and carried her into Newport, which he entered
the 24th ultimo, with five hundred English prisoners. The Chevalier
la Luzerne is informed that the *America*, an English vessel, whose
te since the hurricane of the 21st of February had been unknown,
s sailed into Gardner's Bay.

The minister plenipotentiary of France is desirous that Congress
ould be pleased to appoint a committee, to whom he will have the
nor of communicating some further information relative to these
erations.

LUZERNE.

---

*5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr. 714.

Carmichael to the Committee of Foreign Affairs.*

MADRID, *March* 4, 1781.

GENTLEMEN: I have received the enclosed letters from M. Dumas since my last of the 22d ultimo, copies of which I sent to Cadiz, to be forwarded in the vessels that take from thence part of the clothing mentioned in my former letters. The remainder will, I hope, soon be embarked on board of other vessels lately arrived in that port from America. As soon as Mr. Jay receives the invoices I will transmit copies thereof to the committee. I also enclose the last accurate state of the British sea force in Europe. The squadron supposed to be destined for the relief of Gibraltar sailed the 18th ultimo. The Spanish fleet, of thirty sail of the line, is now at sea to impede their operations, so that important advices are daily expected from the coast. The exact number of the English squadron is not known. Count de Grasse is finally chosen to command the Brest squadron for the American seas, and is by this time nearly ready to sail.

Our affairs are in much the same situation. It is not yet known here what part the Empress of Russia will take, although it is generally believed it can not be but unfavorable to Great Britain. Mr. Cumberland is still here. M. Gardoqui will embark the last of this or first of next month. I make no doubt Mr. Jay will endeavour to know previous to his departure the character by which he is to announce him to Congress. I have no reason to believe that he will not have formal credentials from the court, for otherwise, notwithstanding the information given in consequence of Mr. Jay's conference relative to him with the minister, I suppose Congress can only regard him as an individual.

A late publication in the *Courier of Europe*, extracted from Rivington's Gazette, asserting a mutiny of a considerable body of Continental troops in the beginning of January, made considerable impression here, which happily we have had it in our power to remove by some arrivals from the northward. Considerable apprehensions and jealousies are entertained of the views of the States of forming powerful establishments on the Ohio and Mississippi, in consequence of some publications in our papers, and other advices received by the court, which has much better and more regular intelligence of our affairs than Mr. Jay. This must be the case as long as the letters of Congress are confided to the common post in France and in this country. The difference of the expense would not be so considerable to the public as might be conceived, and the advantages are important. I am persuaded the ministers of the above-named nations receive more information from the letters written to the public servants of Congress in Europe than from those they employ in America. All the couriers of the Empress of Russia are officers of her army. We have at present, I presume, many young men on half pay, in consequence of the late arrangements of

* MSS. Dep. of State; 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 49, with verbal corrections.

army, who would be happy to make these voyages in the public kets, who might be limited or brought to strict account for their penses, and receive instructions from the committee to answer public rposes, and be promoted or disgraced according to their execution of m. I beg the committee will impute these suggestions to the true tive, a regard to the public service.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

WILLIAM CARMICHAEL.

Dumas to the President of Congress.*

THE HAGUE, *March* 5, 1781.

SIR: Since the memorial presented on the 1st instant to their high ghtinesses by the Russian ambassador, offering the mediation of the mpress between them and Great Britain, a letter of February 9th has en received here, written by the Dutch plenipotentiary at Peters-rgh, of which, being decyphered, the grand pensionary of Holland, tead of delivering copies as usual, has only permitted the inspection l perusal to the several members of the States. It gives the follow- account of the assurances made to them by the chief minister of the press, Count Panin, viz: 1st. That the Empress is still in the same orable dispositions toward the republic, and that he himself will pport with all his power the just claim of the Dutch to have all the ssels returned to them which the English have taken from them ce their accession to the armed neutrality. 2dly. That the media- n offered by the court of Vienna to procure, by the good offices of at court, in conjunction with that of Russia, a peace between the ligerent powers, will not be accepted without the preliminary con- ion, *sine qua non*, of Great Britain's acknowledging the independency the United States and the rights of the neutral powers in matters commerce and navigation. 3dly. That the Empress had seen with eat satisfaction the propositions made by the Dutch plenipotentiaries the several northern crowns for being supplied by them, on condi- ns to be agreed on, with a sufficient number of men-of-war, and that number they wanted was ready for the service of their high mighti- sses.

There was a report current here, and through the whole country, of ree encampments to take place this summer in this province. A great rsonage has assured a gentleman in distinguished station that this l never been his intention. I have it from the gentleman himself. e same assures me "the court of justice was now busy with mak- g up the decision concerning the conduct of the regency of Amster- m. They had taken the advice of an eminent lawyer; he had seen s advice; it was a very good one."

---

* MSS. Dep. of State; 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 326, which version, paraphrasing original, is here given.

Mr. Adams favored me yesterday both with his presence and with the sight of the despatches of December last which he has received from your excellency. I shall do my best to second his operations, heartily wishing that things may ripen and our endeavors be crowned with success. To this hope let me join that of the so often solicited attention of Congress to my long and faithful services and to the circumstances in which they have involved me.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

DUMAS.

Franklin to Vergennes.*

PASSY, *March* 6, 1781.

SIR: By perusing the enclosed instructions to Colonel Laurens and myself, your excellency will see the necessity I am under of being importunate for an answer to the application lately made for aids of stores and money. As vessels are about to depart for America, it is of the utmost importance that the Congress should receive advice by some of them of what may or may not be expected. I therefore earnestly entreat your excellency to communicate me, as soon as possible, the necessary information.

With sincere esteem, I am, etc.,

B. FRANKLIN.

J. Adams: Memorial to the States-General.†

To their High Mightinesses the States-General of the United Provinces of the Low Countries:

HIGH AND MIGHTY LORDS: The subscriber, a minister plenipotentiary from the United States of America, has the honor to lay before your high mightinesses, as one of the high contracting parties to the marine treaty lately concluded relative to the rights of neutral vessels, a resolution of Congress of the 5th of October last concerning the same subject.

As the American Revolution furnished the occasion of a reformation in the maritime law of nations of so much importance to a free communication among mankind by sea, the subscriber hopes it may not be thought improper that the United States should become parties to it, entitled to its benefits, and subjected to its duties. To this end the subscriber has the honor of requesting that the resolution of Congress may be taken into the consideration of your high mightinesses, and transmitted to the courts of Russia, Sweden, and Denmark.

---

* MSS. Dep. of State; 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 137; 8 Sparks' Franklin, 537.

† MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 322; 7 J. Adams' Works, 373.

The subscriber begs leave to subjoin, that he should esteem it one of e most fortunate events of his life if this proposition should meet th the approbation of your high mightinesses and the other powers o are parties to the neutral confederacy, and he be admitted as the strument of pledging the faith of the United States to the observance regulations which do so much honor to the present age.*

The Hague, March 8, 1781.

JOHN ADAMS.

J. Adams to Vauguyon, Ambassador of France at The Hague.†

LEYDEN, *March* 8, 1781.

SIR: I have the honor to enclose a copy of a resolution of Congress the 5th of October last, and to inform your excellency that I have s day communicated it to their high mightinesses the States-General the United Provinces, and to the ministers of the courts of Russia, eden, and Denmark at The Hague.

Your excellency will permit me to hope for your concurrence in sup-rt of this measure, as there may be occasion, and to assure you of e great respect and consideration with which I have the honor to , etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

J. Adams to Van Berckel, Pensionary of Amsterdam.‡

LEYDEN, *March* 8, 1781.

SIR: I have the honor to enclose a resolution of Congress of the 5th October last, and to inform you that I have this day communicated to their high mightinesses the States-General, and to the ministers of ssia, Sweden, and Denmark at The Hague.

With the greatest respect, I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

J. Adams to Gallitzen, Minister of the Empress of Russia.§

LEYDEN, *March* 8, 1781.

SIR: I have lately received from Congress, as one of their ministers nipotentiary, their resolution of the 5th of October last, relative to e rights of neutral vessels, a copy of which I do myself the honor to close to your excellency, as the representative of one of the high con-cting parties to the marine treaty lately concluded concerning this

* See Adams to President of Congress, March 19, 1781, *infra*.

† MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 324; 7 J. Adams' Works, 374.

‡ MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 323; 7 J. Adams' Works, 374.

§ MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 323; 7 J. Adams' Works, 373.

subject. As I am fixed by my duty for the present to this part of Europe, I have no other way of communicating this measure of Congress to the northern courts but by the favor of their ministers in this republic. I must, therefore, request of your excellency, if there is no impropriety in it, to transmit the resolution to the minister of foreign affairs of her Imperial majesty.

Your excellency will permit me to add that I should esteem myself very fortunate to be the instrument of pledging, in form, the faith of the United States of America to a reformation in the maritime law of nations which does so much honor to the present age.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

Transcripts of the above letter were sent on the same day to the Baron de Sapherin, envoy of the King of Denmark at The Hague, and to the Baron d'Ehrenswerd, envoy of the King of Sweden at the same place.

Lovell to Jay.*

MARCH 9, 1781.

SIR: You will herewith receive gazettes and journals, also a resolve respecting the complete ratification of the articles binding the thirteen States as a confederated body. The delay of that business appears now like all the other circumstances of our rise and growth; for the present is really the best of all times for that particular event. Our enemies have been ripening themselves for this capital *mentitis*.

We have no letters from you or Mr. Carmichael later than those mentioned in my last, a copy of which attends this.

I am, sir, your friend and humble servant,

JAMES LOVELL.

Lovell to Franklin.†

MARCH 9, 1781.

SIR: I forward gazettes, journals, and some particular resolves of Congress, *via* Amsterdam.

The arrival of the *Ariel* has given us despatches from you, long expected, of June 1st, August 9th, December 23d. Congress had, before the receipt of your letters of February 19th, written to Mr. Adams, January 10th, and signified their concurrence in opinion with Count de Vergennes, as to the time and circumstances of announcing his (Mr. Adams's) powers to Great Britain. They had also on December 12th

* MSS. Dep. of State; 4 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 294.

† MSS. Dep. of State; 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 137, with verbal changes.

pressed their sentiments upon his letters of June 26th, enclosing to em his correspondence relative to the act of March 18th, calling in the d paper money.

I send you extracts from the journals for your fuller information on ese points, and I shall forward yet for a time all acts of Congress tended for your guidance whenever they are finished; but I most rnestly look for the appointment of a secretary of foreign affairs, rreeably to their determinations of January 10th. Such an officer may thoritatively communicate his opinions, and in many ways make ur station more easy and reputable to you than it can have been der great want of information of our circumstances.

Your most humble servant,

JAMES LOVELL,
For the Committee of Foreign Affairs.

The King of France to Congress.*

[Translation.]

our very dear great friends and allies the President and members of the Congress of the United States of North America:

VERY DEAR GREAT FRIENDS AND ALLIES: We have received your tter of the 22d of November last, which you directed Dr. Franklin to liver. We have seen therein with pain the picture of the distressed ate of your finances, and have been so affected that we have deter- ined to assist you as far as our own wants and the extraordinary and ormous expenses of the present war, in which we are engaged for ur defence, will permit. The Chevalier de la Luzerne is enjoined to form you more particularly of our intentions. And we are persuaded at the details which he will make will induce you to exert your most efforts to second ours, and will more and more convince you how ncerely we interest ourselves in the cause of the United States; and at we employ all the means in our power to make it triumphant. ou may rely on our perseverance in the principles which have hitherto rected our conduct. It has been fully proved, as well as the sincere ection we entertain for the United States in general, and for each in rticular. We pray God to have you, very dear great friends and ies, in His holy protection.

Written at Versailles the 10th of March, 1781.

Your good friend and ally,

LOUIS.

---

*5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 681.

Franklin to De Rayneval.*

PASSY, *March* 11, 1781.

SIR: I have examined the list of supplies wanted in America, which I received yesterday from you, in order to mark, as desired, what may be most necessary to forward thither. As that list is of old date, and I do not know what part of it may have been already procured by other channels, and I understand by my letters that a new list has been made out, which is given to Colonel Laurens, and though mentioned to be sent to me also is not yet come to my hands, I have thought it may be well for the present to order the making of a quantity of soldiers' and officers' clothing equal to one-third part of what has been demanded from page 31 to page 42 inclusive, and to collect and get ready also one-third of the other articles mentioned in said pages, which I have marked with a red line in the margin; the whole to be sent by the first good opportunity. I think it would be well also to send five thousand more good fusils, with fifty tons of lead and two hundred thousand flints for fusils. If these could go with the fleet it would be of great service. More powder, I imagine, is not necessary to be sent at present, as there goes in the *Marquis de la Fayette* the remainder of the two thousand barrels granted last year, and also two hundred tons of saltpetre, which they will make into powder. For the other articles that may be wanted, as Colonel Laurens will come fully instructed, as well by the list given to him as from his own observation and experience in the army, and from the information he will receive from General Washington, with whom and the Marquis de la Fayette he was to consult before his departure, I conceive it will be best to wait a little for his arrival.

I return the lists; and having, by some unaccountable accident, mislaid and lost the paper you gave me, containing what Count de Vergennes said to me yesterday, I must beg the favor of you to repeat it, and send it by the bearer. I am ashamed to give you this trouble, but I wish to be exact in what I am writing of it to Congress.

With the greatest esteem, etc.,

B. FRANKLIN.

J. Laurens to the President of Congress.†

L'ORIENT, *March* 11, 1781.

SIR: I have the honor of informing Congress that I arrived at this place on the afternoon of the 9th instant, and should have proceeded without an instant's repose to Passy, had not the commandant of the town assured me that the Marquis de Castries would arrive here that evening on his way to Brest, where he was going to accelerate by his pres-

---

*MSS. Dep. of State; 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 138, with omissions; 8 Sparks' Franklin, 539.

†MSS. Dep. of State; 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 150, with verbal changes.

ıce the execution of his naval dispositions. The prospect of an im-
ediate conference with that minister on the objects of my mission,
hich relate to his department, the danger of missing him by our trav-
ing different routes, and the repeated assurances of his expected ar-
val, have detained me till this morning; but as the delay has been
ıuch greater than I apprehended and the minister's approach is not
nnounced, I have determined to pursue my journey.

The accounts which the commandant has communicated to me of
ıe naval preparations at Brest are that twenty-five sail of the line are
eady for sea, with ninety transports, on board of which are six thou-
ınd troops; that the ships of war are destined part for the West Indies,
ıd part with troops for North America.

The rupture between England and the United Provinces has hitherto
roved very prejudicial to the latter, as they were exceedingly vulner-
ble by having so great a number of merchant ships at sea. On our
oyage we captured a British privateer in company with a Venetian
ip, of which she had made a prize, contrary to the laws of nations.
his appeared to me a happy opportunity for manifesting the de-
ermination of Congress to maintain the rights of neutral powers, as
ır as depends on them. After a short consultation Captain Barry and
is officers very readily acceded to the liberation of the Venetian, and
ıe complete restoration of the cargo and property, which were very val-
able. The captain was accordingly left at liberty to pursue his voy-
ge, and the privateer was brought into port. Mr. Palfrey, our consul,
not yet arrived at this port. It is generally feared that this ship foun-
ered in a storm, which separated her and the *Franklin* in the commence-
ıent of their voyage, as she has not been heard of since.

I have the honor to be, with the profoundest respect, etc.,

JOHN LAURENS.

Carmichael to the Committee of Foreign Affairs.*

MADRID, *March* 11, 1781.

GENTLEMEN: Since my last, of the 4th instant, I know of a certainty
hat Mr. Cumberland, so often mentioned in former letters, will soon
ave this kingdom, and pursue his voyage to England by the way of
rance. His departure would indicate that all negociations for an ac-
ommodation were at an end, if there was not reason to believe that
nferences on that subject are like to take place in consequence of the
fer of mediation made to the belligerent powers by the emperor. As
have not the last-mentioned intelligence from our *friends*, I give it
ith hesitation and not as certain. In a little time I hope to have it in
y power to give fuller information to the committee on this subject.
The Count de Grasse left Paris the end of February, to take the com-

* MSS. Dep. of State; 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 50, with verbal corrections.

mand of the fleet for the American seas. (Enclosed is a list of the fleet, received since I sent off a first copy of this letter.) I am afraid this fleet, or even a part of it, will not appear on our coasts until the month of July. I form my conjectures, however, from very minute circumstances, and may perhaps be deceived. The English grand fleet has not yet made its appearance. A very numerous convoy of provision vessels, etc., etc., sail with it for the East and West Indies and for America. Mr. Adams has opened a loan in Holland for one million of florins, of which we shall soon know the probable success. I send enclosed the plan of the loan in the first copy of this letter, but finding it published in the Dutch and foreign papers, I suppose the committee will receive it before this can reach them. The mutiny of the Pennsylvania line has had a bad effect in Europe, and our enemies have been indefatigable to represent it in the worst colors. I hope Congress has been able to pacify the discontented, and that, as they have hitherto done, they will still overcome all obstacles to the freedom, tranquillity, and importance of the United States.

I have the honor to be, sir, etc.,

WILLIAM CARMICHAEL.

Carmichael to Franklin.*

MADRID, *March* 12, 1781.

DEAR SIR: Since writing a letter which you will receive by the same courier which brings this, I am informed from good authority that Mr. Cumberland will shortly leave this and take Paris in his way to England. I shall inform you of the time he sets out, or any other particular I may hear further worth your notice. He received an express yesterday morning from Lisbon, which it seems occasions his departure. A vessel hath arrived from Philadelphia at Cadiz which left the bay the 28th of January. Neither Mr. Jay or myself have yet received any letters by this vessel, nor, indeed, any other news than the landing of Arnold at Portsmouth, in Virginia, on the 5th of the above-mentioned month. I have seen an extract of a letter from Philadelphia dated the 15th January; doth not even mention the mutiny of the Pennsylvania line. Therefore I hope it is not true that the disaffection hath been so considerable as represented by our enemies. I have received lately several hints respecting conferences of a negotiation being like to take place in consequence of the emperor's offer of mediation. I should not mention this if I had received the information from our friends, but as it came from persons in a situation of being well informed, I take the liberty of repeating it, that if you are not in the secret, if really such a thing is on the carpet, you may prosecute the enquiry.

I have the honor to be, with great respect, your excellency's most obedient and humble servant,

W. CARMICHAEL.

---

* MSS. Dep. of State.

Franklin to the President of Congress.*

PASSY, *March* 12, 1781.

SIR: I had the honor of receiving, on the 13th of last month, your xcellency's letter of the 1st of January, together with the instructions of ovember 28th and December 27th, a copy of those to Colonel Laurens, nd the letter to the king. I immediately drew a memorial, enforcing s strongly as I could the requests that are contained in that letter nd directed by the instructions, and I delivered the same with the etter, which were both well received; but the ministry being extremely ccupied with other weighty affairs, and I obtaining for some time only eneral answers that something would be done for us, etc., and Mr. aurens not arriving, I wrote again, and pressed strongly for a decision n the subject, that I might be able to write explicitly by this oppor- unity what aids the Congress were, or were not, to expect, the regula- on of their operations for the campaign depending on the information should be enabled to give.

Upon this I received a note, appointing Saturday last for a meeting ith the minister, which I attended punctually. He assured me of the ing's good will to the United States, remarking, however, that, being n the spot, I must be sensible of the great expense France was actu- lly engaged in, and the difficulty of providing for it, which rendered ie lending us twenty-five millions at present impracticable; but he nformed me that the letter from the Congress and my memorials had een under his majesty's consideration, and observed, as to loans in eneral, that the sum we wanted to borrow in Europe was large, and iat the depreciation of our paper had hurt our credit on this side of ie water; adding also that the king could not possibly favor a loan or us in his dominions, because it would interfere with and be a preju- ice to those he was under the necessity of obtaining himself to sup- ort the war; but that, to give the States a signal proof of his friend- hip, his majesty had resolved to grant them the sum of six millions, ot as a loan, but as a free gift. This sum, the minister informed me, as exclusive of the three millions which he had before obtained for me to ay the Congress drafts for interest, etc., expected in the current year. Ie added that, as it was understood the clothing, etc., with which our rmy had been heretofore supplied from France was often of bad quality nd dear, the ministers would themselves take care of the purchase of uch articles as should be immediately wanted and send them over; nd it was desired of me to look over the great invoice that had been ent hither last year and mark out these articles; that, as to the money emaining after such purchases, it was to be drawn for by General Vashington upon M. d'Harvelay, garde du tresor royal, and the bills ould be duly honored; but it was desired they might be drawn grad-

* MSS. Dep. of State; 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev., Corr., 139, with verbal changes; 9 parks' Franklin, 1.

ually, as the money should be wanted, and as much time given for the payment after sight as conveniently could be, that the payment might be more easy.

I assured the minister that the Congress would be very sensible of this token of his majesty's continued goodness towards the United States, but remarked that it was not the usage with us for the general to draw, and proposed that it might be our treasurer who should draw the bills for the remainder; but I was told that it was his majesty's order; and I afterwards understood from the secretary of the council that, as the sum was intended for the supply of the army, and could not be [so large as we had demanded for general occasions, it was thought best to put it into the general's hands, that it might not get into those of the different boards or committees, who might think themselves under a necessity of diverting it to other purposes. There was no room to dispute on this point, every donor having the right of qualifying his gifts with such terms as he thinks proper.

I took with me the invoice, and, having examined it, I returned it immediately, with a letter of which a copy is enclosed, and I suppose its contents will be followed, unless Colonel Laurens, on his arrival, should make any changes. I hope he and Colonel Palfrey are safe, though as yet not heard of.]*

After the discourse relating to the aid was ended the minister proceeded to inform me that the courts of Petersburgh and Vienna had offered their mediation; that the king had answered that it would to him personally be agreeable, but that he could not yet accept it, because he had allies whose concurrence was necessary; and that his majesty desired I would acquaint the Congress with this offer and answer, and urge their sending such instructions as they may think proper to their plenipotentiary, it being not doubted that they would readily accept the proposed mediation from their own sense of its being both useful and necessary. I mentioned that I did suppose Mr. Adams was already furnished with instructions relating to any treaty of peace that might be proposed.

I must now beg leave to say something relating to myself, a subject with which I have not often troubled the Congress. I have passed my seventy-fifth year, and I find that the long and severe fit of the gout which I had the last winter has shaken me exceedingly, and I am yet far from having recovered the bodily strength I before enjoyed. I do not know that my mental faculties are impaired; perhaps I shall be the last to discover that; but I am sensible of great diminution in my activity, a quality I think particularly necessary in your minister for this court. I am afraid therefore that your affairs may, some time or other, suffer by my deficiency. I find also that the business is too heavy

* Passage in brackets marked out in record. Colonel Palfrey, who, after serving in the Continental army, was appointed consul-general to France, was lost at sea on his voyage.

or me and too confining. The constant attendance at home, which is ecessary for receiving and accepting your bills of exchange (a matter oreign to my ministerial functions), to answer letters and perform ther parts of my employment, prevents my taking the air and exercise vhich my annual journeys formerly used to afford me, and which con- ributed much to the preservation of my health. There are many other ttle personal attentions which the infirmities of age render necessary o an old man's comfort, even in some degree to the continuance of his xistence, and with which business often interferes.

I have been engaged in public affairs and enjoyed public confidence, n some shape or other, during the long term of fifty years, and honor ufficient to satisfy any reasonable ambition; and I have no other left ut that of repose, which I hope the Congress will grant me by send- ng some person to supply my place. At the same time I beg they may e assured that it is not any the least doubt of their success in the lorious cause, nor any disgust received in their service, that induces ie to decline it, but purely and simply the reasons above mentioned. And as I can not at present undergo the fatigues of a sea voyage (the ast having been almost too much for me), and would not again expose nyself to the hazard of capture and imprisonment in this time of war, purpose to remain here at least till the peace—perhaps it may be for he remainder of my life; and if any knowledge or experience I have cquired here may be thought of use to my successor I shall freely com- nunicate it, and assist him with any influence I may be supposed to ave or counsel that may be desired of me.

[I have one request more to make, which, if I have served the Con- ress to their satisfaction, I hope they will not refuse me. It is that hey will be pleased to take under their protection my grandson, Will- am Temple Franklin. I have educated him from his infancy, and I rought him over with an intention of placing him where he might be ualified for the profession of the law, but the constant occasion I had or his service as a private secretary during the time of the commis- ioners, and more extensively since their departure, has induced me to eep him always with me, and, indeed, being continually disappointed f the secretary Congress had at different times intended me, it would ave been impossible for me, without this young gentleman's assist- nce, to have gone through the business incumbent on me. He has hereby lost so much of the time necessary for law studies, that I think rather advisable for him to continue, if it may be, in the line of public oreign affairs, for which he seems qualified by a sagacity and judgment bove his years, and great diligence]* and activity, exact probity, a enteel address, a facility in speaking well the French tongue, and all he knowledge of business to be obtained by a four years' constant em loyment in the secretary's office, where he may be said to have served kind of apprenticeship. After all the allowance I am capable of

* Passage in brackets marked through in draft.

making for the partiality of a parent to his offspring, I can not but think he may, in time, make a very able foreign minister for Congress, in whose service his fidelity may be relied on. But I do not at present propose him as such, for, though he is now of age, a few years more of experience will not be amiss. In the mean time, if they should think fit to employ him as a secretary to their minister at any European court I am persuaded they will have reason to be satisfied with his conduct, and I shall be thankful for his appointment as a favor to me.

My accounts have been long ready for the examination of some person to be appointed for that purpose. Mr. Johnson having declined it, and Mr. Dana residing at present at Paris, I requested him to undertake it, and to examine at the same time those of Mr. Deane, but he also declines it as being unacquainted with accounts. If no fresh appointment has been made by Congress, I think of desiring Mr. Palfrey to perform that service when he arrives, which I hope will be approved, for I am uneasy at the delay.

With great respect, I have the honor to be, etc.,

B. FRANKLIN.

J. Adams to Dana.*

LEYDEN, *March* 12, 1781.

DEAR SIR: I do not know whether I have acknowledged yours of the 12th February; that of the 25th came to me yesterday. The letter enclosed was from Mr. I. Smith, of 18 December. He says they were busily employed in raising their quota for the army during the war or for three years, and that the other provinces were doing the same. He says Mrs. Dana was well a few days before; that Davis had arrived, after having thrown over his letters, being chased by an American. This is all. I have letters from the President and from Lovell, the last unintelligible, in ciphers, but inexplicable by his own ciphers; some dismal ditty about my letters of 26th of July, I know not what. But, my dear sir, I hasten to the most interesting part of your letter, your project of a repassage of the mountains, (ocean ?). I shudder at the thoughts of it, when I consider what a bad traveller you are, and the robbers by the way may take you to their dens. I do not know how to part with you. I want your advice constantly now, every day, yet I think you are doing more good where you are than you could here. I know that by conversation with A. Z. (Congress?) you might do good, but there are so many hazards, that I dare not advise you. I think with you that we shall have nothing to do in our principal department, yet the mediations of the emperor and empress seem to require attention from us, although I am persuaded it is only the artifice of England to embroil all Europe. I will commit to you a secret; let it be kept so. I have received a commission, dated 28th December, for this repub-

* 7 J. Adams' Works, 377.

. I want your advice, but I can ask it by letter while you are at aris. I suppose it was the intention of Congress that I should employ umas as my secretary here, but I have no orders or hints about it; ere is no commission to him, which makes me think A. Z. intended should be at liberty to employ him or not, as I shall judge proper. I ppose A. Z. intended to leave the way open to employ by their not nding a commission to you. Upon the whole, I do not know how to lvise you. We will consider of it a little longer, if you please.

I can give you no assurances or lively hopes of money or friendship this country. They are furious for peace. Multitudes are for peace th England at any rate, even at the expense and risk of joining them the war against France, Spain, America, and all the rest. They are a torpor, a stupor such as I never saw any people in before, but they n not obtain peace with England on any other terms than joining her the war, and this they will not, because they can not do. I some- nes think that their affections would lead them to do it if they dared.

JOHN ADAMS.

J. Adams to Jennings.*

PARIS, *March* 12, 1781.

DEAR SIR: I have to acknowledge the receipt of three excellent tters, one of the 1st, the others of the 5th and 8th, of March. I thank ou for the copy of your letter to the pensioner, and for your dialogue tween Yorke and Chatham.†

---

* 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 657.

† "Mr. Jennings was an American, and although he resided in London during the ar, he was a warm friend to the cause of his country."—SPARKS. This statement eds qualification. Jennings was a cousin of the Bees, and was on terms of inti- acy with them, interspersed by occasional quarrels. That he remained unmolested London during the war was in itself no recommendation for him, and by Franklin, y, and Laurens his loyalty was suspected. On July 29, 1783, Jennings wrote from ndon a letter to Arthur Lee, speaking of a defence just published by him against arges of disloyalty made against him by Laurens and Bridges. (University of Vir- ia Coll.) It is to this pamphlet that Laurens' reply was directed. Jennings' aracter for veracity and honor is severely criticised by Henry Laurens in a pamphlet titled "Mr. Laurens' true state of the case, by which his candor to Mr. Edmund nnings (*sic*) is manifested and the tricks of Mr. Jennings are detected." (London, 83.) A copy of this is in the library of the Department of State. Jennings retained, wever, the confidence of John Adams, who desired to make him secretary to the ace conference, to which Franklin, Jay, and Laurens would not consent. He was arged with the authorship of a certain anonymous letter, of a disreputable character, ose object was to create dissensions among the commissioners. He denied the thorship of the letter and threw it upon W. Lee, who retorted; upon which Jennings thdrew the imputation. Of his guilt Laurens, in the pamphlet above cited, gives ong proof. (See also Laurens to secretary, etc., Sept. 11, 1783.) Dana at one time ight well of him and offered him the secretaryship of the Russian mission, an office ich he accepted but does not appear to have filled. (See Jennings to Dana, May 3, 81; Dana to Congress, May 13, 1781.) As to Adams' views of him, see Adams' urnal, under date of Nov. 3, 1782.

It is undoubtedly the duty of every commercial nation to make their flag respected in all the seas and by all the nations, not by insulting and injuring all others like Great Britain, but by doing justice to all others, and by insisting upon justice from them. But how is Holland to obtain justice from the English, who take a manifest pleasure and pride in showing her and all Europe that they despise her? Holland seems to be as corrupted and unprincipled as Great Britain; but there is one great difference between them: Great Britain has a terrible naval force, Holland has next to none. Great Britain has courage and confidence in her power, Holland has none. I do not mean that the Dutch are destitute of personal courage, but national courage is a very different thing.

The curious doctrine of a constitutional impossibility of acknowledging our independence is well exposed in your dialogue. I suppose the idea was taken from Lord Chatham's dying speech, when he conjured up the ghost of the Princess Sophia of Hanover, to whose posterity, being Protestants, the act of settlement had consecrated the succession of the crown and its authority over all parts of the dominions. This was a masterly stroke of oratory, to be sure, and shows that my Lord Chatham, in his last moments, had not lost the knowledge of the prejudices in the character of the English nation, nor the arts of popularity. But a more manifest address to the passions and prejudices of the populace, without the least attention to the justice or policy of the principle, never fell from a popular orator, ancient or modern. Could my Lord Chatham contend that the heirs of the Princess Sophia of Hanover, provided they should be Protestants, had the throne and its prerogatives entailed upon them, to everlasting ages, over all parts of the British dominions, let them do what they would; govern without Parliament, by laws without law, dismiss judges without fault, suspend laws, in short do everything that the Stuarts did, and ten times more, yet so long as they were Protestants could there be no resistance to their will, and no forfeiture of their right to govern? I said this was a figure of rhetoric employed by his lordship *ad captandum vulgus*. I believe so still, but I believe he meant it also *ad captandum regem*, and that he thought by throwing out this idea, that he was not for acknowledging our independence, the king, who at that time was distressed for a minister able in conducting a war, would call him into the ministry. I ever lamented this black spot in a very bright character. I do not remember anything in his lordship's conduct which seemed to me so suspicious to have proceeded from a perverted heart as this flight. Allowance, however, ought to be made; perhaps he was misunderstood, and would have explained himself fairly if he had lived.

I have not seen the pamphlet entitled *Facts*, nor that by Lloyd, nor the *Examen*. I should be glad to see all of them. I find a difficulty in getting pamphlets from England, but shall have a channel to obtain them by and by. I went to Mr. Grant's as soon as I received yours of the 8th. Mr. Grant, the father, was out, and no other in the house

ew anything of your letter, or maps, or other things. I will speak the father the first opportunity. Mr. Lee is gone to L'Orient.

What think you of luck? Had any gambler ever so much as Rod- y? One of our tories in Boston, or half-way whigs, told me once, d loves that little island of Old England and the people that live on it. I suppose he would say now, God loves Rodney. I do not aw the same conclusion from the successes that the island or the ro have had. Who can be persuaded to believe that he loves so generate and profligate a race? I think it more probable that aven has permitted this series of good fortune to attend the wicked at the righteous Americans may reflect in time, and place their con- ence in their own patience, fortitude, perseverance, political wisdom, l military talents, under the protection and blessing of His provi- ice.

There are those who believe that if France and Spain had not inter- sed America would have been crushed. There are in other parts Europe, I am told, a greater number who believe that, if it had not en for the interposition of France and Spain, American independ- ce would have been acknowledged by Great Britain a year or two o. I believe neither the one nor the other. I know the deep roots of erican independence on one side of the water, and I know the deep ts of the aversion to it on the other. If it was rational to suppose at the English should succeed in their design, and endeavor to destroy fleets and naval power of France and Spain (which they are deter- ned to do if they can), what would be the consequence? There are g lists of French and Spanish ships of the line yet to be destroyed, ich would cost the English several campaigns and a long roll of llions; and after this they may send sixty thousand men to America, hey can get them, and what then? Why, the glory of baffling, austing, beating, and taking them will finally be that of the Ameri- yeomanry, whose numbers have increased every year since this r began, as I learned with certainty in my late visit home, and will rease every year, in spite of all the art, malice, skill, valor, and ivity of the English and all their allies. I hope, however, that the ricious goddess will bestow some of her favors upon France and ain, and a very few of them would do the work. If Rodney's for- e should convince Spain that she is attacking the bull by the ns, and France and Spain that the true system for conducting this r is by keeping just force enough in the channel to protect their sts and their trade and by sending all the rest of their ships into American seas, it will be the best fortune for the allies they ever d.

long to learn Mr. Jay's success at Madrid and Mr. Laurens's ival in Holland, where I will go to see him some time in the summer autumn.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

Paul Jones to John Brown, Secretary Board of Admiralty.*

PHILADELPHIA, *March* 13, 1781.

SIR: I have the honour to give the following answers to the questions proposed to me by the board of admiralty February 20th and March 1st, 1781:

Answer 1. I sailed from Portsmouth, in New Hampshire, the first day of November, 1777, by order of the marine committee, dated September 6th, 1777, having on board the despatches respecting the victory of Saratoga, and being bound for France, to take command of a large ship then building for America at Amsterdam, agreeable to orders from the secret committee dated May 9th, to the commissioners at Paris.

2. I took two brigantines on the passage, laden with fruit, wine, etc., bound from Malaga for London. I ordered the prize masters to deliver them to the Continental agents, Mr. Thomas Morris and Mr. William Lee, in France, in conformity to the orders I had formerly received from the committee of Congress. One of these prizes arrived at Bordeaux, the other at Nantes. Being at Nantes myself, I proposed to send the one arrived there to America, finding she would fetch very little in France, but this Mr. Morris would not agree to. I believe Mr. Dunlap had his authority either from the agents or the commissioners. He had no appointment from me. He accounted at last for the captors' part of the sale to Mr. Williams, who paid them before the *Ranger* left France for America, and I supposed he accounted for the Continental part to the commissioners. The commissioners sent for me to Paris to consult on future operations respecting the ship of war, *Indian*, built for America at Amsterdam, and proposed to be put under my command; but after I had remained at Paris three weeks the commissioners informed me they had assigned over the property of that ship to the King of France, whose property she still seems to be. As nothing had been hitherto done for the relief of the unfortunate Americans confined in English dungeons, I determined if possible to effect their exchange and to put an end to the cruel burnings of our enemies on this continent. The commissioners were not in my secret, as appears by the unrestraining papers I then received from them, dated Paris, January 15, 16, 17, and 18, 1778. I returned to Nantes and sent the commissioners the scheme that was afterward adopted for Count D'Estaing's expedition. I also demanded and obtained a salute from the flag of France both at Quiberon and at Brest before the treaty of alliance was announced. I sailed from Brest in the *Ranger* into the Irish channel, made a descent at Whitehaven with 30 men only, surprised and took two strong forts with 30 pieces of cannon, and set fire to the shipping where they lay, 300 or upward, in the dry pier. That both the shipping and town, containing from 40,000 to 50,000 inhabitants, was not burnt to ashes was owing to the *backwardness* of some persons under

* MSS. Dep. of State, with verbal changes in Sherburne's Life of Jones, 222.

command. I landed the day afterward in Scotland, in order to take ne noblemen prisoners as an hostage for the good treatment and change of our countrymen in England. The Earl of Selkirk lived ar the shore, and it was my intention to take him; but he being from ne, I was obliged to give way to the murmurs of my party and suffer em to bring away the family plate. I have since purchased it and tored it to the fair owner. We took the sloop of war *Drake*, of 20 ns and an hundred and seventy-five men sent in pursuit of the *Ranger*. ad but an hundred and twenty-three men and 18 guns in the *Ranger*. e took also five other prizes, sank three of them, and arrived with the *ake*, the other two, and 200 prisoners at Brest the 7th May, 1778, hav- been absent only 28 days.

3. I am unable to say with certainty by whom the then agents were pointed. Mr. Morris was dead and Mr. Sweighauser informed me letter that Mr. Williams had nothing to do with publick affairs, and at Mr. William Lee before he went to Germany had appointed him r. Sweighauser) as his deputy agent, etc. His conduct was not satis- tory to me, because his inquiry was only respecting the prizes; cause he left me for a month to cure my wounded, to feed my people, guard my prisoners, and to refit the *Ranger* on my own credit; be- use my prizes were actually attached afterwards for provisions that d been furnished to the *Ranger* by Mons. Bersole before that ship led on the expedition from Brest; because he sold my prizes at last thout my proper authority and without giving the publick proper tice of that sale, and because I believe he has not yet accounted to e crew of the *Ranger* for their share in the prizes that were, I under- and, while in his hands, shamefully plundered, and at last given away ther than sold. The second year after these transactions were ended authorized Mr. Williams to receive from Mr. Sweighauser what he eased to allow as my share in these prizes, and Mr. Williams gave e credit in his account in part of the monies I had been obliged to rrow from my private friends. I do not remember the amount of at Mr. Williams received; nor do I find the account among my papers, at have been several times broke open. Perhaps Mr. Sweighauser d Mr. William Lee's appointment confirmed by the commissioners, r his deputy assumed the agency at L'Orient immediately on the volt of the *Alliance* and went to a considerable expense, which he s since repented as I understand, his bills having been refused by r. Franklin.

4. The prisoners were guarded on board one of my prizes by French ldiers and none escaped from the month of May until the middle of ptember. This guard cost America nothing. I obtained it on my vn credit, and the soldiers were even fed at the king's expense. Many them escaped afterwards while they remained under the care of Mr. veighauser and the remainder were at last exchanged for American amen.

5. I left the *Ranger* in the beginning of June, 1778, on an invitation from the court of France, communicated to me by his excellency B. Franklin, esqr., (which was afterwards approved of by the commissioners), in order, as it then appeared, to command the ship built for America at Amsterdam, that had been assigned over to the king by the commissioners—that ship to be, as I understood, presented to America and supported under our flag by the king.

6. I took command of the *B. Homme Richard* the 4th of February, 1779, agreeable to a letter of that date addressed to me by his excellency M. De Sartine.

7. The *Bon Homme Richard* was the property of the king, and all the squadron I commanded was at the expense of the crown of France. This is clear from a letter I received from his excellency B. Franklin, esqr., dated the 12th August, 1780, etc.

8. I have never borne nor acted under any other commission than that of the Congress of America.

9. The squadron I commanded was at the first left entirely at my discretion as well as the French troops that government proposed to embark. I had a variety of objects in view, and should have endeavoured to execute some of the projects I had laid before the minister of the marine, but when the Marquis de la Fayette arrived in France the court again sent for me express to L'Orient. It was determined the marquis should command the troops, the *Alliance* was made part of the squadron, and I received orders for an expedition from his excellency Benjamin Franklin, esqr.

10. The *Alliance* was put under my orders by his excellency B. Franklin, esqr.

11. The squadron being at first committed to my discretion, I had, as I have already said, a variety of objects, but no person was in my secret. I hope it is not doubted it was my intention to distress the enemy and promote to the utmost of my ability the mutual interests of France and America, and it is not improbable I might have appeared seasonably on this coast.

12. I have already said I had a variety of objects in view. This will best appear by a general review of my correspondence. My first object was the cause of humanity, to effect the liberty and exchange of our unfortunate fellow citizens confined as "pirates, felons, and traitors" in the dungeons of shameless England, and to put a stop to the savage burnings and wanton cruelties of the enemy on this continent. My second and last object has been the honour of America's flag. The orders I received in Europe will best explain the objects of the court of France and of the American minister at that court.

13. The expense of the armament was paid by the court of France. The mens' wages who belonged to the *Bon Homme Richard*, and were carried away from L'Orient in irons on board the *Alliance* excepted. These poor men were not paid, owing to the revolt on board that ship

nd the delays made from time to time by Mr. le Ray de Chaumont, to hom government had entrusted the funds as a commissary for the ex- ense of that armament. The *Alliance* appears to have been provided ith stores and provisions at the expense of the court from the time of ining the squadron until her return to L'Orient from Spain, the 10th ay of February, 1780, but I did not find that the court meant to pay ne mens' wages of that ship, tho' I endeavored to obtain that pay- ent. I am uncertain whether the expense of the *Alliance* after her eturn to L'Orient was on account of the court or of the United States. ometimes I believed the one and sometimes the other.

14. The *Alliance* was undoubtedly to share in prizes taken by the quadron in proportion to the number of her men and the number and alibre of her guns.

15. I know of no ordinance made by the king respecting the squadron is majesty put under my command. But as the squadron was under ne flag of America, the officers appear entitled to every advantage that ny other officers may or can claim under the establishment of the arine laws of America and the rules of the Continental navy.

16. I have given a particular account of my expedition from L'Orient ound the west of Ireland, north of Scotland, and east of England to ne Texel, in a letter to the minister of the marine, dated on board the *erapis*, off the Texel, the 3d October, 1779, copies whereof were sent o the President of Congress. I find on the return of 405 prisoners t the Texel, November 4th, 1779, thirteen masters of merchantmen, so nat the squadron took fifteen sail, including the *Serapis* and *Countess f Scarborough*. I need not observe how much might have been done due subordination had prevailed in the squadron.

17. A ship and two brigantines taken by the squadron off the entrance f the channel and west of Ireland were ordered for France. The rigantines arrived at L'Orient and were sold there. The ship was ot heard of afterwards. Two rich letter-of-mark ships were taken ff the coast of Scotland, and Captain Landais took upon himself, *even nder my nose* and without my knowledge, to order them to Bergen, in orway, where they were given up to the English. A brigantine col- er was sent, as I understand, to Dunkirk by Captain Landais during is second separation from the squadron in the East Sea. The *Coun- ss of Scarborough* arrived and was publicly sold at Dunkirk. The *erapis* arrived and was publicly sold at L'Orient. The rest of the rizes taken were either sunk, burnt, or destroyed, except one brigan- ne from Holland for England, that was retaken, and a small collier nat I gave up to the master on account of his attachment to America nd the faithful information and important services he rendered me by is general knowledge of the east coast of Britain, particularly in the rith of Forth, in my projected enterprise against Leith and Edin- urgh. I had given orders to sink the old vessel, when the tears of nat honest man prevailed over my intention. He became security

for the good behaviour and *payment* of the pilots of the *Pallas* and *Vengeance.*

18. The officers and men of *Bon Homme Richard* and *Alliance* appointed Messrs. Gourlade and Moylan their agents for prizes. I had nothing to do with that appointment. I can give no certain account respecting the appointment of agents for the United States. But I hope my correspondence, which I wish to be examined respecting these prizes, will show I have done my utmost for the general good.

19. I never received any account of the nett proceeds of the prizes taken by the squadron.

20. The American officers and men did, I believe, receive from their agents some part of their shares arising from the sale of the prizes taken by the squadron under my command, but what part they received I can not say, it being their own private transaction.

21. His excellency Benjamin Franklin, esqr., wrote me the 4 December, 1780: "He understood the prize money was not then received from the king." My correspondence will, I hope, show I have done my best to obtain payment.

22. I have always considered and now consider the prisoners taken by the squadron I commanded as the property of the United States, and I believe Mr. Franklin had assurance from government to receive an equal number of prisoners in France to exchange for the Americans in England before he sent me orders to deliver up the prisoners I had taken to the Duke de la Vauguyon, ambassador of France in Holland. After I returned to France a cartel arrived at Morlaix with an hundred Americans from England. I had occasion to lay before government a paper mentioning the American prisoners remaining in England, and nothing was either said or written to me by the king's ministers that could bear an unfavorable construction; on the contrary, Count Maurepas wrote me a very kind letter, expressing his general approbation of that paper.

23. I had command of the *Serapis* from the time the *Bon Homme Richard* sunk until she was remasted, repaired, and fit for sea at the Texel.

24. When ready for sea I received a letter from his excellency Benjamin Franklin, esqr., referring me to the ambassador of France, who sent for me to Amsterdam, and after a dispute of thirteen hours I yielded to go from on board the *Serapis* to the command of the *Alliance.*

25. When Captain Landais received orders to appear at Paris, his excellency Benjamin Franklin, esqr., wrote me either to appoint a commander for the *Alliance* or take it upon myself. I had applied to him to name a commander, and he said he had no fit person. I was in the same predicament. Lieutenant Degge was the senior officer on board, and my giving him an order to act as commander was a matter of necessity, not of choice; for as I then expected to bring the *Serapis* to America after having landed the prisoners in France, and as the *Al-*

iance was abominably dirty and out of order, I did not chuse to go on board that ship as captain.

26. I took command of the *Alliance* at last by the authority and repeated order of his excellency Benjamin Franklin, esqr., I may add I had also all the authority that could be given me by the ambassador of France; and I conceive my own authority as commander-in-chief of the squadron might justify me had I acted in consequence of it.

27. The *Alliance* left the Texel the 27th of December, 1779.

28. The *Alliance* arrived in Spain the 16th of January, 1780, and at Groa, without L'Orient, the 10th of February, 1780.

29. At L'Orient the *Alliance* required very considerable repairs. She had not one good sail; had left the Texel with only one anchor, and had I not procured two new cables from Amsterdam after I left the *Serapis* I should have lost the *Alliance* at the Texel. I never found a frigate in so bad a condition. Epidemical disorders raged among the crew; the officers always drinking grog, and there was a total want of subordination and negligence. The cutwater was loosened by laying in the trough of the swell in a gale of wind while separated from the squadron in the North Sea. I was obliged to secure it with an hawser. The bowsprit was too long, ran out too much in a horizontal line, and the ballast was a considerable part of it laid before the magazine in the fore peek and on the breast-hooks, the rest was ranged along the wings, cleated up at a very considerable distance from the keel and above the dead rising. The remainder of it was laid in the after peek and on the transom. The two fore guns had been carried run out over the bow, the after guns run out at the stern ports. The topmasts yards and rigging were large enough for a sixty-gun ship, and the tops were so ill-made and so narrow as to give the masts no proper support. It is impossible to imagine a worse arrangement than that of the store-rooms. They were divided and subdivided into little closets, nooks, and winding passages, and instead of being adapted to contain the ship's stores, appeared only fit to lodge dirt and increase the quantity of rats, already immense The magazine was not only inconvenient, but very insecure from fire, etc. There was no fit orlop for the cables, and the sail-room could contain at most *one* of the spare courses. The deck was burnt through under the hearth, and the bottoms of the copper burnt out. Many obstructions of useless hatchways, etc., were in the way of the recoil of the guns, and the gangways were so ill-contrived as neither to afford a convenient passage from the quarter-deck to the forecastle, nor cover the men at the guns in the waist. The mizzenmast stood too close to the mainmast, the ship was very crank, plunged very deep in a head sea, and could neither sail nor work as a frigate. I began to put that ship in order immediately on my taking command, and after my arrival at L'Orient the essential repairs were finished early in April by the crew of the ship and four or five American carpenters hired from the *Luzerne* to assist ours. The materials of the old

arrangement did not fall much short of finishing the new. Judges have allowed that when the business was finished everything about that frigate was perfect. I know not what was the amount of the disbursements. The accounts were never shewn to me, but I understood from Mr. Ross an expense of 30,000 to 40,000 livres was contracted afterwards by Captain Landais and his advisers, which Mr. Franklin refused to pay. I took on board the *Alliance* twenty-eight 18-pounders and twelve 9-pounders that I had myself contracted for at Angouléme for the *Bon Homme Richard*, also 76 chests of arms and 216 barrels of powder from the king's magazine, and I had allotted a place for the bales of clothing afterward shipped in the brig *Luke*, which the *Alliance* would have carried without any inconvenience, and I should also have endeavored to take in part of the clothing that is made up.

30. Mr. le Ray de Chaumont had promised from day to day to remit the government monies to L'Orient for the payment of wages, and also 100,000 livres in part of prize money to be divided among the Americans of the squadron then on board the *Alliance*, but at last, instead of complying with either, he prevailed on the minister of the marine to order the *Serapis* to be valued in the French way for account of the king, and without giving the captors any satisfaction whatever or obtaining their leave or consent, the workmen in the port began to rip up the orlop deck and all the interior work of that ship. Messrs. Gourlade and Moylan did not interfere to prevent this. Much pains were taken to persuade the people they had been sailing with me *in a privateer*, would be detained in Europe during the war, and get nothing at last. I found it impossible to reason them into good humor so as to go to sea; they positively declared they would not weigh anchor till they were fully paid, and wrote to this effect to Mr. Franklin. But as I saw no way of overcoming my difficulties by remaining at L'Orient, I (with the advice of Mr. Samuel Wharton and the majority of the Americans assembled at L'Orient waiting to proceed with me to America) went up to court to demand the free sale of our prizes, agreeable to the laws of the American navy. Mr. Franklin went with me to the minister, who, contrary to my expectation, gave me the most friendly welcome and sent immediate orders to publish the inventories and advertise the sale of all the prizes. This, however, took up more time than had been imagined. I improved this moment and the favorable disposition of government to ask for and obtain the *Ariel* to assist the *Alliance* in transporting the clothing, etc., for our armies. I purposed to mount the *Ariel* with only 16 guns, with 60 or 80 men, and as I had left near 400 men in the *Alliance*, I had a crew sufficient for both ships. Thus the *Ariel* would have carried a large quantity of publick stores, and no additional expense would have been incurred on account of that ship. The men must have been fed whether in the *Alliance* or the *Ariel*, and being in part removed to the latter ship, the former would have had so much the less water and provisions to carry. Upon learn-

ing that the sale of the prizes was protracted beyond expectation, I returned to L'Orient in the beginning of June, and as the sale was published, I hoped to be able to remove the idea of their having sailed in a "*privateer*," and to be able to prevail with the people to leave the prize money to be settled by their agents in France and to sail immediately with the two frigates and merchant ships that waited my convoy; but to my great mortification my scheme was entirely defeated by Mr. Lee, Captain Landais, and his party.

31. I know not exactly the date of Admiral De Terney's sailing from Brest for America, but think it was about the latter end of May.

32. I understand it was proposed to charter two ships from Messrs. Bondfield and Haywood for the purpose of transporting from France the clothing and stores for our armies, which was not concluded, because the terms were thought too extravagant.

33. I know the Marquis de la Fayette took much pains to obtain clothing and stores from government. I never understood that the funds for such purchase was put into the hands of the minister plenipotentiary of these States. The arms and powder came directly from the king's manufactories. I understood M. le Ray de Chaumont was principally concerned in the purchase of the clothing, and that he employed Mr. Williams, of Nantes, who drew his bills on Mr. le Ray de Chaumont at sundry usances; but I am unable to say who employed Mr. le Ray de Chaumont, or who is now charged to ship the clothing and stores for America. Mr. Samuel Wharton, who was at Passy, and intimate both with Mr. Franklin and Mr. le Ray de Chaumont when the purchase of clothing was made and is now here, can, I believe, give a satisfactory answer respecting that transaction.

34. The reasons already assigned will show why Admiral de Ternay's convoy was not embraced for the *Alliance*.

35. Captain Landais repossessed himself of the *Alliance* the 13th June. Mr. Lee and the rest of the council can best answer why he sailed contrary to my orders as well as the orders of Mr. Franklin. The passengers he had on board were Mr. Lee and his two nephews, Mr. M. Livingston, Major Frazer, Mr. Brown, and three French officers now with the *M. de la Fayette*. I heard of no others. I can not answer as to what private property might have been on board the *Alliance* at the time she left France.

36. The brig *Luke* appeared to be in very good condition when she left France, and was, I understood, owned by Mr. James Moylan. I believe she had some private freight on board.

37. I took command of the *Ariel* the beginning of June, when lent by the king, whose property she is, for a voyage from France to America for the purpose I have already mentioned.

38. I have already explained what was the object of my taking command of the *Ariel*. If I had any private view it was to appear here to answer for my past conduct. I have obeyed orders, and refer to my correspondence.

39. I have already said I never commanded under any other commission than that of the Congress of these United States.

40. I sent from France to the board of admiralty a declaration of my officers and men showing that the *Ariel* sailed from L'Orient to Groix the 4th of September, and was detained in that road by storms and contrary winds till the 7th October, when I put to sea the first time.

41. The *Ariel* had on board for the United States four hundred and thirty-seven barrels of powder, one hundred and forty-six chests of arms, a quantity of medicine, a quantity of 12 and 9 pound shot, and a small quantity of sheet lead.

42. It was well known at Nantes and L'Orient what time I was ready to sail. The *Luke*, *Duke of Leinster*, and a French lugger, all bound here, sailed under my convoy. I had no official information; nor, indeed, any private certainty respecting captains or agents having charge of the publick stores of any kind; therefore could not write to such persons *officially*.

43. I put to sea with the *Ariel* the second time the 18th of December last.

44. I had on board when I last sailed the articles I have mentioned in my last answer but two, except the arms, which, being wet when the *Ariel* was dismasted, were left under the care of Messrs. Gourlade & Moylan.

45. I never knew officially in Europe who were the American agents. The brig *Luke* sailed the second time about the last of October, before the *Ariel* was again masted. The clothing lay in the warehouse of Messrs. Gourlade and Moylan, the military stores being in the hands of the king's officers at Port Louis. Both were well acquainted with the times of my sailing. I waited ten or twelve days with a fair wind for the despatches. I do not believe either the king's officers or Messrs. Gourlade and Moylan were authorized to ship any part of the public stores in their hands in any merchant ships that have in the course of last year been bound from France to America.

46. No private merchandise came over in the *Ariel* to my knowledge. There was on board some 8 or 10 small trunks and boxes, which I conceive to have been for the private use of gentlemen of Congress. Mr. Ross, an old servant to the public, had his books and accounts on board. The passengers had but little baggage. These trifling articles were put in my own store-room; and I am above deriving any benefit or profit whatever either from the passengers or articles here mentioned.

47. The officers and crew of the *Ariel* are at the expense of the United States. They are enlisted for three years, except some few who entered at L'Orient for one year after the ship put back there, as will best appear by the entry book.

Having thus endeavored to answer all the questions that have been put to me by the board of admiralty, I lay all my correspondence on the subject of this enquiry before that board. I submit with the utmost

deference my own conduct to the impartial inspection of the board, and am, with great respect, sir,

Your most obedient and most humble servant,

The Chevalier PAUL JONES.*

To JOHN BROWN, Esqr.,
Secretary to the Board of Admiralty.

Morris to the President of Congress.†

PHILADELPHIA, *March* 13, 1781.

SIR: I had the honor to receive your excellency's letter of the 21st of last month, enclosing the act of Congress of the 20th, whereby I am appointed, by a unanimous election of that honorable body, to the important office of SUPERINTENDENT OF FINANCE. Perfectly sensible of the honor done me by this strong mark of confidence from the sovereign authority of the United States, I feel myself bound to make the acknowledgments due, by pursuing a conduct formed to answer the expectations of Congress and promote the public welfare. Were my abilities equal to my desire of serving America, I should have given an immediate determination after this appointment was made; but conscious of my

---

* The question of misconduct in the management of the *Alliance*, by which she failed to bring to the United States stores to be shipped by her, came up before the board of admiralty early in 1781. That board reported that Captain Landais regained the command of the *Alliance* by the advice of Arthur Lee, notwithstanding his suspension by Dr. Franklin, who by direction of the marine committee had the sole direction of our marine affairs in Europe, and it was further reported that the failure in the *Alliance* to bring over the requisite supplies was not owing in any measure to a want of the closest attention to that business either in the minister plenipotentary or in Captain Jones, who, on the contrary, made every application and used every effort to accomplish that purpose, but that it was owing to Captain Landais taking the command of the *Alliance* contrary to the express orders of Dr. Franklin and proceeding with her to America. This report was attacked by Arthur Lee in a letter dated Philadelphia, Aug. 11, 1781, in which he renews with increased violence his attacks on Franklin, Williams, and Jones. This letter is in volume 14, No. 78, Department of State, pages 453 ff. Some of the facts are in part reviewed by La Fayette in a letter to Congress of December 16, 1780, elsewhere given.

Samuel Wharton, of June 14, 1780, writes from L'Orient to Franklin as follows:

"It is said by the partisans of Captain Landry that you assumed a power not warranted by the nature of your ministerial office in suspending him and giving Captain Jones the command, and therefore Captain Landry, as being accountable to the States for the frigate, was warranted in going ahead and taking charge of her. I apprehend Captain Landry is only taken and made use of as an engine to create confusion and a delay of the public stores for the purpose of grounding a complaint against you. It is difficult, at present, to collect such facts, as will positively authorize me to say that Mr. Lee is at the bottom of this affair. But from combining a variety of strong circumstances I think that when the parties shall be properly examined on oath by Congress or the admiralty board he has employed every indirect means in his power for that end."

† MSS. Dep. of State; 6 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 252, with verbal changes.

own deficiencies, time for consideration was absolutely necessary. Little, however, of that time which has elapsed have I been able to devote to this object, as the business before the legislature of Pennsylvania, wherein I have the honor of a seat, has demanded and continues to demand my constant attendance.

So far as the station of superintendent of finance, or, indeed, any other public station or office, applies to myself, I should, without the least hesitation, have declined an acceptance; for after upwards of twenty years assiduous application to business as a merchant, I find myself at that period when my mind, body, and inclination combine to seek for relaxation and ease. Providence had so far smiled upon my endeavors as to enable me to prepare for the indulgence of these feelings in such a manner as would be least injurious to the interest of my family. If, therefore, I accept this appointment, a sacrifice of that ease, of much social and domestic enjoyment, and of every material interest, must be the inevitable consequence; and as my ambition was entirely gratified by my present situation and character in life, no motive of that kind can stimulate me to the acceptance.

Putting myself out of the question, the sole motive is the public good; and this motive, I confess, comes home to my feelings. The contest we are engaged in appeared to me, in the first instance, just and necessary; therefore I took an active part in it. As it became *dangerous*, I thought it the more *glorious*, and was stimulated to the greatest exertions in my power when the affairs in this country were at the worst. Sensible of the want of arrangement in our moneyed affairs, the same considerations impel me to this undertaking, which I would embark in without hesitation could I believe myself equal thereto; but fearing this may not be the case, it becomes indispensably necessary to make such stipulations as may give ease to my feelings, aid my exertions, and tend to procure support to my conduct in office, so long as it is founded in, and guided by, a regard to the public prosperity.

In the first place, then, I am to inform Congress that the preparatory steps I had taken to procure to myself relaxation from business with least injury to the interests of my family were by engaging in certain commercial establishments with persons in whom I had perfect confidence as to their integrity, honor, and abilities. These establishments I am bound in honor and by contracts to support to the extent agreed on. If, therefore, it be in the idea of Congress that the office of superintendent of finance is incompatible with commercial concerns and connexions, the point is settled; for I can not on any consideration consent to violate engagements or depart from those principles of honor which it is my pride to be governed by. If, on the contrary, Congress have elected me to this office under the expectation that my mercantile connexions and engagements were to continue, an express declaration of their sentiments should appear on the minutes, that no doubt may arise or reflections be cast on this score hereafter.

I also think it indispensably necessary that the appointment of all persons who are to act in my office, under the same roof, or in immediate connexion with, should be made by myself; Congress first agreeing that such secretaries, clerks, or officers so to be appointed are necessary, and fixing the salaries for each. I conceive that it will be impossible to execute the duties of this office with effect unless the absolute power of dismissing from office or employment all persons whatever that are concerned in the official expenditure of public moneys be committed to the superintendent of finance. For without this power can be exercised without control, I have little hopes of efficacy in the business of reformation, which is probably the most essential part of the business.

These being the only positive stipulations that occur to me at this time, the determination of Congress thereon will enable me to determine whether to accept or decline the appointment.* I must, however, observe, that the act of Congress of the 7th of February, describing the duties of the superintendent of finance, requires the execution of many things for which adequate powers are not provided, and it can not be expected that your officer can in such case be responsible. These, however, may the subjects of future discussions.

With sentiments of the highest respect for you and Congress, I have the honor to subscribe myself your excellency's most obedient and most humble servant,

ROBERT MORRIS.†

PROCEEDINGS IN CONGRESS.*

MARCH 20.

A letter of the 13th instant from Robert Morris was taken into consideration, and it was

Resolved, That the United States in Congress assembled do not require him to dissolve the commercial connexions referred to in the said letter.

MARCH 21.

The consideration of the letter of the 13th instant from Robert Morris being resumed, a motion was made and it was

Resolved, That the superintendent of finance be, and he is hereby, empowered to appoint and remove at his pleasure his assistants in his peculiar office or chamber of business in immediate connexion with him; it being first determined by the United States in Congress assembled that such assistants so to be appointed are necessary and what the salary of each shall be.

Ordered, That the remainder of Mr. Morris's letter be referred to a committee of three. The members appointed were Messrs. Houston, Burke, and Wolcott.

† During the whole period in which Mr. Morris held the office of superintendent of finance he kept a diary, in which he entered daily the principal transactions of his department. The following is an extract from the diary:

"On the 21st of February I received a letter from the President of Congress enclosing the resolves of the 20th, whereby I was unanimously elected the superintendent of finance of the United States. This appointment was unsought, unsolicited, and dangerous to accept, as it was evidently contrary to my private interest, and if accepted must deprive me of those enjoyments, social and domestic, which my time of life required and to which my circumstances entitle me; and a vigorous execution

Vauguyon to J. Adams.*

[Translation.]

HAGUE, *March* 14, 1781.

SIR: I have received the letter which you did me the honor to write to me, as also the copy of the resolution of Congress of the United States of North America thereto annexed. You announce to me that you have made an official communication thereof to the president of the assembly of the States-General, as also to the envoys of the courts of Petersburgh, Stockholm, and Copenhagen, and you request me to support this step with my good offices. I am persuaded, sir, that you clearly perceive the impossibility of my seconding this measure without the express order of the king, whatever may be my personal zeal for the true interests of North America.

Receive, sir, the very sincere assurance of the sentiments of the most distinguished respect with which I have the honor to be, etc.,

THE DUC DE LA VAUGUYON.

Franklin to Francis Lewis and the Board of Admiralty.†

PASSY, *March* 17, 1781.

GENTLEMEN: I received the honor of yours, dated January the 2d, containing sundry questions relating to the ship *Alliance* and the expedition under the command of John Paul Jones.

I apprehend that the letters and papers sent by the *Alliance*, if they came to your hands, and those which went in the *Ariel*, taken together would pretty well inform you on the most of the particulars you inquire about, and the deficiencies might be supplied by Captain Jones himself and others who were engaged in the expedition. But as I learn from Colonel Laurens that his arrival was not heard of at Boston the 11th of February, though he sailed the 18th of December, and possibly he may have miscarried, I shall endeavor to answer as well as I can your several queries, and will hereafter send you duplicates of the papers that may be lost.

---

of the duties must inevitably expose me to the resentment of disappointed and designing men, and to the calumny and detraction of the envious and malicious. I was, therefore, determined not to engage in so arduous an undertaking. But the solicitations of my friends, acquaintance, and fellow-citizens, a full conviction of the necessity that some person should commence the work of reformation in our public affairs by an attempt to introduce system and economy, and the persuasion that a refusal on my part would probably deter others from attempting this work, so absolutely necessary to the safety of our country;—these considerations, after much reflection and consultation with friends, induced me to write a letter to the President of Congress dated the 13th of March, 1781."—SPARKS.

*MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 324.

†MSS; Dep. of State. 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 143; 9 Sparks' Franklin, 7.

But I would previously remark, as to the expedition in general, that
is court having, I suppose, some enterprise in view, which Captain
ones, who had signalised his bravery in taking the *Drake*, was thought
proper person to conduct, had soon after that action requested we
ould spare him to them, which was the more readily agreed to, as a
fference subsisted between him and his lieutenant, which laid us
nder a difficulty that was by that means got over. Some time passed,
owever, before any steps were taken to employ him in a manner
greeable to him, and possibly the first project was laid aside, many
fficulties attending any attempt of introducing a foreign officer into
e French marine, as it disturbs the order of their promotions, &c.,
nd he himself choosing to act rather under the commission of Con-
ress. However, a project was at length formed of furnishing him
ith some of the king's ships, the officers of which were to have tem-
orary American commissions, which, being posterior in date to his
ommission, would put them naturally under his command for the
me; and the final intention, after various changes, was to intercept
e Baltic fleet.

The *Alliance* was at that time under orders to carry Mr. Adams back
America, but the minister of marine, by a written letter, requesting
would lend her to strengthen the little squadron, and offering a
assage for Mr. Adams in one of the king's ships, I consented to the
quest, hoping that, besides obliging the minister, I might obtain the
sposition of some prisoners to exchange for our countrymen in
ngland.

Question 1st. "Whether the ships with which the frigate *Alliance*
as concerted, in an expedition of which Captain John Paul Jones had
e command, were the property of private persons; and, if so, who
ere the owners of those ships?"

Answer. The ships with which the *Alliance* was concerted were,
st. The *Bon Homme Richard*, bought and fitted by the king on purpose
r Captain Jones. 2dly. The *Pallas*, frigate. 3dly. The *Vengeance*, a
orvette. 4thly. The *Cerf*, a cutter. All belonging to the king and
e property of no private person whatever, as far as I have ever heard
believe.

Two privateers, the *Monsieur* and the *Granville*, were indeed with
e little squadron in going out, I suppose to take advantage of the
onvoy, but being on their own account, and at their own discretion,
e *Monsieur* quitted company on the coast of Ireland, and the *Granville*
turned about the same time to France. I have not heard that the
Monsieur ever claimed any part of the prizes. The *Granville* has made
ome claim, on account of not only what were taken while she was with
e squadron, but of the whole taken after her departure, on this pre-
nce, that some prisoners being put on board of her, and losing com-
any, she found herself obliged to go back with them, not having
herewith to maintain them, &c; but this claim is opposed by the

other ships, being regarded as frivolous, as she was not concerted. The claim, however, is not yet decided, but hangs in the courts. These circumstances show that these vessels were not considered as a part of the armament. But it appears more plainly by the *concordat* of the captains, whereof I send you a copy. Who the owners were of those privateers I have not heard. I suppose they may be inhabitants of Bordeaux and Granville.

Question 2d. "Whether any agreement was made by you, or any person in your behalf, with the owners of the ships concerted with the *Alliance* in that expedition respecting the shares they were severally to draw of the prizes which might be taken during said expedition?"

Answer. I never made any such agreement, nor any person in my behalf. I lent the vessel to the king simply at the minister's request, supposing it would be agreeable to Congress to oblige their ally, and that the division, should there be anything to divide, would be according to the laws of France or of America, as should be found most equitable. But the captains, before they sailed, entered into an agreement, called the *concordat*, above mentioned, to divide according to the rules of America, as they acted under American commissions and colors.

Question 3d. "Whether the *Serapis* and *Scarborough* and other captures made during said expedition were divided among the captors and the distribution made according to the resolution of Congress; and, if not, what mode was pursued in making the distribution?"

Answer. No division has yet been made of the *Serapis* and *Scarborough*. It is but lately that I have heard of the money being ready for division at L'Orient. I suppose the mode will be that agreed on by the captains.

Question 4th. "What were the net proceeds of the *Serapis*, *Scarborough*, and the other prizes taken during the said expedition?"

Answer. I have not yet heard what were the net proceeds of the prizes, nor have I seen any account. As soon as such shall come to my hands I will transmit it to you, and will endeavor to obtain it speedily. No satisfaction has yet been obtained for the prizes carried into Norway and delivered up by the King of Denmark.

Question 5th. "What benefit the United States of America have received from the prisoners made during said expedition?"

Answer. I did expect to have had all the prisoners taken by the squadron to exchange for Americans in consideration of my having lent the *Alliance*, and Captain Pearson engaged, in behalf of the British Government, by written instrument, that those set on shore in Holland should be considered as prisoners of war to the United States, and exchanged accordingly. But I was, nevertheless, disappointed in this expectation, for an exchange of all the prisoners being proposed to be made in Holland, it was found necessary at that time by the Dutch Government, in order to avoid embroiling their state with England, that those prisoners should be considered as taken by France,

nd they were accordingly exchanged for Frenchmen, on the footing f the French cartel with England. This I agreed to on the request of the rench ambassador at The Hague, and also to avoid the risk of sending hem by sea to France (the English cruising with seven ships off the exel to retake them), and as it would be more convenient and certain or us to have an equal number of English delivered to me by France t or near Morlaix, to be sent over in the cartel. But the English Gov- rnment afterwards refused, very unjustly, to give any Americans in xchange for English that had not been taken by Americans. So we id not reap the benefit we hoped for.

Question 6th. "What orders were given to Captain Landais?"

Answer. That he should obey the orders of Captain Jones.

Question 7th. "What was the ground of dispute between Captain ones and him?"

Answer. That when at sea together he refused to obey Captain ones's orders.

Question 8th. "What were the disbursements on the *Alliance* from he time of her first arrival in France until she left that kingdom?"

Answer. The disbursements on the *Alliance*, from the time of her first rrival in France till the commencement of the cruise under Captain ones, as appears by the accounts of Mr. Schweighauser, agent ap- ointed by William Lee, amounted to ——, which I paid. The disburse- ents on her refit in Holland were paid by the king, as were also those n her second refit after her return to L'Orient, as long as she was nder the care of Captain Jones. But Captain Landais, when he re- umed the command of her, thought fit to take what he wanted of Mr. chweighauser's agent, to the amount of 31,668 livres 12s. 3d., for which, eing contrary to my orders given to Mr. Schweighauser on his asking hem upon the occasion, I refused to pay (my correspondence with him ill show you my reasons), and of those paid by the king I have no ccount.

Question 9th. "Why the *Alliance* lay so long at Port L'Orient, after er arrival there from the Texel, and in general every information in our power respecting the *Alliance* and the expedition referred to?"

Answer. Her lying so long at L'Orient was first occasioned by the utinous disposition of the officers and men, who refused to raise the nchors till they should receive wages and prize money. I did not onceive they had a right to demand payment of wages in a foreign ountry, or anywhere but at the port they came from, no one here nowing on what terms they were engaged, what they had received, or hat was due to them. The prize money I wished them to have; but s that could not soon be obtained, I thought it wrong in them to detain he vessel on that account; and as I was informed many of them were n want of necessaries, I advanced twenty-four thousand livres on ccount, and put it into Captain Jones's hands to relieve and pacify hem, that they might go more willingly. But they were encouraged

by some meddling passengers to persist. The king would have taken the prizes and paid for them at the rate *per gun*, &c., as he pays for warlike vessels taken by his ships; but they raised a clamor at this, it being put into their heads that it was a project for cheating them, and they demanded a sale by auction. The minister, who usually gives more when ships are taken for the king than they will produce by auction, readily consented to this when I asked it of him; but then this method required time to have them inventoried, advertised in different ports, to create a fuller concurrence of buyers, &c. Captain Jones came up to Paris to hasten the proceedings. In his absence, Captain Landais, by the advice of Mr. Lee and Commodore Gillon, took possession of the ship, and kept her long, writing up to Paris, waiting answers, &c.

I have often mentioned to Congress the inconvenience of putting their vessels under the care of persons living, perhaps, one hundred leagues from the port they arrive at, which necessarily creates delays, and, of course, enormous expenses; and for a remedy I have as often recommended the appointment of consuls, being very sensible of my own insufficiency in maritime affairs, which have taken up a vast deal of my time, and given me abundance of trouble, to the hinderance sometimes of more important business. I hope these inconveniences will now be soon removed by the arrival of Mr. Palfrey.

As the ministry had reasons, if some of the first plans had been pursued, to wish the expedition might be understood as American, the instructions were to be given by me, and the outfit was committed to Monsieur de Chaumont, known to be one of our friends, and well acquainted with such affairs. Monsieur le Marquis de la Fayette, who was to have been concerned in the execution, can probably acquaint you with those reasons. If not, I shall do it hereafter. It afterward continued in the hands of M. de Chaumont to the end. I never paid or received a farthing directly or indirectly on account of the expedition; and the captains having made him their trustee and agent, it is to him they are to apply for their proportions of the captures. There may be something, though I believe very little, coming to the United States from the *Alliance's* share of a small ransom made contrary to orders.

No account has been rendered to me of that ransom, therefore I can not say how much, but will inquire about it, and inform you hereafter.

Most of the colliers taken were burnt or sunk. The ships of war taken, I understand, belong wholly to the captors. If any particulars remain on which you desire information, be pleased to mention them. I think it my duty to give you all the satisfaction in my power, and shall do it willingly.

Being with great regard, gentlemen, etc.,

B. FRANKLIN.

greement between Captain John Paul Jones and the Officers of the Squadron.*

[Translation.]

Agreement between Messieurs John Paul Jones, captain of the *Bon omme Richard;* Pierre Landais, captain of the *Alliance;* Dennis Nicas Cottineau, captain of the *Pallas;* Joseph Varage, captain of the *tag;* and Philip Nicolas Ricot, captain of the *Vengeance;* composing squadron, that shall be commanded by the oldest officer of the highst grade, and so on in succession in case of death or retreat. None of he said commanders, whilst they are not separated from the said quadron by order of the minister, shall act but by virtue of the brevet hich they shall have obtained from the United States of America, and is agreed that the flag of the United States shall be displayed.

The division of prizes to the superior officers and crews of the said quadron shall be made agreeably to the American laws; but it is greed, that the proportion of the whole coming to each vessel in the quadron shall be regulated by the minister of the marine department f France and the minister plenipotentiary of the United States of merica.

A copy of the American laws shall be annexed to the present agreeent, after having been certified by the commander of the *Bon Homme ichard;* but as the said laws can not foresee nor determine as to what ay concern the vessels and subjects of other nations, it is expressly greed, that whatever may be contrary to them shall be regulated by e minister of the French marine and the minister plenipotentiary of le United States of America.

It is likewise agreed, that the orders given by the minister of the rench marine and the minister plenipotentiary of the United States America shall be executed.

Considering the necessity there is of preserving the interests of each lividual, the prizes that shall be taken shall be remitted to the orders Monsieur le Ray de Chaumont, honorary intendant of the royal tel of invalids, who has furnished the expenses of the armament of e said squadron.

It has been agreed, that M. le Ray de Chaumont be requested not to ve up the part of the prizes coming to all the crews and to each lividual of the said squadron but to their order, and to be responsi- for the same in his own proper name.

Whereas the said squadron has been formed for the purpose of injur- the common enemies of France and America, it has been agreed t such armed vessels, whether French or American, may be assoted therewith, as by common consent shall be found suitable for the rpose, and that they shall have such proportion of the prizes which ll be taken as the laws of their respective countries allow them.

* MSS. Dep. of State; 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 149.

In case of the death of any one of the before-mentioned commander or vessels, he shall be replaced agreeably to the order of the tariff, wit liberty, however, to choose whether he will remain on board his ow vessel, and give up to the next in order the command of the vacan ship.

It has moreover been agreed, that the commander of the *Stag* sha be excepted from the last article of this present agreement, becaus in case of a disaster to M. de Varage, he shall be replaced by his secon in command, and so on by the other officers of his cutter, the *Stag*.

J. P. JONES.
P. LANDAIS.
DE COTTINEAU.
VARAGE.
P. RICOT.
LE RAY DE CHAUMONT.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.*

LEYDEN, *March* 18, 1781.

SIR: At length, notwithstanding the mediation of the Empress Russia, the States General has published the following manifesto. is entitled the counter manifesto of the States General of the Unite Provinces of the Low Countries:

COUNTER MANIFESTO.

If ever the annals of the world have furnished an example of a free and indepen ent state hostilely attacked in the manner the most unjust, and without the lea appearance of justice or equity, by a neighboring power long in alliance and strict connected by ties founded upon common interests, it is, without contradiction, t republic of the United Provinces of the Low Countries, which finds itself in this ca in relation to his majesty the King of Great Britain and his ministry.

From the commencement of the troubles arisen between that kingdom and its co onies in America their high mightinesses, by no means obliged to take the smalle part in them, had formed the firm and invariable design to adopt and to follow in r lation to these troubles the system of the most perfect and the most exact neutralit and when the same troubles had afterwards enkindled a war, which extended itse to more than one power, and spread itself to more than one part of the world, the high mightinesses have constantly observed and maintained the same system, wh at the same time they have not neglected to give, on more than one occasion a relative to the most essential objects, the most convincing proofs of their sincere d position to satisfy the desires of his majesty as far as they could advance witho wounding the rules of impartiality and without compromising the right of their so ereignty. It was in these views and to this end that their high mightinesses at firs and at the first requisition of his Britannic majesty, published prohibitions the mo express against the exportation of military stores to the colonies of his majesty America and against all fraudulent commerce with the same Colonies: and to t end that those prohibitions should be executed the more effectually, their high mig

*MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 325.

nesses did not hesitate, moreover, to take measures which did not fail to restrain and confine very greatly the navigation and the commerce of their own subjects with the colonies of the state in the West Indies.

It was, moreover, in the same views and to the same end that their high mightinesses sent orders the most precise to all the governors and commanders of their colonies and of their establishments, as well as to all the officers commanders of their vessels of war, to take special care to do nothing towards the flag of the American Congress from whence they might lawfully infer or deduce an acknowledgment of the independence of the said colonies. And it was above all in these views and to this end that their high mightinesses, having received a memorial, which was presented to them by the ambassador of England, containing complaints the most spirited against the governor of St. Eustatia, condescended to deliberate concerning this memorial, although conceived in terms little accommodated to those respects which sovereign powers reciprocally owe to each other.

This deliberation was soon followed by the recall of the said governor, whom their high mightinesses ordered to render an account of his conduct, and whom they did not permit to return to his residence until after he had exculpated himself of all the accusations brought against him by a justification of himself in detail, a copy of which was transmitted without delay to the ministry of his Britannic majesty. It was by means of these measures that their high mightinesses, having always had it at heart to avoid giving the smallest cause of dissatisfaction to his Britannic majesty, have constantly endeavored to entertain and to cultivate his friendship and good understanding. But the conduct of his Britannic majesty towards the republic has been diametrically opposite.

The troubles between the courts of London and Versailles had scarcely broken out when we saw the ports of England filled with Dutch ships unjustly taken and detained. These vessels navigated under the faith of treaties, and were not loaded with other merchandizes than with those which the express tenor of treaties declared free and lawful. We saw those free cargoes forced to submit to the law of an arbitrary and despotic authority. The cabinet of St. James, knowing no other rules than a pretended right of temporary conveniency, thought proper to appropriate those cargoes to the crown by a forced purchase, and to employ them to the profit of theroyal navy. The representations the most energetic and the most serious on the part of their high mightinesses against such proceedings were to no purpose, and it was in vain that we demanded, in the strongest manner, the treaty of commerce which subsisted between England and the republic. By this treaty the rights and liberties of the neutral flag were clearly defined and stated. The subjects of Great Britain have enjoyed the full advantage of this treaty in the first and the only case in which it pleased the court of London to remain neuter while the republic was at war. At present, in the reciprocal case, this court can not without the greatest injustice refuse the enjoyment of the same advantages to the republic ; and as little as his Britannic majesty had a right to take away the advantageous effects of this treaty from their high mightinesses, as little foundation had he to pretend to turn them from a neutrality which they had embraced, and to force them to plunge themselves into a war the causes of which had an immediate relation to rights and to possessions of his Britannic majesty originatingwithout the limits of defensive treaties.

And, nevertheless, it was this treaty which his majesty, from the commencement of the troubles with the crown of France, made no scruple to infringe and violate. The contraventions and infractions of this treaty on the part of Great Britain, and the arbitrary decisions of the courts of justice of that kingdom, directly contrary to the express sanction of this same treaty, multiplied from day to day; the merchant vessels of the republic became the innocent victims of exactions and accumulated violences of the English men of war and privateers. Not content with this, even the flag of the state was not spared, but openly insulted and outraged by the hostile attack of the convoy under the command of the Rear-Admiral the Count de Byland.

The strongest representations on the part of the state to his Britannic majesty were useless. The vessels taken from this convoy were declared lawful prizes; and this insult committed to the flag of the republic was soon followed by the open violation of its neutral territory both in Europe and in America. We shall content ourselves to cite two examples of it: At the island of St. Martins the vessels of his Britannic majesty attacked and took by force several vessels which were in the road, under the cannon of the fortress, where, according to the inviolable law of nations, these vessels ought to have found a safe asylum. The insolences committed by an English armed vessel upon the coast of the republic, near the island of Goedereede, furnish a second example of these violences. These insolences were pushed to such a degree that several inhabitants of the island who were upon the shore, where they ought to have thought themselves sheltered from all insult, were exposed by the fire of this vessel to the most imminent danger, which they could not avoid but by retiring into the interior part of the island—unheard-of proceedings, for which the republic, notwithstanding the strongest and best-founded representations, has not been able to obtain the smallest satisfaction.

While affairs were thus in a situation which left to their high mightinesses no other alternative but to see the navigation and the commerce of their subjects, upon which depend the prosperity or the ruin of the republic, wholly annihilated, or to come to violent measures against their ancient friend and ally, the magnanimous heart of her majesty the Empress of Russia engaged her to invite the republic, with equal affection and humanity, to take measures the most just, and entirely conformable to the treaties which subsist between them and the other powers, to the end to defend and to maintain, conjointly with her Imperial majesty and the other powers of the north the privileges and the immunities which the law of nations and the most solemn treaties assure to the neutral flag. This invitation could not but be infinitely agreeable to their high mightinesses, considering that it offered them a means of establishing the protection of the commerce of their subjects upon the most solid foundation, and opened a way to place their independence in safety from all infraction, without derogating in the least from the alliances contracted both with his Britannic majesty and with the other belligerent powers.

But it is this same means which the court of London has endeavored to take away from the republic by proceeding with precipitation to extremities the most outrageous; by the recall of her ambassador; by the publication of a manifesto containing pretended grievances; and by granting letters of marque and of pretended reprisals against the state, its subjects, and their goods, by which this court has but too plainly discovered her designs, long since formed, of laying aside the essential interests which united the two nations, and of breaking the ties of ancient friendship by attacking this state by a war the most unjust.

It will not be necessary to refute at length the reasons and pretended griefs alleged in the manifesto to convince every impartial man of their insolidity. It is sufficient to observe, in a few words, relative to the offer made by his Britannic majesty to open friendly conferences, that it was the above mentioned treaty of marine which alone could make the object of those conferences; that the dispositions of this treaty, conceived in the most expressive terms, could not be liable to any doubt nor equivocation; that this treaty gives neutral powers the right of transporting freely in the ports of the belligerent powers all sorts of naval stores; that the republic proposing to itself no other end, and desiring of his Britannic majesty no other thing than the quiet and peaceable enjoyment of the rights stipulated by this treaty, a point so evidently clear and so incontestably just, could not become the object of a negociation or of a new convention derogatory to this treaty, so that their high mightinesses could not persuade themselves nor show themselves disposed to renounce voluntarily rights justly acquired, and to desist from these rights from regard to the court of England; a renunciation which, being advantageous to one of the belligerent powers, would have been little compatible with the principles of the neutrality, and by which their high mightinesses would have exposed, on the

other hand, the safety of the state to dangers which they were obliged carefully to avoid; a renunciation, moreover, which would have caused to commerce and navigation, the principal support of the republic and source of her prosperity, an irreparable prejudice; since the different branches of commerce, strictly connected with each other, form a whole, whereof it is impossible to cut off so principal a part without necessarily causing the destruction and ruin of the whole body; not to mention that at the same time that their high mightinesses made, with reason, a difficulty to accept the proposed conferences, they have not a little modified and tempered the actual exercise of their right by a provisional resolution.

And as to what relates to the succors demanded, their high mightinesses can not dissemble that they have never been able to conceive how his Britannic majesty has thought that he could insist, with the least appearance of justice or of equity, upon the succors stipulated by the treaties at the time when he had already beforehand withdrawn himself from the obligation which those treaties imposed upon him towards the republic. Their high mightinesses have not been less surprised to see that, while the troubles in America and their direct consequences could not concern the republic in virtue of any treaty, and that the succor had not been demanded until after the crown of Spain had augmented the number of belligerent powers, his Britannic majesty has, nevertheless, taken the occasion of this event to insist upon his demand with so much earnestness and such an ardor, as if his majesty thought himself to have a right to pretend and to maintain that a war once enkindled between him and any other power was alone sufficient to oblige the state to grant forthwith, and without any anterior examination, the succors stipulated.

The republic, it is true, had obliged itself by the treaties to assist Great Britain at all times when this kingdom should find itself attacked or threatened with an unjust war; and, what is more, the republic ought in this case, according to the same treaties, to declare war against the aggressor; but their high mightinesses never pretended to abdicate the right which flows necessarily from the nature of every offensive alliance, and which can not be contested to allied powers, to examine in the first place, and before the granting of succors or taking part in the war, the principle of the dissensions which have arisen and the nature of the difference which has given occasion to it, as well as also to examine and weigh thoroughly the reasons and the motives which may establish the *casus fœderis*, and which ought to serve as a basis of the justice and the lawfulness of the war on the part of that one of the confederated powers who demands the succor. And there exists no treaty by which their high mightinesses have renounced the independence of the state and sacrificed their interests to those of Great Britain to such a degree as to deprive themselves of the right of examination, so necessary and so indispensable, by engaging themselves to measures by which they may be considered as obliged in duty to submit to the good pleasure of the court of England, by granting the succors demanded, even where this court engaged in a quarrel with another power, judges proper to prefer the way of arms to that of a reasonable satisfaction upon just complaints.

It was not, then, by a spirit of party or by the device of a predominant cabal, but after a mature deliberation, and in a sincere desire to maintain the most precious interests of the republic, that the States of the respective provinces have all unanimously testified that they were of opinion that the succor demanded ought to be refused in a manner the most polite; and their high mightinesses would not have failed to have transmitted to his Britannic majesty, conformable to these resolutions, an answer to the repeated demands of succors, if they had not been prevented by the violent and unheard-of attack of the flag of the state under the command of Rear-Admiral Byland, by the refusal to give satisfaction upon a point so grave, and by the declaration, not less strange than unjust, which his majesty thought fit to make relative to the suspension of the treaties which subsisted between him and the republic. Also many events which, by requiring deliberations of quite another nature, put an end to those which had taken place on the subject of the said requisition.

It is in vain, and contrary to all truth, that they have endeavored to multiply the number of grievances by alleging the suppression of the duties of exportation as a measure tending to facilitate the transportation of naval stores to France; for besides that this suppression forms an object which regards the interior direction of commerce, to which all the sovereigns have an incontestable right, and whereof they are not obliged to give an account to anybody, this point has, it is true, been taken into consideration, but has never been included, so that these rights are still received upon the ancient footing; and that which is advanced in this regard in the manifesto is found destitute of all foundation, although we can not refrain from saying that the conduct of his Britannic majesty towards the republic furnished but too many motives to justify a similar measure on the part of their high mightinesses.

The discontent of his Britannic majesty on the subject of what passed with the American Paul Jones is also quite as ill-grounded. Already for several years their high mightinesses had resolved, and published everywhere, precise orders concerning the admission of privateers and armed vessels of foreign nations with their prizes in the ports of their domination, orders which to that time had been observed and executed without the least exception. In the case in question their high mightinesses could not depart from those orders in regard to an armed vessel who, furnished with a commission of the American Congress, was found in the road of the Texel, combined with frigates of war of a sovereign power, without erecting themselves into judges and pronouncing a decision upon matters in which their high mightinesses were in nowise obliged to take any part, and in which it did not appear to them convenient to the interests of the republic to meddle in any manner. Their high mightinesses then thought fit not to depart from the orders given so long ago, but they resolved to give the most express prohibition to hinder the said armed vessel from providing herself with warlike stores, and enjoined upon her to quit the road as soon as possible, without remaining there longer than the time absolutely necessary to repair the damages suffered at sea, with the formal denunciation that in case of a longer delay we should be obliged to compel his departure, to which end the officer of the state commanding at the said road took care to make the requisite dispositions, whereof this armed vessel had scarcely the time to prevent the effects.

In regard to what has passed in the other parts of the world, the informations which their high mightinesses have received from time to time from the East Indies are directly opposite to those which appear to have come under the eyes of his Britannic majesty. The repeated complaints which the directors of the East India Company have addressed to their high mightinesses, and which the love of peace has made them stifle in their bosoms, are incontestable proofs of it. And the measures taken with regard to the West Indies, enumerated heretofore, ought to serve in all times as an irrefragable proof of the sincerity, zeal, and the attention with which their high mightinesses have taken it to heart to maintain in those countries the most exact and the most strict neutrality; and their high mightinesses have never been able to discover the smallest legal proof of any infraction of their orders in this respect.

As to what concerns the project of an eventual treaty with North America, conceived by a member of the government of the province of Holland, without any public authority, and the memorials presented upon this subject by Sir Joseph Yorke, the affair happened in the following manner: As soon as the ambassador had presented the memorial of the 10th of November of the last year their high mightinesses, without stopping at expressions little suitable among sovereigns, with which this memorial was filled, did not delay to commence a deliberation the most serious upon this subject, and it was by their resolution of the 27th of the same month that they did not hesitate to *disavow* and to *disapprove* publicly all which had been done in this respect, after which they had all reason to expect that his Britannic majesty would have acquiesced in this declaration, since he could not be ignorant that their high mightinesses exercise no jurisdiction in the respective provinces, and that it was to the States of the province of Holland, to whom, as clothed like States of the other provinces, with a sovereign and exclusive authority over their subjects, ought to be

emitted an affair relatively to which their high mightinesses had no reason to doubt
hat the States of the said province would act according to the exigence of the case,
nd conformably to the laws of the state and the rules of equity.

The earnestness with which Sir Joseph Yorke insisted, by a second memorial, upon
he article of the punishment can not, therefore, but appear very strange to their high
nightinesses and their surprise increased still more when, three days afterwards, this
mbassador declared verbally to the president of their high mightinesses that if he
id not receive that day an answer entirely satisfactory to his memorial he should be
bliged to inform his court of it by an express. Their high mightinesses, informed of
his declaration, penetrated the importance of it, as manifesting visibly the measure
lready resolved in the council of the king; and although the established customs
dmit not of deliberations upon verbal declarations of foreign ministers, they judged
nevertheless proper to depart from them on this occasion, and to order their secre-
ary to wait on Sir Joseph Yorke, and give him to understand that his memorial had
een taken *ad referendum* by the deputies of the respective provinces, conformably
o received usages and to the constitution of the government; adding, what appears
o have been omitted with design in the manifesto, that they would endeavor to com-
lete an answer to his memorial as soon as possible and as soon as the constitution of
he government would permit. Accordingly, a few days after the deputies of Holland
otified to the assembly of their high mightinesses that the States of their province had
nanimously resolved to require the advice of their court of justice on the subject of
emand of punishment, charging the said court to give their opinion the soonest pos-
ible, laying aside all other affairs. Their high mightinesses did not fail to transmit
orthwith this resolution to Sir Joseph Yorke; but what was their surprise and their
stonishment when they learned that this ambassador, after having reviewed his in-
tructions, had addressed a billet to the secretary, by which, in accusing this resolu-
ion with being evasive, he refused to transmit it to his court; which obliged their
igh mightinesses to send the said resolution to the Count de Welderen, their minister
t London, with orders to present it as soon as possible to the ministry of his Britan-
ic majesty; but the refusal of this ministry threw an obstacle in the way of the ex-
cution of these orders.

After this explanation of all the circumstances of this affair, the impartial public
ill be in a condition to set a just value upon the principal motive, or rather pretext,
hich his Britannic majesty has used to let loose the reins of his designs against the
epublic. The affair reduces itself to this: His majesty was informed of a negociation
hich should have taken place in the year 1778 between a member of the government
f one of the provinces and a representative of the American Congress, which nego-
iation would have had for its object to project a treaty of commerce, to be concluded
etween the Republic and the said Colonies, *casu quo*, viz: in case the independence
f these Colonies should have been acknowledged by the crown of England; this
egociation, although conditional, and annexed to a condition which depended upon
n act to be antecedently performed by his majesty himself; this negociation, which,
ithout this act, or this anterior declaration, could not produce the smallest effect,
as taken in so ill a part by his majesty, and appeared to excite his discontent in
uch a degree, that he thought fit to require of the state a disavowaland a public dis-
pprobation as well as a complete punishment and satisfaction. It was forthwith,
nd without the least delay, that their high mightinesses granted the first part of
he requisition, but the punishment demanded was not in their power, and they could
ot agree to it without flying in the face of the fundamental constitution of the State.
he States of the province of Holland were the only tribunal to which it belonged
o take legal cognizance, and to provide for the case by the ordinary and regular ways.

This sovereign, constantly attached to the maxims which obliged it to respect the
uthority of the laws, and fully convinced that the maintenance of the department
f justice in all the integrity and impartiality which are inseparable from it, ought
o form one of the firmest supports of the supreme power—this sovereign, constrained

by everything which is most sacred to defend and to protect the rights and privileges of its subjects, could not forget itself to such a degree as to subscribe to the will of his Britannic majesty, by giving a blow to these rights and privileges, and by overleaping the bounds prescribed by the fundamental laws of the government. These laws required the intervention of the judiciary department, and this was accordingly the means which the said States resolved to employ, by requiring upon this object the advice of the court of justice established in their province. It is by following this course that they have displayed before the eyes of his Britannic majesty of the English nation, and of all Europe, the unalterable principles of justice and equity which characterize the Batavian constitution, and which in a part so important of the public administration as is that which regards the exercise of the judiciary power, ought forever to serve as a buckler and a rampart against everything which could hurt the safety and independence of a free nation; it was also by this means, and by following this course, that very far from shutting the road of justice, or evading the demand of punishment, they have on the contrary left a free course to the way of regular proceeding, and conformable to the constitutional principles of the republic; and it is finally by the same means that, by taking away from the court of London all pretence of being able to complain of a denial of justice, they have prevented even to the smallest shadow or appearance of reason which could authorise this court to use reprisals, to which, nevertheless, it has made no scruple to recur in a manner equally odious and unjust.

But while the State took measures so just and so proper to remove all subject of complaint, the measure which was the epoch of the commencement of the rupture had already been resolved and concluded in the council of the king. This council had resolved to try all sorts of means to traverse and hinder, if it had been possible, the accession of the republic to the convention of the powers of the north, and the event has clearly demonstrated that it is in hatred and resentment of this convention that the said court has suffered itself to be drawn into the part which it has been pleased to take against the republic. For these causes, and since that after the repeated outrages and immense losses which the subjects of the republic must have sustained on the part of his majesty the King of Great Britain, their high mightinesses find themselves moreover provoked and attacked by his said majesty, and forced to employ the means which they have in hand to defend and avenge the precious rights of their liberty and independence, they assure themselves with the firmest confidence that the God of armies, the God of their fathers, who by the visible direction of His providence sustained and delivered their republic in the midst of the greatest dangers, will bless the means which they have resolved to put in operation for their lawful defence in crowning the justice of their arms by the succors always triumphant of his Almighty protection, while that their high mightinesses will desire with ardor the moment when they shall see their neighbor and their ally, now their enemy, brought back to moderate and equitable sentiments; and at this epoch their high mightinesses will seize with earnestness all events which, compatible with the honor and independence of a free state, may tend to reconcile them with their ancient friend and ally.

Thus done and resolved at the assembly of their high mightinesses the lords the States-General of the United Provinces of the Low Countries, at The Hague, the 12th of March, 1781.

It is remarkable that their high mightinesses, after so many delays, have chosen for the publication of this manifesto a time when the mediation of the empress is depending. This mediation appears in a memorial presented the 1st of March to the States-General in these words:

HIGH AND MIGHTY LORDS: As soon as her majesty the empress was informed of the sudden departure from The Hague of the ambassador of his Britannic majesty to

your high mightinesses, guided by the sentiments of friendship and benevolence which she professes towards the two powers, she did not wait for further explanations concerning the consequences which might be produced by a procedure so alarming for their reciprocal tranquillity and well-being to make by her minister at the court of London representations the most pressing, to the end to divert it, if it were possible, from coming to violent measures, and to induce it rather to prefer those of softness and conciliation, offering herself to co-operate in everything which might depend upon her. Although her majesty has not yet had the time to receive the answer of the court of London, she has, nevertheless, reason to presume that her insinuations there will be received with pleasure.

In this confidence the empress does not hesitate to give a new proof of her salutary intentions in favor of the reunion of two states for whom she has an equal affection, and whom she has seen for so long a time live together in an intelligence the most perfect and the most natural to their respective interests, by proposing to them formally her good offices and her mediation, to interrupt and put an entire end to the discord and the war which has broken out between them. While M. Simolin, the minister of the empress at the court of London, acquits himself of the orders which she has given him concerning this object, the undersigned has the honor to fulfill the same task on his part towards your high mightinesses, and to assure you of the zeal and earnestness with which he should desire to labor at the precious work of the re-establishment of the repose and tranquillity of your state. The disinterestedness, the impartiality, and the views of general beneficence which have instamped their seal upon all the actions of her Imperial majesty preside equally in this. The wisdom and the prudence of your high mightinesses will know how to acknowledge in her these august characters, and will dictate the answer which the subscriber will have to transmit to her concerning the execution of his orders.

The Hague, March 1st, 1781.

THE PRINCE DE GALLITZEN.

This offer of mediation was accepted by their high mightinesses with gratitude.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.*

LEYDEN, *March* 19, 1781.

SIR: I have received your excellency's letter of the 1st of January, with the commission and instructions enclosed. I am very sensible of this fresh instance of the confidence of Congress, and shall do everything in my power to discharge the duties of this new trust; but I am obliged to say that no commission that ever was given required more patience, fortitude, and circumspection than this; virtues which I much fear have not fallen in sufficient quantities to my share.

I have experienced, since my residence in this republic, a great change in the external behaviour of several persons of rank, who, upon my first arrival, received me with distinction, but from the moment of the publication of the papers taken with Mr. Laurens have been afraid

* MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 337, with verbal changes and transpositions; 7 J. Adams' Works, 380.

to see me. The nation has indeed been in a violent fermentation and crisis. It is divided in sentiments. There are stadtholderians and republicans; there are proprietors in English funds, and persons immediately engaged in commerce; there are enthusiasts for peace and alliance with England; and there are advocates for an alliance with France, Spain, and America; and there are a third sort, who are for adhering in all things to Russia, Sweden, and Denmark. Some are for acknowledging American independence, and entering into treaties of commerce and alliance with her; others start at the idea with horror, as an everlasting impediment to a return to the friendship and alliance with England; some will not augment the navy without increasing the army; others will let the navy be neglected rather than augment the army.

In this perfect chaos of sentiments and systems, principles and interests, it is no wonder there is languor, a weakness, and irresolution that is vastly dangerous in the present circumstances of affairs. The danger lies not more in the hostile designs and exertions of the English than from seditions and commotions among the people, which are every day dreaded and expected. If it were not for a standing army, and troops posted about in several cities, it is probable there would have been popular tumults before now; but everybody that I see appears to me to live in constant fear of mobs, and in a great degree of uncertainty whether they will rise in favor of war or against it; in favor of England or against it; in favor of the prince or of the city of Amsterdam; in favor of America or against it. I have ventured in the midst of these critical circumstances, pressed as I am to get money to discharge the bills of exchange which Congress have drawn and I have accepted, to open a loan; but this is looked upon as a very hardy and dangerous measure, which nobody but an American would have risked; and I am obliged to assure Congress that people are as yet so much afraid of being pointed out by the mob or the soldiery as favorers of this loan, that I have no hopes at all of succeeding for several months, if ever.

I have been advised to do nothing in consequence of my commission to the States at present, for fear of throwing before the people new objects of division and dissension. I have, however, communicated to their high mightinesses, and to the ministers of Russia, Denmark, Sweden, and France the resolution of Congress, of the 5th of October, relative to the principles of the neutral confederation. The memorial and letters I have transmitted to Congress.*

Whenever I shall communicate to their high mightinesses the full powers of Congress the course will be this: They will lie long upon the table, then taken *ad referendum*—that is, sent to the several provinces, cities, and bodies of nobles who compose the sovereignty, or as some say the deputies of the sovereignty—these will deliberate, and deliberate, and deliberate, and probably some will be for and some

* See memorial under date of March 8, 1781, *supra*.

gainst making a treaty; at least it is supposed that Zealand and one r two other provinces will be against it. But in the mean time there ill be much communication and negociation among individuals, at least etween this country and Russia, Sweden, and Denmark, upon the sub- ct; and if it is true, as I am informed in a letter from Mr. Gerry, that minister is appointed to the court of Petersburgh, as I hope it is, and at the same minister, or some other, is empowered to treat with weden and Denmark, it is not impossible—I think it indeed probable— at we may succeed with these four nations at once;* for, let me add, here is not in my apprehension the least prospect of a general peace. ngland is at her old game of seduction and division, and is laboring nder the pretence of employing the Emperor of Germany and the mpress of Russia in mediations for peace, insidiously to embroil all urope in the war.

From motives of philanthropy, I hope she will not succeed, unless e same feelings of humanity should prompt me to wish all mankind t war with that nation, for her humiliation, which is at this time, if ver one was, *hostis humani generis.*

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

Destouches to Luzerne.†

[Translation.]

ON BOARD THE DUC DE BOURGOGNE,
March 19, 1781.

SIR: The enemy, informed without doubt in some manner, arrived at e same time with myself at the capes of Chesapeake Bay, and it would ave been impracticable to attempt to disembark the troops, even from e vessels of war, in spite of the English squadron and under its fire. bliged to renounce, for a time at least, the hope of rendering assist- nce to the State of Virginia, I have been employed only with the care f preserving the honor of his majesty's arms, and I flatter myself that has not suffered in my battle with the enemy.

On the 16th instant, in consequence of a violent south wind which had arried the squadron to the northeast, we discovered at break of day a igate two gun-shots to windward. A short time after we perceived everal large vessels in rear of the squadron. I had then no doubt that is was the English squadron which, being informed of my project, had rrived almost at the same time upon the coast of Virginia. I immedi- tely made a signal to the squadron to form in line of battle, the English quadron being about two leagues to the south, and running on the same ack with me. At nine o'clock I tacked, and the enemy did the same.

* There was, however, no prospect of such a recognition by any neutral power ntil after Britain's acknowledgment of America's independence.

† 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 714.

Before one o'clock, afternoon, their vanguard was not more than half a league distant from the rear of my line. Till that time I had manœuvred without avoiding or seeking an engagement, because I perceived that even the greatest success with which I could flatter myself would still render it impossible for me to fulfill my object; but the determined design which was shown by the enemy of attacking my rearguard, and the honor of the royal arms which I had to sustain, made me resolve to go and meet him. At one o'clock the firing commenced on both sides; the head of the English line had borne down, and the van of my squadron had done the same, so that the two squadrons fought for some time while running before the wind. A little before two o'clock I determined to make the squadron haul nearer the wind, a movement which made the whole squadron file before the head of the enemy's line.

This manœuvre completely succeeded; their leading ship had hardly felt the fire of the fifth vessel when she retired from the engagement, under the escort of a frigate, which came to her assistance. The rear of the English squadron had still continued the combat with my rearguard, but that part of my squadron has sustained little injury. At a quarter before three o'clock the firing ceased on both sides. The English squadron being in the rear, and to windward of mine, I made a signal to form again in order of battle, which was done in a short time. I then designed to turn again upon the enemy, who appeared to have sustained more injury than my own squadron; but the signals which were made by the ships *le Conquerant* and *l'Ardent* informed me that these vessels, and particularly the former, had been considerably injured in the engagement. I then continued to run on the same tack under easy sail, ready to receive the enemy if he should think proper to risk a second encounter, but he prudently kept in the rear and to windward during the remainder of the day, without availing himself of the superior advantages of his situation for renewing the engagement.

When night came on the English squadron bore up, and I continued to run to the southeast. On the next morning I assembled the captains to know the state of their vessels. I found that the rudder and all the masts of the ship *le Conquerant* were in the most dangerous state, and that the mainmast of *l'Ardent* was very much injured; and also that several other vessels had received cannon-shots in their lower masts; it was consequently determined that the squadron should return directly to Newport to repair.

I can not too highly praise the courageous boldness which was shown by the captains, officers, and crews of my squadron, as well as by the troops embarked as passengers. Their valor made my force equal to that of the English squadron, which had one vessel more than mine, and if it had been only necessary to the success of our expedition to give the enemy another check, I should have regarded it as certain, notwithstanding the superiority of their forces.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

DESTOUCHES.

J. Laurens to the President of Congress.*

PASSY, *March* 20, 1781.

SIR: I had the honor to write to your excellency from L'Orient the 11th instant. On my journey hither I met the Marquis de Castries, and obtained a hasty conference with him, in which I insisted principally on the necessity of a constant naval superiority on the American coast. He observed on his part that the dispositions of the fleet were already made; that it was not in his power to alter them; that it was necessary at the present juncture to make naval exertions in more places than one; that the French West India possessions, a nearer interest, must naturally be first secured. At the same time he repeatedly assured me that the United States had a very considerable share in the present armament, the movements of which he was going to accelerate; that he hoped a maritime superiority would exist on the part of the allies, but that it must depend upon the events of war. He excused himself from descending into particulars, and urged me to proceed with all possible despatch to Versailles. Upon my arrival here I found that the letter of Congress to his most Christian majesty of the 22d of November, 1780,† had been delivered by our minister plenipotentiary; that he had proceeded to negociate the succors solicited by Congress, and had received the following communication from the Count de Vergennes:

"It is impossible for his majesty to favor a loan in this kingdom, because it would prejudice those which he has occasion to make himself for the support of the war; but his majesty, in order to give a signal proof of his friendship for the United States, grants them, under the title of a donation, a sum of six million livres tournois. As the American army is in want of arms, clothing, etc., Dr. Franklin will be so good as to deliver a note of them. The articles will be procured of the best quality and on the most reasonable terms. General Washington will be authorized to draw for the remaining sum; but the drafts are at long sight, in order to facilitate the payment at the royal treasury. The courts of Petersburgh and Vienna have offered their mediation. The king has answered that it will be personally agreeable to him, but that he could not accept it as yet, because he has allies whose concurrence is necessary. Mr. Franklin is requested to acquaint Congress of this overture and the answer, and to engage them to send their instructions to their plenipotentiaries. It is supposed that Congress will eagerly accept the mediation."

In my first interview with the Count de Vergennes I represented to him in the strongest terms the insufficiency of the abovementioned succor, and the danger to which France was exposed of losing all her past efforts in favor of America unless the requests of Congress were

* MSS. Dep. of State; 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 151, with verbal changes.
† See this letter in the secret journals of Congress, vol. 2, p. 343.

complied with. I afterwards addressed him the enclosed letter, No. 1, in which I transcribed the result of my conference with General Washington on the objects of my mission, contained in a letter from the General to me of the 15th January. In consequence of Mr. de Vergennes's desire that I would select from the estimate of the board of war the articles of most urgent necessity, I extracted a list, in which I confined myself to the artillery, arms, military stores, clothing, tents, cloth, drugs, and surgical instruments, and accompanied it with the letter No. 2.

My personal solicitations have not been wanting to hasten an answer to these letters and render them favorable. The constant language of Mr. de Vergennes is that our demands are excessive; that we throw the burthen of the war upon our ally; that the support of it in different parts of the world has cost France exertions and expenses which fully employ her means; that the public credit, however well established, has its limits, to exceed which would be fatal to it. He adds, at the same time, the strongest assurances of the good will of our ally. This minister and Mr. de Maurepas inform me that nothing can be determined until the return of the Marquis de Castries, which will be the day after to-morrow; that the matter must be deliberated, and that they will consider what can be done. My expectations are very moderate.

We have received no intelligence of the sailing of the Brest fleet. It consists of twenty-five sail, five of which are destined for the East Indies, with troops; but it is said they will be detained for want of transports. The remaining twenty are to proceed to the West Indies, where ulterior dispositions will be made, of which the Chevalier de la Luzerne is instructed. The British fleet of twenty-eight sail of the line, with the convoy for Gibraltar, sailed the 13th instant, and Commodore Johnston's squadron put to sea the same day. The Spanish fleet is likewise at sea.

I am firmly of opinion that the British, in the present moment of success, will not accede to those preliminaries of which France and the United States can never depart from, and consequently that the news of the mediation of Petersburgh and Vienna should have no other effect than to redouble our ardor and exertions for the campaign.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN LAURENS.

J. Laurens' Memorial to the Count de Vergennes.

As in presenting a memorial to your excellency on the objects of my mission I should necessarily repeat in part a conference which I had by order of Congress with General Washington, previous to my departure, I prefer presenting your excellency with such extracts from it as relate to my purpose. They are as follows:

(1) That, considering the diffused population of these States, the composition and temper of a part of its inhabitants, the want of a sufficient stock of national wealth as a foundation for [credit], and the almost extinction of commerce, the attempts we have been compelled to make for carrying on the war have exceeded the national abilities of this country, and by degrees brought it to a crisis which render immediate assistance and efficacious succor from abroad indispensable to its safety.

(2.) That notwithstanding, from the confusion always attendant on a revolution, from our having had governments to frame and every species of civil and military institution to create, from that inexperience in affairs necessarily incident to a nation in its commencement some errors may have been committed in the administration of our finances, to which a part of our embarrassments are to be attributed, yet they are principally to be ascribed to our essential want of means; to the want of a sufficient stock of wealth, as mentioned in the first article, which, continuing to operate, will make it impossible, by any merely interior exertions, to extricate ourselves from these embarrassments, restore public credit, and furnish the funds requisite for the support of the war.

(3) That experience has demonstrated the impracticability to maintain a paper credit without funds for its redemption; the depreciation of our currency was, in the main, a necessary effect of the want of those funds, and its restoration is impossible for the same reasons, to which the general diffidence that has taken place among the people is an additional, and in the present state of things an insuperable, obstacle.

(4) That the mode which, for want of money, has been substituted for supplying the army, by assessing a proportion of the productions of the earth, has hitherto been found ineffectual, has frequently exposed the army to the most calamitous distress, and from its novelty and incompatibility with ancient habits, is regarded by the people as burthensome and oppressive, has excited serious discontents, and in some places alarming symptoms of opposition. This mode has, besides, many particular inconveniences, which contribute to make it inadequate to our wants, and ineligible but as an auxiliary.

(5) That, from the best estimates of the annual revenues which these States are capable of affording, there is a balance to be supplied by credit. The resource of domestic loans is inconsiderable, because there are, properly speaking, few moneyed men, and the few there are can employ their money more profitably otherwise; added to which, the instability of the currency and the deficiency of funds have impaired the public credit.

(6) That the patience of the army, from an almost uninterrupted series of complicated distress, is now nearly exhausted, their wants matured to an extremity which has recently had very disagreeable consequences, and demonstrate the absolute necessity of speedy relief; a relief not within the compass of our means. You are too well acquainted with all their sufferings for want of clothing, for want of provisions, for want of pay.

(7) That, the people being dissatisfied with the mode of supporting the war, there is danger to apprehend that evils actually felt in the prosecuting may weaken the cause which begun it, evils founded not on immediate sufferings, but in a speculative apprehension of future sufferings from the loss of their liberties; there is danger that a commercial and free people, little accustomed to heavy burthens, pressed by impositions of a new and odious kind, may not make a proper allowance for the necessity of the conjuncture, and may imagine they have only exchanged one tyranny for another.

(8) That from all the foregoing considerations result, First, the absolute necessity of an immediate, ample, and efficacious succor of money, large enough to be a foundation for substantial arrangements of finance to revive public credit and give vigor to future operations; Secondly; the vast importance of a decided effort of the allied arms on this continent the ensuing campaign to effectuate once for all the great objects of the alliance—the liberty and independence of these United States. Without

the former, we may make a feeble and expiring effort the next campaign, in all probability the period to our opposition; with it, we should be in a condition to continue the war as long as the obstinacy of the enemy might require. The first is essential; both combined would bring the contest to a glorious issue, crown the obligations which America already feels to the magnanimity and generosity of her ally, and render the union perpetual by all the ties of gratitude and affection as well as mutual interest, which alone can render it solid and indissoluble.

(9) That next to a loan of money a constant naval superiority is the most interesting; this would instantly reduce the enemy to a difficult defensive, and, by removing all prospects of extending their acquisitions, would take away the motives for prosecuting the war. Indeed, it is not to be conceived how they could subsist a large force in this country if we had the command of the seas to interrupt the regular transmission of supplies from Europe. This superiority, with an aid of money, would enable us to convert the war into a vigorous offensive. I say nothing of the advantages to the trade of both nations, nor how much it would facilitate our supplies. With respect to us it seems to be one of two deciding points, and it appears to be the interest of our allies, abstracted from the immediate benefits to this country, to transfer the naval war to America. The number of ports friendly to them and hostile to the British, the materials for repairing their disabled ships, the extensive supplies towards the subsistence of their fleet, are circumstances which would give them a palpable advantage in the contest of the sea. That no nation will have it more in its power to repay what it borrows than this. Our debts are hitherto small. The vast and valuable tracts of unlocated lands, the variety and fertility of climates and soils, the advantages of every kind which we possess for commerce, insure to this country a rapid advancement in population and prosperity, and a certainty (its independence being established) of redeeming in a short term of years the comparatively inconsiderable debts it may have occasion to contract. That notwithstanding the difficulties under which we labor, and the inquietudes prevailing among the people, there is still a fund of inclination and resource in the country equal to great and continued exertions, provided we have it in our power to stop the progress of disgust, by changing the present system and adopting another more consonant with the spirit of the nation, and more capable of activity and energy in measures of which a powerful succor of money must be the basis.

The people are discontented, but it is with a feeble, oppressive mode of conducting the war, not with the war itself; they are not unwilling to contribute to its support, but they are unwilling to do it in a way that renders private property precarious, a necessary consequence of the fluctuation of the national currency, and of the inability of government to perform its engagements, oftentimes coercively made. A large majority are still firmly attached to the independence of these States, abhor a reunion with Great Britain, and are affectionate to the alliance with France. But this disposition can ill supply the means customary and essential in war, nor can we rely on its duration amidst the perplexities, oppressions, misfortunes that attend the want of them.

From these extracts it will appear to your excellency that the fate of America depends upon the immediate and decisive succor of her august ally in the two points of a specific loan and a naval superiority. The most accurate calculation of the expense requisite for a vigorous campaign, and the interior means which Congress have of defraying that expense, prove that there is a deficiency of the full sum solicited by Congress. The grant of six millions, which his majesty is pleased to make under the title of a donation to the United States, will be acknowledged with the liveliest emotions of gratitude by affectionate allies; at the same time it would be frustrating the gracious intentions of his

majesty towards his allies and betraying the common cause of France and America to encourage a belief that the above-mentioned aid will enable the United States to surmount the present perilous juncture of our affairs. The reasoning in the foregoing extracts will evince how inadequate the sum is to the present exigency.

I must likewise remark to your excellency that the credit in bills of exchange is subject to difficulties and disadvantages which render such a resource very unfit for the conduct of the war. Bills are obnoxious to the vicissitudes and speculations of commerce, and it is easy to be foreseen that his majesty's allies would be great sufferers by their drafts, and at the same time be incapable of giving that vigor and energy to their operations which would be derived from specie. The same enlightened policy and generous regard for the rights of mankind which prompted France to espouse the cause of America still dictates the conduct which she is to pursue; they demand every effort on her part to prevent America from being reduced to the British domination, her commerce and those sources of wealth and power from being restored to the tyrant of the European seas, the ancient rival of France; on the contrary, the abasement of this rival, and the establishment of a faithful ally, united by all ties of gratitude, affection, and the most permanent mutual interests. To those invaluable purposes give me leave to repeat to your excellency that the decisive measures in the foregoing extracts are necessary.

I submit to your excellency whether the objection to his majesty's favoring a loan in the name of Congress may not be obviated by an additional loan in the name of his majesty on account of the United States, for which Congress will be accountable? The excellent state of the finances of this kingdom, the exalted state of public credit, must unquestionably give the greatest facility for this purpose, and it may be clearly proved that the giving decisive succor in this article at the present juncture will be infinitely more [advantageous] than suffering the war to languish by affording partial and inadequate assistance. Supposing that fortunate casualties, at this time very improbable, should enable us to continue the war upon its present footing, I beg leave to repeat to your excellency that the greatest promptness in this business is essential. The British, by being in possession of two States, fertile in grain, timber, and naval stores, have acquired new animation and fresh resources for the war; and every day, according to present appearances, brings America nearer to the period of her efforts.

JOHN LAURENS.

Jay to the President of Congress.*

MADRID, *March* 22, 1781.

SIR: I ought and wish to write your excellency a long letter, but not by the post. The French fleet is not yet sailed. It will, in my opinion, be late in the summer before the fleet at Rhode Island will be reinforced. This court has promised me one hundred and fifty thousand dollars. Some clothing is now shipping on account of Congress from Cadiz.

Russia has offered her mediation to England and the States-General. The latter have accepted it. The answer of the former (if given) is not known here. If she should refuse, Russia will probably take part with the Dutch; if she accepts, she will doubtless be obliged either to agree to terms consistent with the armed neutrality or continue the war. The consequences of either are obvious.

M. Necker has published a state of the French finances much to his honor and their credit. Perhaps a complimentary order to translate and publish it would be useful.

Mr. Cumberland will set out on his return through France in a few days.

This letter is intended to go by Captain Trask, from Bilboa. I am told he will sail much sooner than had been given out, and that unless my letters go by this evening's post they would arrive too late. Hence I am obliged to write in haste and say little, there being no time for cyphers. I have received some letters from your excellency. Their dates shall be mentioned another time.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN JAY.

Dumas to the President of Congress.†

THE HAGUE, *March* 22, 1781.

SIR: The States of this province separated last week, to meet again the next week. The provinces have given their agreement to the mediation offered by Russia. This affair, I fear, will prove a lingering business, as well as that of the decision of the court of justice of Holland, which, I am told, is drawn up in a manner that will not at all satisfy the regency of Amsterdam, and consequently will not be suffered to be delivered; and so things will remain in *statu quo*, God knows how long. All this is owing to the devices of the friends of Great Britain in this country, and not in the least to any disaffection from Russia, &c. How can people be helped that will not be helped? In the mean time, the enemies carry on with success their perfidious

---

* MSS. Dep. of State; 4 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 294.

† MSS. Dep. of State; 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 328, which version, paraphrasing the original, is here given.

scheme. Congress by this time must have heard of their taking St. Eustatia, filled with riches, a great part of which they say is American property. And now they pretend by this stroke to have cut off the great resource of America for continuing the war and to force her into submission.

I have from good authority that the English have refused the mediation of Russia. This surprises me not at all, because I am sure their arrogancy and stubborness will never let them acknowledge either the independence of the United States or the rights of neutrality till their heads are broken; a blessed work, fit for Heaven only and America to achieve, while European politicians take time to consider.

APRIL 2d.

They expect here very interesting news from Petersburgh towards the end of this month, as there are two couriers gone thither; the one from hence on the 23d of March, the other from England much about the same time. The merchants of Amsterdam, who have a great share in the effects seized on at St. Eustatia,* having resolved to send deputies to the English ministry in order to have them restored to them, and having invited the merchants of Rotterdam to join with them in this deputation, the latter have answered that, with men capable of acting so ruffianlike, they would rather let them keep all that they had robbed than debase themselves by courting the robbers. This noble answer would be still more so if Rotterdam had lost as much at St. Eustatia as Amsterdam; there being as for that a very great difference.

I have the honor to be, etc. DUMAS.

Franklin to Coffin.†

PASSY, *March* 23, 1781.

SIR: I received your favour of the 10th. I have heard nothing of Mr. Wharton since my former. The *Ariel* has not arrived, at least her arrival was not heard of at Boston the 11th of February, which makes me fear she has either been taken, or has been blown off the coast of North America by the N.W. winds of that country, and is gone perhaps to Martinique.

---

* St. Eustatia, about which we hear much in our revolutionary correspondence, is a Dutch West India island, in the Leeward group, about twelve miles from St. Christopher. It contains not quite two hundred square miles, and has a peculiarly rich soil, which is well cultivated, and has an excellent port, which enabled it to be of peculiar use to France in making her consignments to America during the war. The island was seized by Rodney and virtually sacked. It was afterwards retaken by the French, but went, before the war closed, through several vicissitudes of capture and recapture. At the close of the war it was in British hands, but by treaty was restored to the Dutch.

† MSS. Dep. of State.

I am sorry you have had so much trouble with those people of Captain Cunningham. The affair has been very perplexing to me. The vessel was fitted out by Mr. Hodge. You certainly had no share in her or concern in fitting her out, and it was only at my request that you took the part of those people in advising them how to ascertain their dues. Mr. Hodge was apprehended here and put into the Bastile for arming her clandestinely in a French port, it being before the war between France and England. He is now in America; Captain Cunningham is in prison in England. When he was in Holland with Captain Jones I was in hopes he would have called at Dunkirk and then the affair might have been settled there, but he went directly to Spain, and in sailing from thence was taken. I sent to America the declaration of those men which you forwarded to me in 1779. I suppose it miscarried, for I never heard of its being received. I should be glad to serve them in obtaining their just demands, but those should be ascertained. They would do well, therefore, to renew their declaration upon oath, and make 4 copies of it, to be sent by different vessels to America. I will solicit that their claims be enquired into and an order obtained for the payment of what shall appear to be their just right. This can only be done in America, for nowhere else is there any account to be found of the produce of the prizes.

With great esteem, etc.

Action of Congress as to Special Agency for Correspondence with Jay.*

MARCH 24, 1781.

A motion was made by Mr. Bland, seconded by Mr. Motte, in the words following:

Whereas there is great reason to believe that the communications of Congress to their minister at the court of Madrid and from him to Congress have been and are interrupted by the machinations of the instruments of the court of Great Britain:

Resolved, therefore, That —— be appointed, and he is hereby appointed, to reside at Cadiz, and authorized to receive and despatch all letters to and from Congress to and from their minister at the court of Madrid, and that ——— be remitted him for the purpose of paying express couriers to and from that port to the court of Madrid. That a circumstantial account of the several actions and successes of our troops against those of the enemy since the battle of Camden be transmitted through the aforesaid channel to our minister at the court of Madrid, and a copy of the act of Virginia relinquishing their right to the navigation of the Mississippi.

*MSS. Dep. of State; printed with verbal changes and omissions in secret journals.

It was moved by Mr. Adams, seconded by Mr. Smith, that the consideration of the motion be postponed; and on the question to postpone, the yeas and nays being required by Mr. Bland,

New Hampshire	Mr. Sullivan	Aye.	Aye.
Massachusetts	Mr. Adams	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Ward	Aye.	
Connecticut	Mr. Huntington	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Root	Aye.	
	Mr. Wolcott	Aye.	
New Jersey	Mr. Clarke	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Houston	Aye.	
Pennsylvania	Mr. Montgomery	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Clymer	Aye.	
Delaware	Mr. McKean	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Van Dyke	Aye.	
Maryland	Mr. Hanson	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Carroll	Aye.	
Virginia	Mr. Bland	No.	0.
	Mr. Smith	Aye.	
North Carolina	Mr. Sharpe	Aye.	0.
	Mr. Johnson	No.	
South Carolina	Mr. Bee	Aye.	0.
	Mr. Motte	No.	
Georgia	Mr. Few	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Howley	Aye.	

So it was resolved in the affirmative.

Dana to the President of Congress.*

PARIS, *March* 24, 1781.

SIR: I have the honor to acquaint your excellency that Mr. Laurens arrived at Passy the 15th instant, and in the evening of the same day sent me your despatches entrusted to his care, as well as those which came by the Duke of Leinster, both for Mr. Adams and myself. In a day or two after I forwarded Mr. Adams's to him by a private opportunity, it being very unsafe to send anything by the post which it is of importance to keep secret. As I did not open them, I am wholly ignorant whether they contained anything relative to our first commissions, or in what light to consider myself respecting them, provided I should not proceed to the court of St. Petersburgh. My actual going there is a condition precedent, and in virtue of which alone I am entitled to anything under the resolution of Congress of the 20th of December last.†

I have communicated my instructions and commission, and everything respecting it, to Dr. Franklin, and have asked his opinion whether it was expedient to make a communication of the general object of my commission to the administration here. He said he thought it was, and that it might he advisable likewise to take the opinion of the Count

---

* MSS. Dep. of State; 4 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 554.

† IN CONGRESS, *December* 20, 1780.

Resolved, That the President furnish the minister appointed to the court of Petersburgh with letters of credit on the minister plenipotentiary of the United States at the court of Versailles, for fifteen hundred pounds sterling, as his salary for one year; provided the said minister shall proceed to the court of Petersburgh.

de Vergennes whether it would not be proper to make this communication also to the court of St. Petersburgh and obtain their approbation of the measure before I should set off for that country; that a similar course was taken in the case of Mr. Arthur Lee for Madrid, and of Mr. William Lee for Vienna. My own opinion exactly coincides with the first part of his advice, but not with the latter part. I think that would rather create than clear away obstacles; it would lay the court of St. Petersburgh under a necessity of considering the general object of my commission, and if after this they should approve of the journey it might involve them in consequences they are not prepared to meet; for Britain would consider such an act as absolutely decisive of the part the court of St. Petersburgh meant finally to take; and this consideration, however well they might stand affected towards us, in my opinion would prevent their approving of the proposition, if it did not draw after it an absolute prohibition. There is no difficulty in going in the character of a private citizen of the United States, and when one has once entered, the ground is changed. Admission and rejection are essentially different. Besides, one would be at hand to open the way gradually as favorable occurrences might arise.

I have been at Passy this day to consult the doctor again on this point and to lay my objections before him; but he was not at home. I shall do it the first opportunity. If we should finally differ on any point, after having consulted Mr. Adams, agreeably to my instructions, if they concur in opinion I shall make no difficulty in conforming exactly to their better judgment; otherwise I must exercise my own upon the choice of opinions. But if the result should be that I am not to proceed, how and in what character am I to consider myself? Is my former commission superseded, and what am I to depend upon? The resolution of Congress of the 20th of December last mentions a certain sum for which I have a letter of credit, conditionally, upon their minister at this court, as a salary for one year. Is it the intention of Congress that that sum is to be my whole support, in the character of their minister, empowered to do the same things at the court of St. Petersburgh that their ministers at other courts which have not yet acknowledged the independence of the United States are empowered to do? Or is it their intention that my former commission should continue in force, and that I should receive the salary of both, which would make my whole support but nominally equal to that which Congress allows to their other ministers?

Further, there is no mention made of a secretary or clerk appointed to assist me, or any provision for either. Is it the intention of Congress to confine me to the sum mentioned in their resolution of the 20th of December last, and even leave me to provide out of [it] a clerk or private secretary (for one will be indispensable), and for all other expenses? Congress will not surely take it amiss if I ask for information on these points. The absolute necessity I am under of knowing on what I have to depend I trust will be my sufficient apology. I can not but lament

that the expediency of advising on these points did not occur to the committee on foreign affairs. I have as yet received no information upon this subject but what comes to me in the acts of Congress and in your excellency's letter accompanying them.

Convinced as I am of the propriety of such an appointment, it is my present determination, throwing aside all pecuniary considerations, to accept of this honorable trust. I wish my abilities were equal to the importance of it. I can engage for nothing more than sincere and uniform endeavors to promote the great end of it. Through you, sir, I beg leave to communicate my most respectful acknowledgments to Congress for the distinguished instance of their confidence in me.

I am, with the greatest respect, &c.,

FRANCIS DANA.

P. S.—I will, under my present uncertainties, keep a regular account of all my expenses under this commission, and shall cheerfully submit to the justice of Congress the propriety of the charges I shall make, and how much ought to be allowed under the denomination of salary, expenses, &c. I shall hope, however, that Congress will reduce these things to a certainty as soon as is convenient. If I find it impracticable to conform to their views, the step I ought to take is very clear and plain.*

F. D.

J. Laurens to Washington.†

PASSY, NEAR PARIS, *March* 24, 1781.

MY DEAR GENERAL: Upon my arrival here I found that our minister plenipotentiary had received the instructions, &c., transmitted to him, and commenced the negotiation with which we were charged, and that he had received the following communication from the Count de Vergennes:

It is impossible for his majesty to favor a loan in this kingdom, because it would prejudice those which he has occasion to make himself for the support of the war; but his majesty, to give the United States a signal proof of his friendship, grants them under the title of a donation six millions of livres tournois. As the American army is in want of arms, clothing, &c., Mr. Franklin will be so good as to give a note of those articles; they will be procured of the best quality and at the most reasonable price. General Washington will be authorized to give drafts for the remaining sum, but the drafts must be at long sight, in order to facilitate the payments from the royal treasury. The courts of Petersburgh and Vienna have offered their mediation. The king has answered that it would be personally agreeable to him, but that he could not as yet accept it because he has allies whose concurrence is necessary. Mr. Franklin is requested to communicate the overture and answer to Congress, and to engage them to send their instructions to their plenipotentiaries. It is supposed the Congress will accept the mediation with eagerness.

After my first interview with the Count de Vergennes I presented to him a memorial, in which I transcribed the principal part of the letter

---

* See resolutions of Congress on the subject of Mr. Dana's salary and expenses in the secret journal, vol. 2, p. 457.

† 3 Sparks Letters to Washington, 268.

your excellency delivered to me at New Windsor and represented the insufficiency of the succour proposed by his majesty. I have since given in an extract of the estimate of the board of war, accompanied with a letter urging the necessity of despatch in furnishing those essential supplies. My personal solicitations have not been wanting to induce a prompt and favorable answer; but M. de Maurepas and the Count de Vergennes both inform me that nothing can be determined until the return of M. de Castries, who is expected the day after to-morrow; that the matter must be deliberated, and they will consider what can be done. M. Necker will be consulted to-day.

M. de Vergennes complains very much of the excessive demands of Congress, and seems to entertain an idea that they wish to throw too much of the burden of the war on their ally. He says that the exertions and expense with which France supports the war in different parts of the world fully employ her means; that her public credit has its limits, to surpass which would be fatal to it.

Upon the whole my expectations are very moderate. The naval dispositions were made before my arrival; five ships of the line for the East Indies, with troops; twenty commanded by De Grasse for the West Indies, twelve of which are to proceed to America. They will probably arrive on our coast in July. We have no news yet of their departure.

Your excellency will see that I have written in a great hurry. In my next I hope to be able to give you more particular intelligence of our affairs. In the mean time I take the liberty of troubling you to present my respects to Mrs. Washington, my love to the family and the Marquis de Lafayette, the want of whose letters is a great disadvantage to me. My only hope of obtaining additional succour is founded on the exalted opinion which the ministers have of your excellency and everything which comes from you.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect and most tender attachment, &c.,

JOHN LAURENS.

Luzerne to the President of Congress.*

[Translation.]

PHILADELPHIA, *March* 24, 1781.

SIR: The undersigned, minister plenipotentiary of France, has the honor to inform Congress that the king, being made acquainted with the situation of the affairs of the Confederacy, had resolved to continue during the next campaign the land and sea forces which are now in this continent. That unforeseen obstacles had prevented the junction of the second division of sea forces with the first as soon as was expected, but that it was to sail as soon as possible, and that Congress should use their utmost exertions to have their army ready for action without the least delay.

---

* 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 716.

But while the king, actuated by his love for the United States, of his mere motion was giving them succors which he was under no obligation to do, and out of regard to them lessened the efforts which he could have made for his own advantage, he had reason to expect a proportionable activity from Congress, and he hopes that the United States, which have so much to gain or lose by the issue of the contest, will employ all their resources in the present conjuncture, and that the Congress, who are entrusted with their dearest interest, will hasten to adopt effectual measures for conducting matters to a happy issue.

The Chevalier de la Luzerne, when he communicated to the king the news of the final ratification of the Confederation, thought himself warranted to assure his majesty that this event would have a happy influence on the councils of this republic; that they would thereby acquire all the energy necessary for conducting the important business entrusted to them; that the Union would receive new force, and he did not doubt but the ensuing campaign would give decisive proofs of this. And the minister relies that his hopes, which are the same as are entertained by the whole continent, will not be disappointed. It is at the same time essential, while Congress are making the necessary arrangements for the ensuing campaign, that they should know for certain that they are to count only on their own resources for defraying the expenses that it will require.

The frankness of the king and the friendship he bears to the United States will not permit him to encourage an error which they appear to be in with respect to the pecuniary aids which they seem to expect. The desire of securing their independence has induced his majesty to exceed the measure of the engagements he had contracted with them, and he will continue to support their interests, either by powerful diversions or by immediate succors, and they may rely not only on his most scrupulous punctuality in the execution of his engagements, but upon all the extraordinary assistance which it will be in his power to give them. But as to pecuniary aids, the enormous expenses of the present war, and the necessity of preserving credit, which is the only means of providing for those expenses, do not permit his majesty's ministers to give Congress the least hope in that respect.

The Chevalier de la Luzerne will not dissemble that his court was exceedingly surprised on being informed of the step which Congress had taken in disposing of bills drawn on their minister, although they could not be ignorant that they had no funds for discharging them. This is a conduct totally inconsistent with that order which his majesty is forced to observe in his finances, and he has no doubt but in future Congress will most studiously avoid a repetition of it. He has, nevertheless, resolved to discharge the bills which became due last year to the amount of one million livres; and it is probable his majesty will be able to provide funds to the amount of three millions for the discharge of those which will become due in the course of the present year.

The king's ministers have also procured for Dr. Franklin, whose zeal,

wisdom, and patriotism deserve their utmost confidence, the sums necessary for the purchase he is ordered to make. These expenses, joined to those occasioned by sending a fleet and army to this continent, far exceed what Congress had a right to expect from the friendship of their ally, and the Chevalier de la Luzerne is persuaded that from this moment Congress will abstain from that ruinous measure of drawing bills of exchange without the previous knowledge and consent of his majesty's ministers. And as their attention is employed in what may be most for the convenience of the United States, they propose that Congress should furnish the fleet and army of his majesty which are in this country with the necessary provisions, and receive in payment bills on the treasury of France, which will be punctually discharged.

As to the manner in which this arrangement may be made, the minister will have the honor of entering into a minute discussion with a committee, which he begs Congress would be pleased to appoint to confer with him on the subject.*

LUZERNE.

Morris to Burke, Houston, and Wolcott.†

MARCH 26, 1781.

GENTLEMEN: When I had the honor of a visit from you on the subject of my letter to Congress, it was agreed that I should make out and deliver you a list of the several officers concerned in the expenditure of public money over whom I judged it necessary for the superintendent of finance to have the uncontrolled power of dismission. But on reflection I found it was not in my power to render such a list, because I do not know the several degrees of officers now in employment, and even if I did, such a list would not answer the end, because others may hereafter be created, who should also be subjected to the power of the financier, and it would be very troublesome for Congress on every such appointment to pass a resolution for the purpose. There will also be appointments made occasionally by the commander-in-chief, the heads of department, and by other officers, in which the expenditure of public moneys will be involved, and of course such appointments must also be subject to the same authority. For these reasons it seems proper that the power of the minister of finance with respect to the control and dismission from office of all persons concered in the expenditure of public property should be defined in one act of Congress, vesting him with that authority.

To me it appears absolutely necessary that this power should be vested in the financier to enable him to remedy and prevent public abuses; and the *extent* should be measured by the *necessity* and the *use.*

* The above was referred to a committee of six; namely, Mr. Jones, Mr. S. Adams, Mr. Burke, Mr. McKean, Mr. Madison, and Mr. Hanson.

† MSS. Dep. of State; 6 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 255, with verbal changes and omissions.

As to myself, I am far from desiring power for the sake of power. Indeed I think it is generally more dangerous to the possessor than to the objects of it. Consequently I can not have a wish to extend it beyond the necessity and utility mentioned.

The whole business of finance may be described in two short but comprehensive sentences, if I have proper notions on the subject. *It is to raise the public revenues by such modes as may be most easy and most equal to the people*, and *to expend them in the most frugal, fair, and honest manner*. In our case the first part must ever be the business of Congress and the legislatures of the respective States, because the powers of taxation can not be delegated. The second I take to be the most essential part of the duty of the superintendent of finance. He must ever have it in view to reduce the expenditures as nearly as possible to what in justice and in reason they ought to be; and to do this he must be vested with power to dismiss from employment those officers he shall find unnecessary, unequal to their stations, inattentive to their duty, or dishonest in the exercise of it.

In a monarchy this power need not be officially vested in a minister, because he can have constant intercourse with the sovereign, and by that means he is in the daily exercise of it. Where the sovereignty is vested in a public body of men, such an intercourse is impracticable; and I am persuaded that a minister who would venture to execute the duties of his office with vigor, without possessing uncontrolled the power of dismission, would in a few months put it out of his power to proceed in his business, and Congress would have full employment to hear and determine between him and suspended officers. On the contrary, if a dismissed officer can have no appeal but to the laws of the land, Congress will not be troubled, business may be conducted with decision, and the very knowledge that such a power exists will have a tendency to prevent the frequent exercise of it after the first reforms are effected.

I have been told that some gentlemen considered the expressions in my letter to Congress on this subject so general as that they might be construed to comprehend the commander in-chief, heads of department, &c. But this can not be. The commander-in-chief is not concerned himself, but employs others in the expenditure of public money, to whom he grants warrants or drafts on the military chest; and the persons so employed ought to be accountable and subject to dismission. I suppose officers of the army may frequently be so employed, and in that case it can not be supposed that the power of the financier extends to the military commission, for it certainly must be confined to the money matters. There is one exception with respect to what I have said of the commander-in-chief, and that is the expenditures for secret service, and in this respect I think he should be responsible to his sovereign only.

The quartermaster-general having a military as well as a civil duty, he can not be under the control of the financier for the first, although

he certainly ought to be the last, which has great connexion, with heavy expense, and perhaps it would be best that he should execute all the business of expenditures by one or more deputies, which would exonerate him from that power which they must be subjected to. The commissary-general, and every person employed under him, are the immediate objects of this power. The paymaster-general may be considered as a channel of conveyance, through which money passes from the treasury to the army, and as he is subjected to the law military, the minister of finance needs no other authority over him and his officers than the power of putting under arrest and suspending for malconduct in office.

All persons employed as commissaries of military stores, of clothing, or any other denomination, wherein the expenditure of public money or property is connected, ought to be subjected to this authority. The expenses in the medical department are said to have exceeded those of the like kind in any other country. It is therefore evident that the purveyors, commissaries, &c., in this department should be subject to the same immediate control as others; and although the financier can not judge of the medical skill of the director-general and his officers, yet if any waste of stores in their department come to his knowledge he should have authority to bring offenders to a court-martial for waste or misapplication of public property.

There is no possibility of introducing public economy without the frequent adjustment of accounts; and the more various these may be, the greater is the necessity of constant attention to liquidate them speedily and well. The financier ought, therefore, to have the power of removing any of the officers whose business it is to examine and settle the public accounts, so that he may be enabled to obtain a proper and early settlement, and prevent the dangerous effects of inattention or corruption on one hand, or of delay, insolence, and tyranny to individuals concerned in such accounts on the other. And on account of this power the financier should have no accounts with the public himself, but wherever expenditures are necessary in his department he should employ proper persons therein, subject to the same powers and modes of accounting with every other person employed in expending public property; or, if of necessity he shall at any time have accounts with the public, Congress can appoint a committee or special board to examine and settle his accounts.

From what I have already said I think it is evident that the power I have stipulated for is absolutely necessary; and although it is not possible to enumerate every object of that power, yet the general lines within which they may be comprehended can be drawn from the observations I have made, although I have said [nothing about our marine]* or foreign departments, as these may be brought into consideration hereafter when it shall appear necessary.

Whoever contemplates the extent of the United States and the vast

* Passage in brackets omitted in Sparks' ed.

nount of their present expenses, while at the same time all our opera-ons languish, must certainly be convinced that some immediate remedy ught to be applied. The office of superintendent of finance, I suppose, meant as one means of restoring economy and vigor; and nothing ill keep up in the minds of the public servants such a constant sense their duty as a knowledge of the power to remove them in the hands a person of vigilant and decisive character. Whether I shall have fficient courage and perseverance to act up to that character, and hether my small abilities, supported by application and attention, ill enable me to render essential service in the execution of this office, become an object of great consideration that fills my mind with uch apprehension, and induces me to wish I had declined this arduous ndertaking in the first instance.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

ROBERT MORRIS.

Luzerne to Washington.*

[Translation.]

PHILADELPHIA, *March* 27, 1781.

SIR: I have the honor to send to your excellency an open packet for e Count de Rochambeau. You will there find the copy of a letter me from M. Destouches. I lament the ill success of an expedition hich, if it had succeeded, would have been doubly agreeable to us, by s utility to our allies and by the honor it would have reflected upon e arms of the king. As to the rest, it appears that our commanders ave fulfilled this latter point, and all the world is satisfied that, having superior force to contend against, the manner of the contest has been ghly honorable to them.

I wait for happier events, sir, from the campaign which is now about open, and I doubt not the Count de Rochambeau has given you in etail the news which he has received from France.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

LUZERNE.

Dana to the President of Congress.†

PARIS, *March* 28, 1781.

SIR: I did myself the honor to write to your excellency on the 24th stant, and to acknowledge the receipt of your despatches by Colonel aurens and by the Duke of Leinster, both for Mr. Adams and myself. also acquainted your excellency that I had communicated my instruc-ons, my commissions, and everything respecting it to Dr. Franklin. mentioned also the question I proposed to him and his advice upon ; that I differed from him in the latter part of his advice, and assigned y reasons for doing so. I added I would the first opportunity lay be-re him my objections for his further consideration of that part of his

* Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 718. †MSS. Dep. of State; 4 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 556.

advice. I have done so this day, and have the satisfaction to find that he now perfectly concurs in opinion with me, so that a simple communication of the general object only will be made here.

I have left the papers with him to consider whether he or I should make it. I think the last paragraph of the first article of my instructions seems to point it out to be the sense of Congress that he should do it. Through whatever channel it should be made, it seems to be agreed between us that the voyage is already settled, and not now a question for consideration. I hope none will be made about it. If there should not arise any obstructions out of this communication, I shall leave Paris on Sunday next and proceed for Holland, where I shall consult with Mr. Adams upon the whole business of my mission; and it shall be my constant endeavor to give Congress the earliest information of every material circumstance respecting it. My situation may, however, render my communications less frequent than I could wish or they expect, especially when it is considered that there is no safety in corresponding through the posts of these countries.

I hope no occasion will be lost to keep me properly informed of the state of our affairs, particularly of all military operations, so that I may be able to prevent our enemies making impressions to our disadvantage, in which business they constantly labor with much industry, and I wish I could not add with too much success; owing principally to our wanting the necessary information to counteract them.

The accession of Maryland to the Confederation is an event which may have some good influence upon our affairs, as it may serve to convince a great part of Europe that a strong principle of union exists among us. Yet of this we have not any other account than what comes in private letters; at least I have not seen or heard of any other. Nothing but an anxious concern which I feel to be furnished with authentic evidences of events which may be improved to the benefit of our country has led me speak of this, which I deem important, in the manner I have done, and I presume Congress will not attribute it to a querulous disposition.

I am, with the greatest respect and esteem, &c.,

FRANCIS DANA.

J. Adams to Jay.*

LEYDEN, *March* 28, 1781.

SIR: It is so long since I wrote you that I am almost ashamed to recollect. I have been in the most curious country, among the most incomprehensible people, and under the most singular constitution of government in the world. I have not been able to write you what could or would be done here, because I was not able to discover, nor did I ever yet find one man in the country who would pretend to say what course the republic would take. At this moment, although I

* 7 J. Adams' Works, 384.

think there can not be a peace between them and England, yet I do not see a probability of their being in earnest in the war for some time.

I can tell you one thing, however, for certain, that the conduct of Spain has great influence here. Her delay in acknowledging our independence contributes amazingly to the indecision of the republic. If Spain had fully entered into the system this country would soon follow. I must, therefore, beg of you to communicate to me as much concerning this subject as you are at liberty to do. All nations, it is to be feared, will wait for Spain, and thus prolong the evils of war to unnecessary length.

My best compliments to your family, and believe me to be, with great esteem, sir, your most obedient servant,

JOHN ADAMS.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.*

LEYDEN, *March* 29, 1781.

SIR: The Baron de Lynden, envoy extraordinary from their high mightinesses at the court at Stockholm, had, about the 28th of February, a conference with the Count Ulrich Scheffer, to whom he presented, on the part of his masters, a memorial too important to be omitted. It is as follows:

The subscriber, minister extraordinary of their high mightinesses the States-General of the United Provinces, to his majesty the King of Sweden, by express orders received from his masters, has the honor to propose to his majesty,

That their high mightinesses, by their resolution of the 20th of November, having acceded to the confederation of the armed neutrality, according to the invitation given by the powers of the north, placing the most perfect confidence in the power, the magnanimity, and the fidelity of their imperial and royal majesties for fulfilling their engagements and maintaining their dignity by completing a work so gloriously undertaken, to wit, the liberty of the seas for neutral nations, did not suffer themselves to be diverted by the consideration of the consequences which this accession and this declaration might draw upon the republic from the part of the belligerent powers; but their high mightinesses declared themselves for this accession and this declaration, relying without reserve upon the sentiments of their imperial and royal majesties, which they manifested in the season by the steps taken in this respect.

That the event has entirely justified the instances of their high mightinesses in regard to the British court, since its minister, after several vain attempts tending to impede the accession to the alliance in question, resolved, from the time when he had the first intimation of it, to speak a language altogether unheard of, and such as is scarcely agreeable to those respects which sovereigns respectively owe each other, without allowing to the republic the time necessary to take the affair into deliberation, conformably to a political system which his Britannic majesty fully understands; the minister, nevertheless, insisting on a prompt and immediate satisfaction, and the punishment of a pretended offence, occasioned by the discovery of a negociation with North America, without being satisfied by the provisional answer, or by the formal disavowal of their high mightinesses touching the said negociation, in which as his Britannic majesty has acknowledged they had in no wise participated, nor had any knowledge of it; a negociation relative to a pretended treaty, which at the first glance of the eye indicates sufficiently by its proper terms to be nothing more than a project of an eventual treaty made by certain individuals, without being formally

---

* MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 340.

authorized thereto by the magistrates of Amsterdam as a body, nor by the States of the provinces of Holland, and still less by the States-General, who alone are authorized to contract engagements in the name of the republic. The minister in question refused to accept the resolution, which enjoined on the court of Holland (the province which alone this affair concerns) to deliberate whether the laws of the country could authorize to pursue in justice the persons accused and to punish them; a formality without which no punishment can be inflicted either in England, in this republic, or in any other country. This minister added menaces, that his sovereign would procure for himself the satisfaction demanded; he was at the same time determined to attack the republic by surprise, and to precipitate so violently the measures taken to commence hostilities, that my Lord Stormont, making use of vain pretences, would not even accept on the part of the Count de Welderen the said declaration, and answered him in writing that he could not consider him any longer as the minister of a friendly power after having announced to him officially the manifesto of the king; while the same manifesto, which is remarkable, was sent to the Count de Welderen one hour before the time fixed the evening before by Lord Stormont, after repeated requests to have a conversation with him.

Besides, although in the manifesto in question they make no mention of the accession of the republic to the armed confederacy (which it was necessary most carefully to pass over in silence), it appears, however, distinctly to the penetrating eye of your majesty, as well as to that of all Europe, if they will compare together the whole progress of this action, the time and the manner in which the manifesto was published, that the hatred occasioned by the accession of the republic to the armed neutrality is the true motive of the resentment of his Britannic majesty, and has prompted him to a manifest aggression against the republic, by capturing immediately a great number of merchant vessels belonging to her subjects, as well as some vessels of war. Besides, that this same manifesto, known to your majesty, discovers sufficiently the original of this hatred; considering that among the pretended causes of offence serving to justify the hostile measures against the republic they there allege that she has declared herself neuter. The cabinet of St. James, disdaining to observe that this answer ought to offend the powers of the north, to whom the treaties subsisting between England and the republic are perfectly known, and that these powers could not be taxed with concluding a treaty of neutrality with a power which they had not judged to be lawfully neuter in the present war, and without observing that this liberty of negociating has been by England herself put out of all doubt, since by her suspension of the treaty of 1674, made the 17th of April, 1780, she has declared that she would hereafter regard the republic as a neutral power, not advantaged by any treaty.

That in virtue of the reasons alleged, the hatred of Great Britain pierces still more visibly through the reproach inserted in the said manifesto against the republic that she has advanced and favored the transportation of naval stores to France by the suspension of duties upon those effects; at the same time that it appears that this suspension has never taken place, and that the republic has a well-founded right to make this transportation not only during the continuance of the treaty of 1674, but also according to the principle prescribed to the neutral powers by the convention of the confederation; that a further examination of this manifesto should be superfluous, since his majesty may himself estimate its value, and must, moreover, be convinced that the conduct of their high mightinesses, observed from the commencement of the troubles in regard to America, has evidently proved that they have in nowise favored the revolted Colonies of America; witness the condescension in favor of England to which the republic was not obliged by the shackles imposed upon the commerce of her colonies by the prohibition to take under convoy vessels loaded with ship timber, and by the recall of the governor of St. Eustatia upon the ill-founded complaints of the British ministry—condescensions which have been rewarded by the attack and capture of the convoy sailing under the command of Count

e Byland, by a violation of the territory of the republic, and by the capture of merican ships under the cannon of St. Martins. That since their high mightinesses ave faithfully observed this system of moderation, it is manifest that the resentment f his Britannic majesty can not be regarded but as an effect of a resentment occaoned by the engagement taken for the neutrality, and to this effect their high ightinesses are well founded to claim the tenor and the sense of the articles seventh, ghth, and ninth of that alliance, which forms the basis of the union of the neutraly contracted with their imperial and royal majesties; that thus there ought not to xist any further difficulty in fulfilling towards their high mightinesses, become llies, the engagements which are contracted in virtue of the known convention, of hich they ought to be regarded as members, at the very moment even when this onvention has been formed and concluded by their high mightinesses at The Hague, nd when their declaration has been despatched to the belligerent powers, conformbly to the said accession and convention.

That if their high mightinesses had occasion to complain of a single act of offence, attack committed against them, and liable to be redressed upon general representtions to their allies, they would have demanded their intervention for the redress of uch a grievance rather than to have recourse to arms; but as at present their high ightinesses see themselves positively attacked by his Britannic majesty on occasion nd in resentment of the aforesaid alliance, they find themselves obliged to defend hemselves and to repel the attack in the same manner in which it has been made, y returning hostilities for hostilities; being, moreover, persuaded that the allied owers would not make any difficulty to make common cause with them to procure the republic the satisfaction and indemnification of the losses sustained by an atack as unjust as it is violent, and that the allies will concur with their high mightiesses in taking such further arrangements as the present circumstances require. his is what their high mightinesses solicit earnestly, expecting it with so much ore confidence as they are intimately convinced that the generous and equitable ntiments which animate their imperial and royal majesties will prevent them from ffering the republic to become the victim of a political system as glorious as it is quitable, conceived for the maintenance of the safety and the right of neuters, while he republic alone, exposed to all the violence of this unjust attack of England, ight with difficulty make head against it, and thereby run the risk of becoming ntirely useless to the confederation.

For these causes the undersigned insisted upon the motives alleged above, fully onvinced that the ratifications of the treaty signed at Petersburgh will be made as oon as possible, and he has the honor, in the name and by the express order of his asters, to demand the accomplishment of the articles seventh, eighth, and ninth of he said treaty, and to require in virtue of it a prompt and sufficient succor of his ajesty, whose equitable and magnanimous sentiments, known to all Europe, will not ermit him to abandon a work worthy of all praise.

The friendship and affection of your majesty towards their high mightinesses ppear to assure them beforehand of the succors which they expect from his majesty, nd to promise to the subscriber an answer as prompt as satisfactory, which he ought press with so much the more zeal, as every moment of delay occasions great and reparable losses to the republic.

D. W. VAN LYNDEN.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

JOHN ADAMS.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.*

LEYDEN, *March* 29, 1781.

SIR: It is of importance to the people of America to observe how much lighter their own burdens are than those of their enemies, and for this reason I have every year since I have been in Europe taken notice of the new taxes laid annually in perpetuity upon the people of Great Britain by Parliament in support of tyranny, in addition to all former debts and taxes. One-sixth part of the new taxes of this year would be more than sufficient to pay the interest of the whole sum which America will expend this year in support of liberty.

	Sterling.
The new taxes consist in an additional duty of 5 per cent. upon all articles subject to the duty of excise, except malt, soap, and candles, and green leather, valued at	£150,000
Seven per cent. upon the drawbacks at the custom-house	167,000
An additional duty of 1 penny 3 farthings upon each pound of tobacco	61,000
A duty of a half penny upon each pound of sugar	326,000
	704,000
The interest of the new loan is said to amount only to	660,000
Which leaves a surplus of	44,000

There can not be a more striking contrast than that between the conduct of Lord North and M. Necker. The abilities of the former as a financier consist wholly in laying new taxes without end; those of the other lie in finding resources for vast expenses without laying any new burdens on the people. M. Necker is laying a foundation for a credit in France as solid as that of Great Britain by stating to the public the expenses and revenues. This is the only solid foundation of public credit. America will never obtain a credit of any consequence in Europe until she has a credit at home. It is demonstrable that the people of America are able to lend to Congress every year more than money enough to carry on the war and pay all expenses. What is the reason they do not? The reasons are plain: First, they have not known that their public money was expended by any fixed rule, so that they could judge how much it amounted to; secondly, they did not see any certain prospect of the punctual payment of interest or principal at a fixed value. All the art of financiering in America lies in ascertaining with precision, by a fixed standard, how much our expenses are; next ascertaining what our income is; thirdly, how much must be borrowed; fourthly, how to assure the payment of interest and principal.

If taxes could be laid by Congress upon exports and imports, and upon the consumption of articles of luxury, convenience, and necessity, as they are in Europe, America would be able to raise more every year in taxes than she has ever spent in one year. Nay, we might oblige foreigners to pay all the expenses of the war, and establish a credit

* MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 344.

much more solid than that of Great Britain, because we have not such a debt to begin with. But without recurring to this system, which might injure our commerce as well as our liberties, it is unquestionably owing entirely to regulations of prices, embargoes, and stamping an arbitrary value upon what had no value that has hitherto ruined our credit. But when all these systems shall be totally abolished in the several States, and measures shall be taken to lay annual taxes of a certain value, and these taxes mortgaged for the payment of interest, there is not a doubt but every State may obtain credit enough for the necessities of its own inhabitants.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

JOHN ADAMS.

Questions proposed to Laurens, with his Answers to them.*

PARIS, *March* 29, 1781.

First. To what number can the United States increase their Continental troops?

Second. What will be the expense of the number fixed?

Third. This expense is to be distinguished into pay and appointments, clothing, arms, ammunition, and provision.

Fourth. What does the artillery of the United States consist of, and what is the number of carriages?

Fifth. What is the number of provision wagons?

Sixth. What are the plans of General Washington, in case his army should amount to fifteen, twelve, or ten thousand men, independently of the French troops?

After answering the foregoing questions generally, both with respect to the northern and southern army, I added the following remarks:

The plans of General Washington are absolutely subordinate to the succors which his most Christian majesty will be pleased to grant to his allies. If Congress obtain the succor in money and military effects and the naval superiority which they solicit, they will be enabled to revive public credit, to make solid arrangements of finance, to give activity to the resources of the country, to augment their troops, to appease their discontents, and to reinforce General Washington with a select corps of ten thousand militia.

With the addition of this force and the French troops the general will be in condition to undertake the siege of New York. It is unnecessary to say how glorious and decisive the success of this operation would be for the common cause; it is equally unnecessary to add how much the promptness of succors from France would contribute to it.

The expense of artillery required for this operation will be found in the estimate delivered; that of clothing, &c., for the army in its present

---

* MSS. Dep. of State; 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 158.

state will be found in deducting a quantity proportioned to the number of men; but it is impossible to represent too strongly that this excess, far from being superfluous, is absolutely necessary to recruit the army in general; a precaution which is indispensable, unless we should choose to hazard all upon the event of a single operation. That the Congress, besides, owes great arrearages of clothing to the soldiers, and that, as the estimate of Indian presents has not been included in the present demand, we may be obliged, perhaps, to sacrifice a part of the clothing now solicited to maintain the friendship of some tribes attached to France and America, and that it is of the greatest importance to prevent them from joining the hostile tribes, who, in conjunction with the English tories, ravage the country, destroy our harvests, put to flight and massacre all the inhabitants on the western frontier from New York to Virginia. We may more especially expect that this diversion will be employed during the siege of New York. It is to be added that a number of men will be found who have already served who would eagerly rejoin their ancient standards, provided they had the assurance of proper treatment instead of the misery and sufferings which they have hitherto experienced. That the army would be augmented, notwithstanding the daily loss in the trenches, by levies perfectly accustomed to fire.

The extreme weakness of the southern army is attributable to the following causes:

First. That two of the States that furnish quotas to this army are invaded by the British.

Second. That they have all a great many prisoners in the hands of the enemy, and that their troops in general have been wasted, as well by the excessive marches which they have undergone in carrying succors to the southward as by the different misfortunes which have happened there.

The naval superiority on the part of the British and the rapidity of their movements by sea secured to them the capture of Charleston and all their southern successes; enjoying these advantages, they have had it in their power to transport a body of troops, with all the requisites in ammunition and provision, from one end of the continent to the other in fourteen days, to attack a feeble point; while the American succors, wasted by a march of two months, commenced in the rigors of winter, and without intermission from the fatigues of a campaign, could only arrive to increase the public calamity by being beat in detail.

JOHN LAURENS.

*MSS. Dep. of State.

Carmichael to Franklin.*

MADRID, *March* 30, 1781.

DEAR SIR: I am this moment informed that an express to Mr. Cabarus, whom I took the liberty of introducing to your notice, leaves this for Paris in less than an hour. I seize the opportunity to give you an account of our present critical situation. You will recollect that I have mentioned more than once the promise of the court to furnish as far as three millions of reals for the payment of our bills and to supply us with some clothing for the use of our army. Of this sum 49,880 dollars, making 997,750 reals, have been paid. Part of the clothing is shipped, and the money for the residue being demanded by commissioners appointed at Cadiz for the sale of this and other articles taken by the combined fleet last summer, before they would permit Mr. Harrison, our agent, to embark it, Mr. Jay applied to the court for the balance due on that account, and at the same time for money to discharge the bills payable next month. After some delay he received an order for the former, but was told peremptorily that the court could not furnish the residue of the 3 millions in less than six months, and was informed for the first time that the money for the clothing was included in the first-mentioned sum. Judge of our distress of mind since receiving this answer. Mr. Jay's first idea was to address himself to your excellency and pray the intervention of the French court to rescue the credit of America from pending ruin. He communicated his intention to the Count de Montmorin, who judged it best first to employ his good offices for us with the Count de Florida Blanca. That minister assured him of the inability of the court to supply the sum in question, but appeared disposed to become responsible for the repayment in a few months, if we could find any persons to make the advance necessary. I had recourse to the associates of Mr. Cabarus with Mr. Jay's approbation, who seemed willing to furnish the money provided the minister of finance would receive this as part of the sum in specie which they have engaged to furnish to this court. I informed the Count de Montmorin of this circumstance, who, not content of his application to the minister, had the goodness to speak to the Marquis d'Aranda, whose friendship to us and our cause inclines him to befriend us. The marquis, whom Mr. Jay hath since seen, hath justified the opinion I always entertained of him. But before any final arrangement can be taken, it is necessary that the Count de Montmorin should once more see the Count de F. Blanca. We expect his answer this evening. This takes time, and it will not be in Mr. Jay's power to despatch his express until to-morrow at soonest, by which the Marquis d'Yranda will write probably to Mr. Grand if this arrangement takes place. The amount of all bills accepted by Mr. Jay at 3 and 6 months' sight is $264,258, and $15,600 at 2 months' sight. Mr. Jay will enclose you a more particular account. Fearful that his express may still be delayed I take the liberty of giving you this hasty return, convinced that you will do all in your

power to save us from the cruel mortification of seeing our credit ruined here, and likewise that of many innocent individuals who have counted on the punctual payment of these bills. I make no doubt Colonel Laurence [sic] will join effectually in this business. I beg you to make him the proper compliments and congratulations on my part, and to believe me, with much respect, your excellency's most obliged and most humble servant,

W. CARMICHAEL.

APRIL 1.

P. S.—Finding that the express by which I intended to send this letter was to go first to the Pardo, I judged it best to defer making use of that conveyance. You will find by Mr. Jay's letters and the paper it encloses that our situation, for a month at least, is rendered more agreeable. It depends upon you, or rather your court, to make it still more so. The Spanish fleet had not got into Cadiz the 27th ult. Its return depends on the weather and winds, which have been unfavorable since the 23d, when it was in view of port. A vessel has arrived at Cadiz, which left Cambridge, in Maryland, the 10th of February and the capes the 18th. Arnold was still in Virginia, the captain says, cut off from communication with his ships by a superior force of militia.

He also asserts that he saw, two days before his departure, a handbill containing a relation of an action in the borders of North and South Carolina, in which our troops were victorious, and the enemy lost 900 men killed, wounded, and prisoners, and 30 wagons.

Washington to Luzerne.*

HEADQUARTERS, NEW WINDSOR,
March 31, 1781.

SIR: I was last evening honored with your excellency's favor of the 27th, covering an open letter for the Count de Rochambeau, by which you have been so good as to make me the earliest communication of the action on the 16th between the French and British fleets off the capes of the Chesapeake. By the enclosed you will be informed of the return of the former into the harbor of Newport.

I must confess to your excellency that I was never sanguine as to the success of that expedition after the sailing of the two fleets so nearly together, knowing it would turn in great measure upon the arrival of M. Destouches in the Chesapeake before Mr. Arbuthnot; a circumstance of the utmost uncertainty, not depending upon the skill or valor of the commanding officer, but upon winds and weather. And I assure you I more sensibly feel the anxiety expressed by the Baron Viomenil and the Chevalier Destouches, lest anything should be attributed to

* 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 719.

the want of execution on their parts, than I do the disappointment in the plan which we had in contemplation. But certain I am that instead of sentiments of so ungenerous a nature, there will be a universal admiration of the good conduct and bravery exhibited by the officers and men of his most Christian majesty's squadron when opposed to one of superior forces.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect and warmest personal attachment, &c.,

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

Dana to the Count de Vergennes.*

PARIS, *March* 31, 1781.

SIR: I have the honor to acquaint your excellency that Congress have been pleased to charge me with a commission as their minister at the court of St. Petersburgh, and that reposing the highest confidence in his most Christian majesty, their first and illustrious ally, and in his ministers, they have particularly instructed me to communicate the general object of my mission to his majesty's minister at the court of St. Petersburgh, to the end, without doubt, that their negociations at that court might be carried on in perfect harmony with those of his majesty, upon whose gracious and powerful assistance, through his minister there, Congress place much reliance.

Had Congress apprehended their despatches would have met me here, they probably would not have failed to direct this communication to be made to his majesty in the first instance through your excellency. Under this persuasion, I beg leave to acquaint your excellency that the general view of Congress in this mission is, to engage her Imperial majesty to favor and support the sovereignty and independence of the United States, and to lay a foundation for a good understanding and friendly intercourse between the subjects of her Imperial majesty and the citizens of the United States to the mutual advantage of both nations, and consistent with the treaties subsisting between his most Christian majesty and the United States.

In the firm confidence that this measure will meet with the cordial approbation of his majesty, I do not doubt but I shall experience his benevolence, in a proper encouragement and support, in the execution of my mission. It may be proper to acquaint your excellency that I propose to set off for Holland next Wednesday morning if there should be no occasion for further delay, and from thence to proceed to St. Petersburgh. It is not my intention to assume any public character on my arrival there, but to appear only as a private citizen of the United States, until the result of my inquiries shall point out a ready and honorable reception. I shall most cheerfully obey my instructions to communicate the general object of my mission to his majesty's min-

* MSS. Dep. of State; 4 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 558.

ister at St. Petersburgh, whose able advice and assistance I hope your excellency will be pleased to assure to me.

I am, with the greatest respect, &c.,

FRANCIS DANA.

Dana to the President of Congress.*

PARIS, *March* 31, 1781.

SIR: My letter of the 28th instant will inform your excellency that on that day I had a further consultation with Dr. Franklin upon the subject of my mission, particularly upon the mode of communicating the general object of it here; that, having agreed upon that, I left the papers with him, to the end that if he thought it proper to make the communication he might have them before him and do it without loss of time.

Partly to save time in case the doctor should be of the opinion that it was most proper for me to make it, and partly to lay before him my idea about it in writing, I drew up a letter to the Count de Vergennes, which I left with the other papers, a copy of which you will have enclosed. The doctor called upon me late last evening with the whole, and told me he had attentively considered them, and that he thought it best I should make the communication; and was pleased to add that he had carefully examined my draft of a letter in particular, and approved of it entirely; that he did not know of any alteration which could be made in it for the better. Confiding in his judgment more than in my own, I this morning sent a fair copy of it to the Count de Vergennes (adding only the few words underscored), which was received at his office at five o'clock this afternoon. This mode obliges me to postpone the time of my departure from Sunday to Wednesday next, when, as I have said in my last, if there should not arise any obstructions out of this communication, I shall set out for Holland.

I am not without my apprehensions on this head, yet I do not see that the measure could have been decently avoided, most certainly not consistent with the letter and spirit of my instructions. I have endeavored to adapt the mode to the main end I have in view—that is, to stave off any question touching the expediency of the voyage at this time or prior to my obtaining permission to make it, for the reasons mentioned in my letter of the 24th instant, as well as for others, which it may not be prudent to mention just now. Perhaps they are not well founded. I shall not fail to do myself the honor to transmit to your excellency the answer I may receive to the enclosed and a particular account of every material circumstance which may take place here before my departure. It is probable I shall have a safe opportunity to send duplicates of the whole from Holland.

I am, with the greatest respect, &c.,

FRANCIS DANA.

---

* MSS. Dep. of State; 4 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 559.

Lovell to Franklin.*

MARCH 31, 1781.

SIR: I send you a few newspapers and the last monthly journals which have come from the press. The enemy will tell their own story of the naval engagement on the 16th. They have ventured nearer to truth in Rivington's *Royal Gazette* than almost at any one time before since the very commencement of hostilities. Our allies conducted most gallantly, and the enemy are so convinced of the activity of the French commander that they have not ventured to remain in the Chesapeake Bay to do all the damage which the event of the battle had put in their power.

I send you General Greene's account of an affair between him and Cornwallis on the 15th. It differs but little from the prints. I will endeavor to have it struck at the press. You shall have it at least with our good secretary's attestation, which is in the best credit even with the enemy. The opportunity of sending is too precarious to admit of my enlarging.

Your most humble servant,

JAMES LOVELL,
For the Committee of Foreign Affairs.

Franklin to Hodgson.†

PASSY, *April* 1, 1781.

DEAR SIR: I received your respected favor of the 20th past, and am shocked exceedingly at the account you give me of Digges. He that robs the rich even of a single guinea is a villain; but what is he who can break his sacred trust by robbing a poor man and a prisoner of eighteen pence given in charity for his relief, and repeat that crime as often as there's weeks in a winter, and multiply it by robbing as many poor men every week as make up the number of near six hundred? We have no name in our language for such atrocious wickedness. If such a fellow is not damned it is not worth while to keep a devil.‡

---

* MSS. Dep. of State; 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 150.

† MSS. Dep. of State; 7 Bigelow's Franklin, 218.

‡ This letter was in reply to the following from Hodgson to Franklin, dated London, March 20, 1781:

"I have just received yours of the 8th instant, which surprises me not a little, as by the letter enclosed I perceive the person to whom that letter is addressed has deceived you most egregiously. He has not advanced one shilling that has come to my knowledge. He had indeed written to Portsmouth and Plymouth, to order the distribution of one shilling and six pence a week to the prisoners. I was informed of it by the agents of both places; but, although he gave those directions, he did not provide the necessary funds. I thought it therefore right to caution both Mr. Wren and Mr. Heath against advancing money and advised them to say that they would be glad to serve the prisoners, but that it was just that the money should be

I am sorry you have been obliged to advance money. I desired M Grand some time since to order two hundred pounds to be paid you i London. If that is not done, draw on him for the sum of two hundre and fifty pounds, payable at thirty days' sight, and your bill shall b duly honored.

I enclose a copy of Digges' last letter to me, in which he acknowledge the drafts made on me (omitting one of seventy-five pounds), and pr tends that he only draws as he is drawn upon by his friends, who han the money to the prisoners, and that those friends are almost tired c the charitable employment, but he encourages them, etc. Be so goo as to let them know of this letter.

I wish with you and with all good men for peace. Proposals c mediation have been made, but the effect is yet uncertain. I shall b mindful of your request, and you may depend on my doing anythin in my power that may be serviceable to you.

With sincere esteem I am, dear sir,

Jay to Franklin.*

MADRID, *April* 1, 1781.

DEAR SIR: Notwithstanding my repeated and earnest application to the Count de Florida Blanca, I have as yet been able to obtain onl $24,880† of the $150,000 expressly promised me in December las He has, on the contrary, assured me that this promise could not b complied with in less than six months. It therefore became necessar to communicate my embarrassments to the ambassador of France, an to request his friendly aid and interposition. You will perceive by th enclosed account that the bills I have accepted, and which still remai to be paid (exclusive of those at two months sight, for the payment c which you authorized me to draw upon you), amount to $231,303, c which $89,083 will be payable this month, $96,288 in May, $18,027 i June, $9,025 in July, $15,086 in August, $3,794 in September; tota $231,303.

The ambassador was very sensible of the pernicious consequence which would follow a protest of these bills, and I must do him th justice to say interested himself warmly in endeavoring to extricat me from that necessity. He has had different conferences with th

sent to them; and indeed I have been obliged to reimburse to one of those perso twenty-five pounds, and to the other twenty pounds which they had before advance to Mr. Digges, and could not procure the payment of; and this I did partly out of bill he gave me last year on Mr. Grand for forty-eight pounds, although twent pounds of that sum were for money I had lent him in the spring of 1780. I fear a is not right. He has been absent from town some time. The last I heard of hi was from Bristol, where he was about purchasing goods for Lisbon."

* MSS. Dep. of State; 2 Jay's Life, 76; 2 Corr. and Pub. Papers of John Jay, 10.

† In 2 Jay's Life, 76, and in 2 Corr. and Pub. Papers of John Jay, 10, this is give as $34,880.

unt de Florida Blanca on the subject, and yesterday he promised the
ıbassador positively to pay the 89,083 dollars which will be due in
ɔril in the course of six months in six equal payments, reckoning
ɔm next May; but as this money still left me without relief as to the
ɔril bills, he engaged the Marquis d'Yranda to advance the sums
cessary to pay them, and which I shall accordingly receive from him.
us, my dear sir, I have been, as it were, reprieved by the kind offices
the French ambassador from the necessity of protesting any of the
ls due this month, but every ensuing month will bring with it new
ngers and solicitudes, and particularly the month of May, in the
ırse of which I shall be called upon for no less than 96,288 dollars.
ım in a cruel situation, and without the least expectation of succour
cept from France.

I therefore think it necessary to inform you of the delicate state of
r affairs here by express, and to entreat you to use your utmost
deavors to provide me by his return with funds adequate to the bills
cepted, which at present amount to $142,220, without including
her those which may yet arrive or the $89,083 due this month, and
the payment of which I expect to reimburse the Marquis d'Yranda
th the money promised by the minister on the monthly payments be-
e mentioned. The Marquis d'Yranda, whom I saw yesterday at the
ench ambassador's, has further agreed, at the ambassador's request,
furnish me with the further sum of 142,220 dollars, as I shall have
casion for it, provided Mr. Grand will accept his drafts to that amount.
is therefore of the last importance that arrangements for this pur-
se be immediately taken with that gentleman, and that I receive by
e return of the express his order on the marquis to furnish me at
st with the sum of 142,220 dollars, without which it will be impos-
ble for me to pay these bills. The ambassador will also write by this
ırier, and I have little doubt but that your court will generously in-
ɔpose on this, as they have on several occasions, to prevent events
ejudicial to America in particular and the common cause in general.
ım also constrained to add that our situation here is daily becoming
ɔre disagreeable from the want of our salaries. To be obliged to con-
ıct debts and live on credit is terrible. I have not this day received
shilling from America, and we should indeed have been greatly dis-
ssed had it not have been for your good offices. Endeavor, I beseech
u, to provide us with supplies on this account, and deliver me, if
ssible, from the many disagreeable sensations which such a variety
unpleasant circumstances naturally create. Remember that new
ls are still arriving. Be pleased to communicate this letter to Mr.
urens, who, I am persuaded, will cheerfully afford you all the aid
his power. I have directed the courier to wait your orders, and then
return without further delay.

With perfect esteem and regard, I am, dear sir, your most obedient
rvant,

JOHN JAY.

P. S.—You will perceive from the enclosed account that I shall under the necessity of drawing upon you for ten or 12,000 dollars account of the 25,000 before it will be possible to hear from you on t subject.

[I have requested the favor of your grandson to execute some litt commissions for me, and you will oblige me by furnishing him mon for the purpose.] *

Vergennes to Dana.†

[Translation.]

VERSAILLES, *April* 1, 1781.

SIR: I have received the letter which you did me the honor to wri to me on the 31st ultimo. I was already informed of the part taken Congress in the mission with which you are charged for the court St. Petersburgh. As it would seem that present circumstances oug to have some influence in fixing the time of your departure, I shou be glad on this account to have an interview with you. The reflectio which I shall communicate have for their principle the sincere intere which I take in the cause of your country, as well as in the dignity Congress.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

DE VERGENNES.

Dana to Vergennes.‡

PARIS, *April* 2, 1781.

SIR: I have received the letter which your excellency did me t honor to write to me yesterday in answer to mine of the day befo and I shall do myself the honor to wait on your excellency for the pu pose mentioned in it before my departure.

It is not to be doubted that the reflections which your excellen desires to communicate to me are founded in the sincere interest whi you take in the cause of our country and in the dignity of Congress

I am, with the highest respect, &c.,

FRANCIS DANA.

---

* Omitted in the copy in 2 Jay's Life, 76.

† 4 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 560.

‡ MSS. Dep. of State; 4 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 561.

Dana to the President of Congress.*

PARIS, *April* 2, 1781.

SIR: I do myself the honor to enclose to your excellency the letter the Count de Vergennes to me of yesterday in answer to mine of day before and my answer to him. Congress need not wait to be ormed of the substance of the proposed conference in order to form udgment of the sentiments of his majesty's ministers upon the mis- n with which they have charged me. These are sufficiently pointed by the count's letter, which proves the apprehensions hinted in last were not wholly unfounded.

From the beginning I have foreseen the difficulty of my situation, I have felt it likewise. Had my instructions been positive to pro- d, I should have been considerably advanced on my route at this e. But what can I now do, if I should be told, as I certainly expect e told, that it is not expedient to proceed at this time, nor until I e taken the sense of the court of St. Petersburgh upon the meas- ? I do not ask this question expecting any seasonable answer to Our distance is unhappily too great for timely explanation. I ll go to Versailles to-morrow to confer with the count, after which, atever may be the result there, I shall think it my duty to set off Holland, for the purpose of consulting Mr. Adams on the whole tter. Having done this, I shall have taken every step which Con- ss will expect of me prior to my making up my final determination pecting my voyage to St. Petersburgh. I will give your excellency further trouble at present, but as any new matter may arise I will tinue to give Congress, through you, the earliest information of it.

I am, with the greatest respect, &c.,

FRANCIS DANA.

Dana to the President of Congress.†

PARIS, *April* 4, 1781.

SIR: If the packet which I sent off for L'Orient early this morning es safe to hand your excellency will receive a copy of my letter of 31st ultimo to his excellency the Count de Vergennes, communicat- to him the general object of my mission, my letter to yourself of the e date, a copy of the count's answer to me of the 1st instant, pro- ing a conference with me before my departure, and my answer to t of the 2d, together with my letter of the same date to you.

hurried these away, because I conceived the count's letter clearly nifested the sentiments of his majesty's ministers on the subject of mission, and was afraid the opportunity of sending them would be erways lost. Whether I was too hasty in this opinion formed upon

---

*MSS. Dep. of State; 4 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 561. *Ibid.*, 562.

his letter Congress will judge. However that may be, I am happy
say that in the conference I had with his excellency this morni
(being at my particular desire introduced to him by Dr. Franklin) I c
not perceive that he had formed any fixed judgment upon it. Thou
he opened the conference with ideas perfectly consonant with those
had supposed him to entertain on the subject, yet when I had explain
to him my proposed line of conduct he did not persist in them.
seemed rather to have desired an opportunity to communicate to
his reflections by way of caution and advice than as serious objectio
to the mission itself.

He asked if I had any particular object of negociation in view,
which I answered that I had communicated the general object of
mission in my first letter to him; that I had it not in contemplation
precipitate any negociation whatever; that I did not think it agreeal
to the design of Congress, and that I certainly would never expo
them to any indignities; that it was thought by Congress expedient
have some person at St. Petersburgh with an eventual character, w
might improve the favorable moment for assuming it. He inquir
whether I had received any assurances from that country that my re
dence in it would be acceptable. I told him a gentleman not a nati
of the country had written from thence that some persons of ran
whether they were connected with the court at all I could not say, h
expressed their wishes that some person should be sent there fr
America capable of giving information of the state of our affairs.

He observed that Russia had not acknowledged the independence
America, that British influence was not done away at St. Petersburg
that if I went, it would be supposed that I had some object
view, and there being no visible one, I, being an American, would
supposed to have some political views, some eventual character, whi
might expose me if I had not permission to reside there, as he express
himself, to some *désagréments*. I answered to this effect: That I shou
appear as a mere private gentleman travelling with a view of obtaini
some knowledge of that country; that whatever suppositions of the s
might be made, the court would always have it in their power to de
they knew anything about me; and while I held such a line of condu
I did not imagine they would consider themselves at all concerned
the matter. On the other hand, if I asked permission and obtained
the British court would consider that as a proof of the part which R
sia meant finally to take, and would immediately act in consequence
it; that it would, perhaps, embarrass the court of St. Petersbur
unnecessarily. I added, I wished only to lay before his excellency
ideas upon the subject, and begged him not to think it was my int
tion to press this point; that I had a perfect confidence in him (and c
not fail to assure him of that of Congress), and wished for his advi
that I should always pay the highest respect to it, and should foll
it in matters left to my discretion.

I put one general question to him, whether he thought my going ould be injurious to our common interest? To which I did not ceive a direct answer, but he advised me to mention my design of ing to the minister at The Hague. I asked him if he would permit e to make use of his name; but this did not comport with his idea of e matter, which was to keep my eventual character out of sight, and propose the journey only as a private gentleman of America, desir- us of seeing that country, and of inquiring into the nature and state its commerce, &c. I am not yet wholly reconciled to this step; for unhappily, my first apprehensions are well founded, it would be xceedingly easy here to lay an insurmountable obstacle in my way. While I am making this observation, I feel a concern lest it might be ngenerous. Besides, it has a strange appearance to me for a private entleman of one country to ask the public minister of another, both eing in amity together, whether it is safe or proper for him to travel to the other. The minister would be apt to wonder what could give se to such an inquiry, when the Americans are travelling into all other ountries without molestation. But I will consult Dr. Franklin and r. Adams on this point.

In the course of our conversation the count told me that the resolu- ons of Congress with which I am particularly charged (these are my ords and not his), had been well received on the part of Russia. his, doubtless, will give Congress satisfaction, as it seems to show a iendly disposition in that court towards us. If no accident intervenes prevent it I shall set off for Holland next Sunday, from whence I ope to be in season to send your excellency duplicates of the whole. shall be happy if my conduct thus far meets the approbation of Con- ess.

I am, with the greatest respect, &c.,

FRANCIS DANA.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.*

AMSTERDAM, *April* 6, 1781.

SIR: This day the skipper of a treck-schuyt brought me your excel- ncy's important despatches by Colonel Laurens. The colonel deliv- ed them to Mr. Dana at Paris with perfect propriety. Mr. Dana, ith equal propriety, delivered them to a gentleman of character, who ndertook to deliver them at Amsterdam, but unfortunately forgot em at Valenciennes; from Valenciennes they travelled partly by ost, partly by the diligence, and partly by the treck-schuyt—that is, e barks which ply in this country in the canals—and by a kind of iracle arrived safe. I had been apprised of them and their misfor- ne long before they reached me, and suffered torments enough on

*7 J. Adams' Works, 385.

their account, although I took all the precautions in my power to recover them. Their wonderful preservation affords some hopes that they are destined to do good. Yet the prospect is but distant.

I am very sensible of the honor done me by these fresh instances of the confidence of Congress, and most sincerely wish it were in my power to give any encouragement of success. But my proposals for a loan, although apparently well received by the public, have as yet had no success, and I have no power to discharge the bills of exchange drawn upon Mr. Laurens and me, and accepted, but from Mr. Franklin. The war has struck such a damp and gloom, excited so great a fermentation and so many apprehensions of popular commotion and many other dangers, some real and some imaginary, that I think still, as I have constantly written to Congress, we shall find no private credit until we are publicly received by the States and by the prince; and when that will be I know not. I fear it will be long, but shall soon try the experiment. The powers and credentials are perfect, and Mr. Dana's appointment to Russia will aid me, if anything can. The delay of Spain is an obstruction to us here and everywhere.

If one were to judge by the paragraphs which appear in the English newspapers and in the *Courier du Bas Rhin* one would think that there was a most malignant spirit against Mr. Van Berckel and the burgomasters of Amsterdam, and a determination to sacrifice him, if possible. I rather think, however, that these paragraphs are the fabrication of some of the old instruments of Sir Joseph Yorke. They are not most certainly the sense of this nation, in whose estimation, in general, the gentlemen of Amsterdam stand high.

I will not dissemble, however, to Congress. The councils of this people are the most inscrutable of any I ever saw. There is a standing army, and that is marched and cantoned about in new places. This army, and every civil officer in public trust, is supposed to have a decided inclination to England and against America, but especially against France. There are mutual suspicions of designs of innovation, but I hope not well founded. All this, together with the novelty of war and the defenceless state of the nation, intimidates everybody.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

JOHN ADAMS.

Dana to Franklin.*

PARIS, *April* 6, 1781.

SIR: Having, agreebly to my instructions as well as my own inclinations, laid before your excellency all the papers which I have received from Congress relative to my mission to the court of St. Petersburgh, and my correspondence with his excellency the Count de Vergennes in

* MSS. Dep. of State; 4 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 564.

nsequence of the same, for the benefit of your good counsel, and as
u were so kind, at my particular request, as to introduce me to the
unt at the conference we had last Wednesday upon the subject of
r mission, and heard the whole, I hope you will not think I give you
y unnecessary trouble when I request you to favor me, in writing,
th your opinion upon the following matters: Whether, on the whole,
u conceived the count to have any objection to the mission itself? Or
ether you considered his reflections upon the subject rather intended
cautions and advice to me respecting the conduct he would wish me
hold in the business? Whether you supposed him, finally, to make
y real objections to my going to St. Petersburgh in the character of
y a private American gentleman, and there waiting for the favora-
moment for opening my eventual character? And whether, all cir-
nstances considered, your excellency thinks it expedient for me to
ceed to St. Petersburgh in a private character only, and there to wait
above mentioned?

You will not, I presume, think I mean anything particular in my re-
est, when I assure you I shall likewise ask of Mr. Adams his opion-
, in writing, upon the same subject. Being directed by Congress to
sult you and him, I am desirous only to have it in my power, in case
he death of either of you, to show them I have done so, as well as
result itself, and that I have paid, as I shall do, a proper respect
d attention to your opinions and advice in the whole business.

I am, with greatest respect, &c.,

FRANCIS DANA.

P. S.—I shall set out for Holland on Sunday morning, and shall cheer-
y take your commands.

Franklin to Dana.*

PASSY, *April* 7, 1781.

SIR: I received the letter you yesterday did me the honor of writing
me, requesting my opinion, in writing, relative to the conference you
with his excellency the Count de Vergennes last Wednesday, I
ng present; and also as to the expediency of your proceeding to St.
ersburgh, which request I willingly comply with as follows:

Your first question is: Whether, on the whole, I conceived the count
have any objections to the mission itself?

Answer. He did not make any such objections, nor did he drop any
ression by which it might be supposed he had any such in his mind.

Question 2. Whether I considered his reflections upon the subject to
rather intended as cautions and advice to you respecting the con-
t he would wish you to hold in the business?

Answer. His excellency expressed his apprehensions that if you went

* MSS. Dep. of State; 4 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 565; 9 Sparks' Franklin, 17.

thither under a public character before the disposition of the court was known and its consent obtained it might be thought improper and be attended with inconvenience; and, if I remember right, he intimated the propriety of your consulting Prince Gallitzen, the Russian ambassador at The Hague.

Question 3. Whether I supposed him finally to make any real objections to your going to St. Petersburgh in the character only of a private American gentleman, and there waiting the favorable moment of opening your eventual character?

Answer. His objections were, that though you should not avow your public character, yet if known to be an American who had been in public employ it would be suspected that you had such a character, and the British minister there might exert himself to procure you "*quelques désagréments*"—*i. e.*, chagrins or mortifications. And that, unless you appeared to have some other object in visiting Russia, your being an American would alone give strong grounds for such suspicions. But when you mentioned that you might appear to have views of commerce as a merchant, or of curiosity as a traveler, &c., that there was a gentleman at St. Petersburgh with whom some in America had a correspondence, and who had given hints of the utility there might be in having an American in Russia who could give good and true intelligence of the state of our affairs and prevent or refute misrepresentations, &c., and that you could perhaps by means of that gentleman make acquaintance, and thence procure useful information of the state of commerce, the country, the court, &c., he seemed less to disapprove of your going directly.

As to my own opinion, which you require, though I have long imagined that we let ourselves down in our offering our alliance before it is desired, and that it would have been better if we had never issued commissions for ministers to the courts of Spain, Vienna, Prussia, Tuscany, or Holland till we had first privately learnt whether they would be received, since a refusal from one is an actual slight that lessens our reputation and makes others less willing to form a connexion with us; yet since your commission is given, and the Congress seem to expect, though I think they do not absolutely require, that you should proceed to St. Petersburgh immediately, I conceive (that assuming only a private character for the present, as you propose) it will be right for you to go, unless, on consulting Mr. Adams and Prince Gallitzen you should find reason to judge that under the present circumstances of the proposed mediation, &c., a delay for some time would be more advisable.

With great esteem, and best wishes for your success, &c.,

B. FRANKLIN.

Franklin to J. Adams.*

PASSY, *April* 7, 1781.

SIR: Among the late intercepted letters from London is one from he army agent there to the traitor Arnold, by which it appears that is bribe was £5,000 sterling, in bills drawn on Harley & Drummond, ho are the contractors for furnishing the army with money. Enclosed send you a copy of that letter, and shall send you others by next ost.

The English papers tell us that you have succeeded in your loan. e so good as to inform me if it is true. It will give me great pleasure. obtained here, before Col. Laurens' arrival, a promise of 6,000,000 for ur army, to which I hope his solicitations will make a considerable ddition. The Marquis de la Fayette sailed the 27th past under convoy f the *Alliance*, with a fair wind and a cargo for the publick of arms, lothing, and valued at £1,000,000.

With respect, etc.

J. Laurens to the President of Congress.†

VERSAILLES, *April* 9, 1781.

SIR: Since I had the honor of writing to your excellency on the 23d ltimo I have employed the most unremitting efforts to obtain a prompt nd favorable decision relative to the objects of my mission. After nany discussions, difficulties, and delays, with the details of which it s needless to trouble Congress, the Count de Vergennes communicated o me yesterday his most Christian majesty's determination to guaranty loan of ten millions, to be opened in Holland, in addition to the six illions granted as a gratuitous gift and the four millions appropriated or the payment of bills of exchange drawn by Congress on their min- ster plenipotentiary. The purchase-money of the clothing, which must e an affair of private contract, and the value of the military effects hich may be furnished from the royal arsenals are to be deducted rom the six millions.

I shall use my utmost endeavors to procure an immediate advance f the ten millions from the treasury of France, to be replaced by the roposed loan, and shall renew my solicitations for the supplies of ord- ance and military stores on credit, that the present of six millions may ot be absorbed by those objects and the purchase of necessary cloth- ng. The providing this article I fear will be attended with great diffi- ulties and delays, as all the woollen manufactories of France are re- note from the sea and there are no public magazines of cloth suitable o our purposes. The cargo of the *Marquis de La Fayette* will, I hope,

---

* MSS. Dep. of State.

† MSS. Dep. of State; 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 160, with verbal changes and missions.

arrive safe under the convoy of the *Alliance*, and, by satisfying our immediate necessities, prevent the delays above mentioned from having any disagreeable consequences.

The Marquis de Castries has engaged to make immediate arrangements for the safe transportation of the pecuniary and other succors destined for the United States, and has repeatedly assured me that the naval superiority will be established on the American coast the ensuing campaign. The French fleet, he informs me, was on the 27th ultimo sixty leagues west of Cape Finisterre, proceeding to its destination in good order and with a favorable wind.

I do myself the honor to transmit to your excellency extracts of the most conspicuous letters of an intercepted mail taken in a packet bound from Falmouth to New York. Your excellency will have been informed that the court of London have referred the offered mediation of Russia between England and the United Provinces to a general pacification. I have been some days stationary at Versailles for the facility of seeing the different ministers and accelerating their deliberations. Being just apprized of an opportunity from Nantes to America, I take the liberty of sending this short provisional letter, lest upon my return to Passy I should not have time to write more fully.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

JOHN LAURENS.

J. Laurens to Washington.*

PASSY, NEAR PARIS, *April* 11, 1781.

MY DEAR GENERAL: Not to trouble your excellency with a detail of writings, conferences, attendances, and importunities, I pass at once to the result as communicated to me by the Count de Vergennes. It is his most Christian majesty's determination to guarantee a loan of ten millions of livres, to be opened in Holland, in favor of the United States, in addition to the gratuitous gift of six millions granted before my arrival and four millions appropriated for the payment of bills of exchange drawn by Congress. The value of the clothing, ordnance, and military stores, of which articles I have delivered an estimate, reduced in proportion to the quantities already obtained and forwarded by Dr. Franklin, is to be deducted from the six millions. The distance of the manufacturing towns from the sea renders it impossible to procure the woolen cloths at a short notice. The marine department, which the Marquis de Lafayette imagined from the similarity of uniforms might be able to give us some assistance, has no reserve stores of this kind. The different regiments in the land service provide their own clothing, so that there will be unavoidable difficulties and delays in procuring the quantity demanded.

---

* 3 Sparks' Letters to Washington, 285.

I am using my utmost efforts to prevail upon the ministers to advance he ten millions from the treasury of France, and avail themselves of he proposed loan in Holland for replacing the sum. This arrangement, it appears to me, can be attended with no possible inconvenience o the finances of France, and I need not add to your excellency how nvaluable this gain of time will be to America. I shall likewise endeavor to negotiate the ordnance and other military effects that may e supplied from the king's arsenal on credit, to economize as much as ossible the six millions. The Marquis de Castries has promised to nake immediate arrangements for forwarding the supplies, and has enewed his assurances that a naval superiority will exist on the American coast the ensuing campaign. But there are not those dispositions nade for maintaining it that the success of the common cause demands, and I am sorry to inform your excellency that the ministry do ot seem to approve of the siege of the city of New York as an operaion for the ensuing campaign. What may be the effect of farther and nore particular conferences on the subject I can not determine.

Enclosed your excellency will receive extracts of letters intercepted n a packet bound from Falmouth to New York. They were communicated to me by the Marquis de Castries, but do not appear to ave made that impression on him and the rest of the ministry which vas reasonably to be expected.

It mortifies me much not to be able to announce to your excellency he day of my departure from this country. It is impossible to express he impatience which I feel to return to my military functions, and to ave opportunities of proving to your excellency that I am unalterably, vith the profoundest veneration and most tender attachment,

Your excellency's faithful aid,

JOHN LAURENS.

P. S.—I must trouble your excellency to present my respects to Mrs. Washington, my love to the Marquis de Lafayette, Colonel Hamilton, nd the rest of the family.

Franklin to Jay.*

PASSY, *April* 12, 1781.

DEAR SIR: I have before me the several letters you have honored ne with, dated February 21, March 11, and April 1.

I was much pleased to learn that you have obtained a promise for 50,000 dollars; your reflection on the consequence is just. As this um must be used in payment of the bills drawn upon you, and probbly no part of it can be applied to your subsistence, I desire that you ould draw upon me for half a year of your salaries immediately, at 30 ays' sight; and for the future, while I stay here, draw quarterly until

* MSS. Dep. of State.

you receive remittances or can obtain a disponible grant or loan. I mention this the first thing in my letter to make you as soon as possible easy on that head.

I thank you for sending me the copy of the resolution relating to the Empress of Russia, tho' I had before received it, and it was already communicated to her Imperial majesty, who, I am informed, is much pleased with it. Mr. Dana, lately secretary to Mr. Adams, has received a commission appointing him minister to that court. He is on his way thither incog., and proposes to appear in that country merely as a traveler till a proper time may arrive for avowing his character, so you will please not to mention it. Mr. Adams has, I believe, received a commission lately to supply the place of Mr. Laurens in Holland. I know not whether he has yet declared it. He has some time since opened a loan there at the house of Neufville for two millions of florins, about 4 millions of livres. I have not yet heard with what success, but hope it will fill.

I have always found Mr. Grand here an able and hearty friend in our affairs. I am therefore glad that you are becoming better acquainted with his friend at Madrid, as together they may on many occasions be more serviceable to us.

I thank you for communicating to me the letter of the secretary of Congress on our finances. It gives light which I had not before, and may be useful here.

Negotiations for peace are talked of. You will see all I know of them in a letter of mine to Congress, which I leave open for your perusal, and desire you to forward with your next despatches. I give you the opportunity of perusing that letter for another reason. I have in it desired a dismission from the service in consideration of my age, &c., and I wish you to succeed me here. No copy of the letter is yet gone from France, and possibly this which I send you may arrive first; nor have I mentioned my intention to anyone here. If therefore the change would be agreeable to you, you may write to your friends in Congress accordingly. This thought occurred to me on hearing from the Princess Masserano, that you and Mrs. Jay did not pass your time agreeably there,* and I think you would find this people of a more sociable turn, besides that I could put you immediately into the society I enjoy here of a set of very amiable friends. In this case Mr. Carmichael might succeed you in Spain. I purpose recommending these changes myself in another letter.

Your express arrived here on Sunday last at 3 o'clock. I communicated your letter that evening to Mr. Laurens. We agreed in the necessity of supporting the credit of Congress by paying the bills, tho' his zeal for supplying the army made him feel a reluctance in diminishing the 6 million of livres I had lately obtained for that purpose, and which was either to be laid out in clothing, &c., here or drawn for

* Here or there. Records differ.

by General Washington, as you will see by my letter to Congress. I have myself experienced too much of the same distressed situation you are in not to pity you most sincerely. I have therefore this day authorized Mr. Grand in writing to pay the bills of the Marquis d'Yranda that may be drawn to furnish you with the sum of 142,220 dollars. I confide that these drafts will not come but by degrees, as the occasion calls, from your acceptances between May and September, my receipts of money being gradual; but it may be depended on that the bills will be duly honored.

Mr. Laurens is worrying the minister for more money, and we shall I believe obtain a farther sum. But the necessary supplies of military stores will demand all and more than we shall get. I hope therefore that you will not relax in your applications for aids from Spain on account of the sums to be furnished you by me, since it will be hardly possible for me to assist you farther. My grandson will execute with pleasure your commissions.

Present my respectful compliments to Mrs. Jay, and believe me, etc.,

B. FRANKLIN.

P. S.—I enclose you copies of a number of letters lately taken and brought here. I wish you could send copies of them by different conveyances, as the contents of some are important.

Franklin to Carmichael.*

PASSY, *April* 12, 1781.

DEAR SIR: I received your favor by M. Cabarrus, and should have been glad if I could have rendered him any service here. He appears an amiable man and expert in affairs. I have also your obliging letters of the 28th of February and the 12th and 30th of March. I thank you much for your friendly hints of the operations of my enemies and of the means I might use to defeat them. Having in view at present no other point to gain but that of rest, I do not take their malice so much amiss, as it may further my project, and perhaps be of some advantage to you. ——— and ——— are open, and so far honorable enemies; the ———, if enemies, are more covered. I never did any of them the least injury, and can conceive no other source of their malice but envy. To be sure, the excessive respect shown me by all ranks of people and the little notice taken of them was a mortifying circumstance; but it was what I could neither prevent nor remedy. Those who feel pain at seeing others enjoy pleasure and are unhappy must meet daily with so many causes of torment, that I conceive them to be already in a state of damnation; and on that account I ought to drop

* 9 Sparks' Franklin, 20; 7 Bigelow's Franklin, 225.

all resentment with regard to those two gentlemen. But I can not help being concerned at the mischief their ill tempers will be continually doing in our public affairs whenever they have any concern in them.

I remember the maxim you mention of Charles the Fifth, *Yo y el Tiempo*; and have somewhere met with an answer to it in this distich:

"I and time 'gainst any two,
Chance and I 'gainst time and you."

And I think the two gentlemen you have at present to deal with would do wisely to guard a little more against certain chances.

The price of the *Bibliotheca Hispana* is too high for me. I thank you for the gazettes you sent me by the ambassador's courier. I received none by the last. I shall be exceedingly glad to receive the memoir of the *Sociedad Económica* and the works on political economy of its founder. The Prince of Maceran, with several other persons of his nation, did me the honor of breakfasting with me on Monday last, when I presented the compliments you charged me with. [Neither Mr. Jay's letter or yours mention anything of my paying the courier any money. He speaks of wanting 50 louis. I suppose I must give him some part of it, if not the whole.]* Mr. Cumberland has not yet arrived at Paris as far as I have heard. The discontents in our army have been quieted. There was in them not the least disposition to revolting to the enemy. I thank you for the Maryland captain's news, which I hope will be confirmed. They have heard something of it in England, as you will see by the papers, and are very uneasy about it, as well as about their news from the East Indies.

Yours, affectionately,

B. FRANKLIN.†

*Omitted by Sparks.

†To this in 9 Sparks' Franklin, 22, Mr. Sparks adds the following note:

On the 12th of April, 1781, Dr. Franklin was entertained in a somewhat remarkable manner at a *Fête Champêtre* given by the Countess d'Houdetot, at Sanoy, in the valley of Montmorency, twelve miles from Paris. The company consisted only of the different branches of the family of the Count and Countess d'Houdetot. To understand one of the stanzas it is necessary to know that the countess' name was Sophie. When the approach of Dr. Franklin's carriage was announced they all set off on foot from the château, and met him at a distance of about half a mile. He was handed from his carriage by the countess, who, upon his alighting, pronounced the following verses of her own composition.

"Ame du héros, et du sage,
Oh liberté! premier bienfait des dieux!
Hélas! c'est de trop loin que nous t'offrons des vœux;
Ce n'est qu'en soupirant que nous rendons hommage
Au mortel qui forma des citoyens heureux."

They walked slowly to the château, where they sat down to a splendid dinner. At the first glass of wine the following stanza was sung, which became the chorus of the day, accompanied by instrumental music:

"De Benjamin célébrons la mémoire,
Chantons le bien qu'il a fait aux mortels;
En Amérique il aura des autels,
Et dans Sanoy nous buvons à sa gloire."

W. Lee to the Committee of Foreign Affairs.*

BRUSSELS, *April* 12, 1781.

GENTLEMEN: Not having received any answer to various letters I ave written to you, covering my account as commissioner to the ourts of Vienna and Berlin, I take the liberty of again enclosing with his a copy of that account, No. 1; but having understood that Congress ad adopted another mode in settling Mr. Izard's account, I have stated nother account, No. 2, conformable to that mode, as I understand it, hich is also enclosed, leaving it with your justice and discretion to etermine which of them to lay before Congress.†

It is impossible to avoid observing that the prevailing sentiments in merica and the situation of public affairs which occasioned the reso- ution of Congress of the 20th of September, 1776, were very different rom those which dictated the resolution of August 6th, 1779.‡ Indeed,

---

At the second glass, the countess sang the following quatrain:

"Il rend ses droits à l'humaine nature
Pour l'affranchir il voulut l'éclairer,
Et la vertu, pour se faire adorer,
De Benjamin emprunta la figure."

At the third glass, the Viscount d'Houdetot sang:

"Guillaume Tell fut brave, mais sauvage;
J'estime plus notre cher Benjamin;
De l'Amérique en fixant le destin,
A table il rit, et c'est là le vrai sage."

At the fourth, the viscountess sang:

"Je dis aussi, vive Philadelphie!
L'indépendance a de quoi me tenter;
Dans ce pays je voudrais habiter,
Quoiqu'il n'y ait ni bal ni comédie."

At the fifth, Madame de Pernan:

"Tous nos enfants apprendront de leurs mères
A vous aimer, vous croire et vous bénir;
Vous enseignez ce qui peut réunir
Tous les humains dans les bras d'un seul père."

At the sixth, Count de Tressan:

"Vive Sanoy! C'est ma Philadelphie
Lorsque j'y vois son cher législateur;
J'y rajeunis dans le sein du bonheur,
J'y ris, j'y bois, et j'écoute Sophie."

*MSS. Dep. of State; 1 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 640, with verbal changes.

†Both missing.

‡ "AUGUST 6, 1779.

"*Resolved*, That an allowance of 11,428 livres tournois per annum be made to the several commissioners of the United States in Europe for their services, besides their reasonable expenses, respectively;

"That the salary, as well as the expenses, be computed from the time of their leaving their places of abode to enter on the duties of their offices, to be continued three months after notice of their recall, to enable them to repair to their families, respectively."

one difference is pretty remarkable, for at the first period the office of a commissioner was so far from being esteemed a profitable and honorable appointment that, on the contrary, it was refused, as the journals of Congress will show; but at the latter period there was such a change in the situation of the affairs of America, that similar appointments were sought after with great eagerness and much solicitude. It surely can not be thought unreasonable that this should be considered in rewarding those who accepted of the appointments at the different periods, as well as the situations and stations in life that were quitted and the personal losses that were sustained by entering into the public service. As to myself, I can solemnly aver that my pecuniary loss from engaging in the service of my country exceeded the sum of £6,000 sterling. This I do not mention as a peculiar merit, because I have no doubt there are

---

At the seventh, the Count d'Apché:

"Pour soutenir cette charte sacrée
Qu 'Édouard accorda aux Anglais,
Je sens qu'il n'est de chevalier français
Qui ne désire employer son épée."

Dinner being ended, Dr. Franklin was led by the countess, accompanied by the whole family, into the gardens of Sanoy, where, under a rural arbor, he was presented by the gardener with a Virginia locust tree, which, at the request of the company, he planted with his own hands. The countess at the same time repeated the following verses, which have been engraven on a marble pillar in the neighbourhood of that tree:

"Arbre sacré, durable monument
Du séjour qu'en ces lieux a daigné faire un sage,
De ces jardins devenu l'ornement,
Recevez-y le juste hommage
De nos vœux et de notre encens;
Et puissiez-vous dans tous les âges,
A jamais respecté du temps,
Vivre autant que son nom, ses lois et ses ouvrages."

On their return they were met by a band of music, which accompanied the whole party in following song:

"Que cet arbre, planté par sa main bienfaisante,
Élevant sa tige naissante
Au-dessus du stérile ormeau,
Par sa fleur odoriférante,
Parfume l'air de cet heureux hameau.
La foudre ne pourra l'atteindre,
Elle respectera son fait et ses rameaux;
Franklin nous enseigna par ses heureux travaux
A la diriger ou à l'éteindre,
Tandis qu'il détruisait des maux
Pour la terre encore plus à plaindre."

After which they all proceeded to the château. Towards evening Dr. Franklin was reconducted by the whole company to his carriage, and, before the door was shut, the countess pronounced the following complimentary verses composed by herself:

"Législateur d'un monde, et bienfaiteur des deux,
L'homme dans tous les temps te devra ses hommages,
Et je m'acquitte dans ces lieux
De la dette de tous les âges."

hers who have voluntarily made as great, if not much greater, sacri-
es in so good a cause; but as my family now feel not only that loss,
ıt the want of that portion of my private fortune which I was neces-
rily obliged to expend in the public service, I have reason to hope
at the settlement of my account will be speedily determined; and I
ust further hope and request that the payment of whatever sum Con-
ess shall please to allow me may be ordered to me in Europe.

I have now only to solicit, gentlemen, your kind intercession that this
ısiness may be brought to as quick a decision as possible, in which
ou will confer a singular obligation on him who has the honor to be,
ith the highest esteem, respect, and consideration, gentlemen, your
ost obedient and obliged humble servant,

WILLIAM LEE.

J. Adams to Franklin.*

LEYDEN, *April* 16, 1781.

SIR: I yesterday had the honor of yours of the 7th. The letter en-
osed is a bitter satire on the nation which produced it. Is it possible
at Arnold should show his face among men after such a letter? If
is not a bribe, it is robbery committed in the American service, for
is well known that Arnold had no such sum when the war began.
e is now employed in stealing tobacco and negroes; so is Cornwallis.
fair employment for peers, for Arnold is the peer of them all! I
ink the Southern States will have the honor, after all, of putting
e continent in a right way to finish the business of the war; there
ıs been more sheer fighting there, in proportion, than anywhere.

All the papers, English, French, and Dutch, assure the world that
have succeeded in a loan. I wish they would prove their words. I
ı told it will do by and by. So I am, that the nation will act vigor-
ısly by and by. I wish both may prove true; but I have not one
ain of your faith nor hope. There are capitalists who believe us able
ıd honest to pay, and that we shall prevail, and they have inclinations
ough they say to the loan; but the true motive of their conduct is
ar of being pointed out to mobs and soldiers as persons who have
ntributed to the commencement or continuance of the war with
ngland. I wrote you some days ago that I had not succeeded at
l, and requesting your orders how the bills accepted should be paid.
ome of them become payable the beginning of May, and on the 15th
that month the sixty-six bills, amounting to ten thousand pounds
erling, which were drawn in favor of Mr. Tracy, become due. I con-
atulate you on your success at Versailles. If Spain would make a
eaty with Mr. Jay it would assist us here. Everybody asks, why
es Spain delay? You and I know very well, but can not tell. But

---

*7 J. Adams' Works, 389.

so it is. One always negotiates ill when one is not in a condition t make one's self feared. If America could dissemble enough to threate other nations with a return to Great Britain they would be ready t hang themselves to prevent it. But America is too honest and sincer to play this game. England would have all the mountains of Mexic and Peru in a few years if America should join her. Yet we ar slighted. God forgive them, and enable America to forget their un generosity. America has fought Great Britain and Ireland six years and not only Great Britain, but many States of Germany, many tribe of Indians, and many negroes, their allies. Great Britain has bee moving earth and hell to obtain allies against us, yet it is improper i us to propose an alliance! Great Britain has borrowed all the superflu ous wealth of Europe, in Italy, Germany, Holland, Switzerland, an some in France, to murder us, yet it is dishonorable in us to propose t borrow money! By heaven, I would make a bargain with all Europ if it lay with me. Let all Europe stand still, neither lend men no money nor ships to England nor America, and let them fight it ou alone. I would give my share of millions for such a bargain. Americ is treated unfairly and ungenerously by Europe. But thus it is, man kind will be servile to tyrannical masters and basely devoted to vil idols.

With great respect, your obedient servant,

JOHN ADAMS.

J. Adams to Vauguyon.*

LEYDEN, *April* 16, 1781.

SIR: I have the honor to acquaint your excellency that I have re ceived from Congress full powers and instructions to treat with th States-General, and to conclude a treaty of amity and commerce con sistent with the relations already formed between the United State and France, and that I have also received a letter of credence as a min ister plenipotentiary to their high mightinesses, and another to his mos serene highness the Prince of Orange.

With the greatest respect, &c.,

JOHN ADAMS.

Laurens to Vergennes.†

PARIS, *April* 18, 1781.

The underwritten, special minister of the United States of America has the honor to represent to his most Christian majesty, in behalf o Congress and by their orders, that the crisis is extreme, and that i demands prompt and decisive succors.

---

* MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 346.

† MSS. Dep. of State; 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 162, with verbal changes.

The United States claim with confidence the power and good will of
ir august ally. They had requested,
1) A loan of twenty-five millions.
2) A naval superiority on the American coast.
3) Arms and ammunition, materials for clothing, equipments, and
ts, estimates of which have been laid before the ministry.
The underwritten, being informed by the Count de Vergennes of the
g's intentions with regard to pecuniary succors, earnestly offers in
e name of Congress the homage of the most lively gratitude, but at
e same time it is his duty to represent, that although this succor tends
the object which his majesty has in view, it is nevertheless demon-
ated in the present state of affairs that it is insufficient, considering
e urgent necessities of the army and the administration, its engage-
nts and debts, the exhausted condition of America, the absolute defi-
ncy of resources and specie, and the enormous expense essential to
e vigorous support of the war. It is on this account that the under-
itten earnestly entreats his majesty to grant, on credit to the United
ates of America, the artillery, arms, ammunition, &c., which shall be
awn from his majesty's arsenals and magazines, as a very consider-
le sum must be absorbed for the payment of clothing and other
icles to be collected in France.
The underwritten further entreats his majesty to consider that the
eration of a loan in Holland can not be terminated in less than three
nths, that the delay of this result may commit the safety of America
d the common cause, lose the fruit of all the expense and sacrifices
herto made. A single instant is precious; the least delay becomes
the most dangerous consequence, while the successes of the British
ltiply their resources and give them new energy.
The loan which will be opened in Holland under the auspices of his
jesty, favored by the guarantee which he is pleased to grant, can not
l of success.
The underwritten flatters himself, therefore, that his majesty will
d no inconvenience in ordering the immediate advance of ten millions,
be delivered at the disposal of the United States, which will be re-
rned to his royal treasury by means of the loan in question.
Events of the greatest importance depend upon this disposition
ually good and indispensable. The underwritten would think him-
f deficient in his duty if he did not persevere in entreating his majesty
adopt and order it.
The arrival of this sum is necessary to give a vigorous impulse to the
ganization of administration in the present state of things, renew the
ne of parts which have lost their energy, and revive public credit by
aking the resources of the country concur in the expenses of the war,
hich resources can not be turned to account without coin to determine
em,

If it is impossible to make it a part of the general arrangement to grant safe means of conveyance for the totality of this sum, the underwritten entreats his majesty to cause as considerable a portion as possible to be remitted immediately, and to fix a very early date for the departure of the remainder.

The underwritten further earnestly solicits that a naval superiority be permanently maintained on the American coast. The practicability and success of all military operations and the event of the war depend directly, and even exclusively, on the state of the maritime force in America.

The British, by preserving this advantage, will be able to accomplish all their plans by the rapidity of their movements. The facility of transporting themselves everywhere secures them a series of successes, which are rendered still more decisive by the certainty of finding no opposition in defenceless points.

It is by these means that they have been able lately to possess themselves of a very important maritime point in North Carolina, and, by effecting a sudden junction between two divisions of their army, have been able to penetrate to the granary of that State. This position is the more favorable to the enemy, as he encloses between his army and the port of Wilmington, of which he is master, a considerable number of Scotch colonists, attached to the interests of England, and who will be determined, perhaps, by his successes to declare themselves openly. Such consequences are to be expected from great successes in all civil wars. If his majesty thinks proper to oppose a naval superiority to the British, they will be obliged to recall their troops from the interior country to reunite for the defence of the most important maritime points, the communication between which will be cut off and the choice of attacks left to the allies.

The abasement of Great Britain, the dismemberment of its empire, the inestimable commercial advantages arising to France, present great interests and merit powerful efforts. If this opportunity be neglected, if too much be left to chance, if time be lost, and the means employed be insufficient, the British pride will know neither bounds nor restraint; our object will be missed perhaps forever; it is easy to foresee how fatal the consequences would be to the French islands.

The underwritten renews the assurances of the most inviolable attachment on the part of the United States. Whatever may be the decision of his majesty on these representations, his goodness towards his allies will never be effaced from their hearts; they will support the common cause with the same devotion to the last extremity, but their success must necessarily depend upon their means.

JOHN LAURENS.

Dana to J. Adams.*

LEYDEN, *April* 18, 1781.

SIR: I feel myself happy that Congress have made it my duty to onsult your excellency upon the mission with which they have charged e for the court of St. Petersburgh. To this end I have already laid efore you all the papers which I have received from Congress any- ay relating to it, and also my correspondence with his excellency the ount de Vergennes and Dr. Franklin upon the same subject, as well as y letters to the President of Congress from the time I received this com- ission. From all these your excellency will be fully instructed in the veral matters on which I wish to have the benefit of your advice; but bring some of them more immediately under your view I beg leave state the following questions:

Whether, all circumstances considered, your excellency thinks it ex- edient for me to proceed to St. Petersburgh in the character of a pri- ate citizen of the United States only, and to wait there for a favorable oment to announce my public character?

Or whether, previous to my going in such a character, you judge it xpedient for me to communicate my design to Prince Gallitzen, am- assador at The Hague (secreting from him at the same time my public haracter), and to take his opinion thereon, according to the intimation iven to me by the Count de Vergennes at our conference?

Whether it is advisable to communicate my real character to the ourt of St. Petersburgh, and to ask their permission before I under- ake the journey?

Whether, in case you think it advisable for me to proceed to St. etersburgh in a private character only, without further communica- ons to anyone, you conceive it to be the intention of Congress that I ould present their resolutions relative to the rights of neutral vessels the court of St. Petersburgh on my arrival there, or whether this is ft to my discretion, to be regulated by the then state of affairs at that ourt?

Your excellency will readily perceive the propriety of my writing to ou on this business, although we have already had a conference upon , and my requesting your sentiments in writing also. I shall be appy to make a more particular communication of my own sentiments nd views in further conversation, if you think it needful, before you ive me yours.

I am, with the greatest respect, &c.,

FRANCIS DANA.

* MSS. Dep. of State; 4 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 567.

J. Adams to Dana.*

LEYDEN, *April* 18, 1781.

DEAR SIR: I am at no loss what advice to give you in answer to the questions in your letter of this day, because they relate to a subject on which I have long reflected, and have formed an opinion as fully as my understanding is capable of. I think, then, it is necessary for you to prepare for a journey to St. Petersburgh without loss of time; that you travel in the character of a gentleman, without any distinction of public or private, as far as the publication of your appointment already made in France will permit.

I should think it altogether improper to communicate your design to the ambassador of traveling to St. Petersburgh as a private gentleman, secreting from him at the same time your public character. It would expose you to something very disagreeable. The ambassador would ask you why you asked his advice when it is well known that private gentlemen travel without molestation in every country in Europe. Besides, the ambassador, I have reason to believe, would not give you any advice without instructions from his court, and this would require so much time that the most favorable opportunity which now presents itself would be lost. And after applying to the ambassador and being advised against the journey, or to postpone it for instructions from his court, it would be less respectful to go than to go now, when the circumstances of the times are very favorable.

The same reason applies equally against writing to the court beforehand. The best opportunity would be lost, and the court would never encourage you to come until they had determined to receive you, and you would have no opportunity to assist the deliberations upon the subject by throwing in any light, by answering objections or explaining the views of Congress.

After your arrival at St. Petersburgh I should advise you, unless upon the spot you discover reasons against it unknown to us at present, to communicate your character and mission to ———, or the minister of foreign affairs, in confidence, asking his advice, but at the same time presenting him a memorial ready prepared for the ———. If he informs you, if that is best for you to reside there as a private gentleman, or to travel for a time into Sweden or Denmark, or to return here to Holland, where I shall be happy to have your company and advice, take his advice.

The United States of America have nothing dishonorable to propose to any court or country. If the wishes of America, which are for the good of all nations, as they apprehend, are not deemed by such courts or nations consistent with their views and interest, of which they are the supreme judges, they will candidly say so, and there is no harm done. On the contrary, Congress will be applauded for their candor

* MSS. Dep. of State; 4 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 568.

ıd good intentions. You will make your communication to the French nbassador, of course, according to your instructions. This method as taken by this republic in her struggle with Spain; nay, it was ken by the republican Parliament in England, and by Oliver Crom-ell. It was taken by Switzerland and Portugal in similar cases with reat success. Why it should be improper now I know not.

I conceive it to be the intention of Congress that you should com-unicate their resolutions relative to the rights of neutral vessels, and am the more entirely of this opinion because I have already com-unicated those resolutions to their high mightinesses the States-eneral, and to their excellencies the ministers of Russia, Denmark, ıd Sweden, at The Hague, in pursuance of the letters I had received om the President, and I should now think it improper in me to sign treaty according to those resolutions, if invited thereto, because it ould be interfering with your department.

America, my dear sir, has been too long silent in Europe. Her cause that of all nations and all men, and it needs nothing but to be ex-ained to be approved; at least these are my sentiments. I have asons in my mind which were unknown to their excellencies the Count e Vergennes and Franklin when you consulted them—reasons which is improper for me to explain at present. But the reasons I have ven appear to me conclusive. No measure of Congress was ever ken in a more proper time or with more wisdom, in my opinion, than e appointment of a minister at The Hague and at St. Petersburgh. ıe effects of it may not appear in sudden and brilliant success, but e time was exactly chosen, and the happy fruits of it will appear in eir course.

Although I shall be personally a sufferer by your appointment, yet I ncerely rejoice in it for the public good. When our enemies have rmed alliances with so many princes in Germany and so many savage ıtions against us; when they are borrowing so much of the wealth of ermany, Italy, Holland, Switzerland, to be employed against us, no ise court or reasonable man can blame us for proposing to form rela-ons with countries whose interest it is to befriend us. An excess of odesty and reserve is an excess still. It was no dishonor to us to ropose a treaty to France, nor for our ministers to reside there more an a year without being acknowledged. On the contrary, all wise en applaud the measure, and I am confident the world in general will ow approve of an application to the maritime powers, although we ould remain without a public reception as long as our ministers did France and Spain—nay, although we should be rejected. In this ise Congress and their constituents will all be satisfied. They will ve neglected no duty in their power, and the world will then see the wer and resources of three or four millions of virtuous men inhabit-g a fine country when contending for everything which renders life orth supporting. The United States will then fix a medium, estab-

lish taxes for the payment of interest, acquire the confidence of her own capitalists, and borrow money at home; and when this is done they will find capitalists abroad willing enough to venture in their funds.

With ardent wishes for your health and success, I have the honor to be, &c.,

JOHN ADAMS.

J. Adams' Memorial to the States-General.*

LEYDEN, *April* 19, 1781.

To their high mightinesses the States-General of the United Provinces of the Low Countries:

HIGH AND MIGHTY LORDS: The subscriber has the honor to propose to your high mightinesses that the United States of America, in Congress assembled, have lately thought fit to send him a commission (with full powers and instructions) to confer with your high mightinesses concerning a treaty of amity and commerce, an authentic copy of which he has the honor to annex to this memorial.

At the time when the treaties between this republic and the crown of Great Britain were made, the people who now compose the United States of America were a part of the English nation; as such, allies of the republic, and parties to those treaties, entitled to all their benefits, and submitting cheerfully to all their obligations.

It is true that when the British administration, renouncing the ancient character of Englishmen for generosity, justice, and humanity, conceived the design of subverting the political systems of the Colonies; depriving them of the rights and liberties of Englishmen and reducing them to the worst of all forms of government; starving the people by blockading the ports and cutting off their fisheries and commerce; sending fleets and armies to destroy every principle and sentiment of liberty and to consume their habitations and their lives; making contracts for foreign troops and alliances with savage nations to assist them in their enterprise; casting formally, by act of Parliament, three millions of people at once out of the protection of the crown;—then, and not till then, did the United States of America in Congress assembled pass that memorable act by which they assumed an equal station among the nations.

This immortal declaration of the 4th of July, 1776, when America was invaded by a hundred vessels of war, and, according to estimates laid before Parliament, by fifty-five thousand of veteran troops, was not the effect of any sudden passion or enthusiasm; but a measure which had been long in deliberation among the people, maturely discussed in some hundreds of popular assemblies and by public writings in all the

*3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 346.

tates; it was a measure which Congress did not adopt until they had eceived the positive instructions of their constituents in all the States; t was then unanimously adopted by Congress, subscribed by all its nembers, transmitted to the assemblies of the several States, and by hem respectively accepted, ratified, and recorded among their archives; o that no decree, edict, statute, placard, or fundamental law of any ation was ever made with more solemnity, or with more unanimity or ordiality adopted, as the act and consent of the whole people, than his; and it has been held sacred to this day by every State with such nshaken firmness, that not even the smallest has ever been induced o depart from it, although the English have wasted many millions nd vast fleets and armies in the vain attempt to invalidate it. On the ontrary, each of the thirteen States instituted a form of government or itself, under the authority of the people; has erected its legislature n the several branches; its executive authority, with all its offices; its udiciary departments and judges; its army, militia, revenue, and some f them their navy; and all these departments of government have een regularly and constitutionally organized under the associated uperintendency of Congress now these five years, and have acquired consistency, solidity, and activity equal to the oldest and most estab-shed governments.

It is true that in some speeches and writings of the English it is still ontended that the people of America are still in principle and affection ith them; but these assertions are made against such evident truth nd demonstration that it is surprising they should find at this day one eliever in the world. One may appeal to the writings and recorded peeches of the English for the last seventeen years to show that similar isrepresentations have been incessantly repeated through that whole eriod, and that the conclusion of every year has in fact confuted the onfident assertions and predictions of the beginning of it. The sub-criber begs leave to say, from his own knowledge of the people of merica (and he has a better right to obtain credit, because he has etter opportunities to know than any Briton whatsoever), that they re unalterably determined to maintain their independence. He con-esses that, notwithstanding his confidence through his whole life in he virtuous sentiments and uniformity of character among his country-nen, their unanimity has surprised him; that all the power, arts, in-rigues, and bribes which have been employed in the several States hould have seduced from the standard of virtue so contemptible a few s more fortunate than could have been expected.

This independence stands upon so broad and firm a bottom of the eople's interests, honor, consciences, and affections, that it will not be ffected by any successes that the English may obtain either in America r against the European powers at war or by any alliances they can ossibly form, if indeed in so unjust and desperate a cause they can btain any. Nevertheless, although compelled by necessity and war-

ranted by the fundamental laws of the Colonies and of the British constitution—by principles avowed in the English laws and confirmed by many examples in the English history; by principles interwoven into the history and public right of Europe, in the great examples of the Helvetic and Batavian confederacies, and many others, and frequently acknowledged and ratified by the diplomatic body; principles founded in eternal justice and the laws of God and nature—to cut asunder forever all the ties which had connected them with Great Britain, yet the people of America did not consider themselves as separating from their allies, especially the republic of the United Provinces, or departing from their connexions with any of the people under their government; but, on the contrary, they preserved the same affection, esteem, and respect for the Dutch nation in every part of the world which they and their ancestors had ever entertained.

When sound policy dictated to Congress the precaution of sending persons to negociate natural alliances in Europe, it was not from a failure in respect that they did not send a minister to your high mightinesses with the first whom they sent abroad; but instructed in the nature of the connexions between Great Britain and the republic, and in the system of peace and neutrality which she had so long pursued, they thought proper to respect both so far as not to seek to embroil her with her allies, to excite divisions in the nation, or lay embarrassments before it; but since the British administration, uniform and persevering in injustice, despising their allies as much as their colonists and fellow-subjects, disregarding the faith of treaties as much as that of royal charters, violating the law of nations as they had before done the fundamental laws of the Colonies and the inherent rights of British subjects, have arbitrarily set aside all the treaties between the crown and the republic, declared war and commenced hostilities, the settled intentions of which they had manifested long before all those motives which before restrained the Congress ceased, and an opportunity presents of proposing such connexions as the United States of America have a right to form, consisting with those already formed with France and Spain, which they are under every obligation of duty, interest, and inclination to observe sacred and inviolate and consistent with such other treaties as it is their intention to propose to other sovereigns.

A natural alliance may be formed between the two republics if ever one existed among nations. The first planters of the four northern States found in this country an asylum from persecution, and resided here from the year 1608 to the year 1620, twelve years preceding their migration. They have ever entertained and have transmitted to posterity a grateful remembrance of that protection and hospitality, and especially of that religious liberty they found here, though they had sought them in vain in England.

The first inhabitants of two other States, New York and New Jersey, were immediate emigrants from this nation, and have transmitted their

religion, language, customs, manners, and character; and America in general, until her relations were formed with the house of Bourbon, has ever considered this nation as her first friend in Europe, whose history and the great characters it exhibits in the various arts of peace, as well as achievements in war by sea and land, have been particularly studied, admired, and imitated in every State.

A similitude of religion, although it is not deemed so essential in this as it has been in former ages to the alliance of nations, is still, as it ever will be, thought a desirable circumstance. Now it may be said with truth that there are no two nations whose worship, doctrine, and discipline are more alike than those of the two republics. In this particular, therefore, as far as it is of weight, an alliance would be perfectly natural.

A similarity in the forms of government is usually considered as another circumstance which renders alliances natural; and although the constitutions of the two republics are not perfectly alike, there is yet analogy enough between them to make a connexion easy in this respect.

In general usages, and in the liberality of sentiments in those momentous points the freedom of inquiry, the right of private judgment, and the liberty of conscience, of so much importance to be supported in the world and imparted to all mankind, and which at this hour are in more danger from Great Britain and that intolerant spirit which is secretly fermenting there than from any other quarter, the two nations resemble each other more than any other.

The originals of the two republics are so much alike, that the history of one seems but a transcript from that of the other; so that every Dutchman instructed in the subject must pronounce the American Revolution just and necessary, or pass a censure upon the greatest actions of his immortal ancestors; actions which have been approved and applauded by mankind and justified by the decision of Heaven.

But the circumstance which perhaps in this age has stronger influence than any other in the formation of friendships between nations is the great and growing interest of commerce, of the whole system of which through the globe your high mightinesses are too perfect masters for me to say anything that is not familiarly known. It may not, however, be amiss to hint that the central situation of this country, her extensive navigation, her possessions in the East and West Indies, the intelligence of her merchants, the number of her capitalists, and the riches of her funds, render a connexion with her desirable to America. And, on the other hand, the abundance and variety of the productions of America, the materials of manufactures, navigation, and commerce, the vast demand and consumption of the manufactures of Europe, of the merchandises from the Baltic and from the East Indies, and the situation of the Dutch possessions in the West Indies, can not admit of a doubt that a connexion with the United States would be useful

to this republic. The English are so sensible of this that, notwithstanding all their professions of friendship, they have ever considered this nation as their rival in the American trade; a sentiment which dictated and maintained their severe act of navigation as injurious to the commerce and naval power of this country, as it was both to the trade and the rights of the Colonies. There is now an opportunity offered to both to shake off this shackle forever. If any consideration whatever could have prevailed with the English to have avoided a war with your high mightinesses, it would have been an apprehension of an alliance between the two republics; and it is easy to foresee that nothing will contribute more to oblige them to a peace than such a connexion once completely formed.

It is needless to point out particularly what advantages might be derived to the possessions of the republic in the West Indies from a trade opened, protected, and encouraged between them and the continent of America, or what profits might be made by the East India Company by carrying their effects directly to the American market; how much even the trade of the Baltic might be secured and extended by a free intercourse with America, which has ever had so large a demand, and will have more, for hemp, cordage, sailcloth, and other articles of that commerce; how much the national navigation would be benefited by building and purchasing ships there; how much the number of seamen might be increased, or how much advantage to both countries to have their ports mutually opened to their men-of-war and privateers and their prizes.

If, therefore, analogy of religion, government, original manners, and the most extensive and lasting commercial interests can form a ground and an invitation to political connexions, the subscriber flatters himself that in all these particulars the union is so obviously natural, that there has seldom been a more distinct designation of Providence to any two distinct nations to unite themselves together.

It is further submitted to the wisdom and humanity of your high mightinesses whether it is not visibly for the good of mankind that the powers of Europe who are convinced of the justice of the American cause (and where is one to be found that is not) should make haste to acknowledge the independence of the United States and form equitable treaties with them, as the surest means of convincing Great Britain of the impracticability of her pursuits? Whether the late marine treaty, concerning the rights of neutral vessels, noble and useful as it is, can be established against Great Britain, who never will adopt it nor submit to it but from necessity without the independence of America? Whether the return of America, with her nurseries of seamen and magazines of materials for navigation and commerce, to the domination and monopoly of Great Britain, if that were practicable, would not put the possessions of other nations beyond seas wholly in the power of that enormous empire, which has long been governed wholly by the feeling of its own

power; at least without a proportional attention to justice, humanity, or decency? When it is obvious and certain that the Americans are not inclined to submit again to the British Government, on one hand, and that the powers of Europe ought not, and could not, with safety consent to it, if they were, on the other, why should a source of contention be left open for future contingencies to involve the nations of Europe in still more bloodshed, when by one decisive step of the maritime powers, in making treaties with a nation long in possession of sovereignty by right and in fact, it might be closed?

The example of your high mightinesses would, it is hoped, be followed by all the maritime powers, especially those which are parties to the late marine treaty; nor can an apprehension that the independence of America would be injurious to the trade of the Baltic be any objection. This jealousy is so groundless, that the reverse would happen. The freight and insurance in voyages across the Atlantic are so high, and the price of labor in America so dear, that tar, pitch, turpentine, and ship timber can never be transported to Europe at so cheap a rate as it has been and will be afforded by countries round the Baltic. This commerce was supported by the English before the Revolution with difficulty, and not without large parliamentary bounties. Of hemp, cordage, and sailcloth there will not probably be a sufficiency raised in America for her own consumption in many centuries, for the plainest of all reasons, because these articles can be imported from Amsterdam, or even from Petersburgh, or Archangel, cheaper than they can be raised at home. America will, therefore, be for ages a market for most of these articles of the Baltic trade.

Nor is there more solidity in another supposition propagated by the English to prevent other nations from pursuing their true interests, that other colonies will follow the example of the United States. Those powers which have as large possessions as any beyond seas have already declared against England, apprehending no such consequences. Indeed there is no probability of any other power of Europe following the example of England in attempting to change the whole system of the government of colonies, and reducing them by oppression to the necessity of governing themselves; and without such manifest injustice and cruelty on the part of the metropolis there is no danger of colonies attempting innovations. Established governments are founded deeply in the hearts, the passions, the imaginations, and understandings of the people; and without some violent change from without, to alter the temper and character of the whole people, it is not in human nature to exchange safety for danger, and certain happiness for very precarious benefits.

It is submitted to the consideration of your high mightinesses whether the system of the United States, which was minutely considered and discussed and unanimously agreed on in Congress in the year 1776 in planning the treaty they proposed to France, to form equitable com-

mercial treaties with all the maritime powers of Europe, without being governed or monopolized by any; a system which was afterwards approved by the king and made the foundation of the treaties with his majesty—a system to which the United States have hitherto constantly adhered, and from which they never will depart unless compelled by some powers declaring against them, which is not expected; is not the only means of preventing this growing country from being an object of everlasting jealousies, rivalries, and wars among the nations? If this idea is just, it follows that it is the interest of every state in Europe to acknowledge American independence immediately. If such benevolent policy should be adopted, the New World will be a proportional blessing to every part of the Old.

The subscriber has the further honor of informing your high mightinesses that the United States of America in Congress assembled, impressed with a high sense of the wisdom and magnanimity of your high mightinesses and of your inviolable attachment to the rights and liberties of mankind, and being desirous of cultivating the friendship of a nation eminent for its wisdom, justice, and moderation, have appointed the subscriber to be their minister plenipotentiary to reside near you, that he may give you more particular assurances of the great respect they entertain for your high mightinesses, beseeching your high mightinesses to give entire credit to everything which their said minister shall deliver on their part, especially when he shall assure you of the sincerity of their friendship and regard. The original letter of credence, under the seal of Congress, the subscriber is ready to deliver to your high mightinesses, or to such persons as you shall direct to receive it. He has also a similar letter of credence to his most serene highness the prince stadtholder.

All which is respectfully submitted to the consideration of your high mightinesses, together with the propriety of appointing some person or persons to treat on the subject of this mission, by

JOHN ADAMS.

J. Adams' Memorial to the Prince of Orange.*

LEYDEN, *April* 19, 1781.

To his most serene highness the Prince of Orange and Nassau, hereditary stadtholder and governor of the Seven United Provinces of the Low Countries:

The subscriber has the honor to inform your most serene highness that the United States of America in Congress assembled, impressed with a deep sense of your wisdom and magnanimity, and being desirous of cultivating the friendship of your highness and of the Seven United Provinces of the Netherlands, who have ever distinguished themselves

*MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 354.

an inviolable attachment to freedom and the rights of nations, have ppointed the subscriber to be their minister plenipotentiary at your urt, that he may give you more particular assurances of the great re- ect they entertain for your highness and for the people over whom you reside as stadtholder, beseeching your highness to give entire credit to erything which their said minister shall deliver on their part, espe- ally when he shall assure you of the sincerity of their friendship and gard. The original letter of credence, under the seal of Congress, he desirous of the honor of delivering whenever and in whatever manner ur highness shall judge proper to receive it. He has the further honor informing your highness that the said United States have honored m with full powers to form a treaty of amity and commerce with the ates-General, and also with letters of credence as minister plenipoten- ary to their high mightinesses; in consequence of which he has done mself the honor to present a memorial, a copy of which is here an- exed.

The subscriber, in the discharge of these trusts, considers himself ther as proposing a renovation of old friendships than the formation new ones, as the Americans have ever been the good and faithful al- es of this nation, and have done nothing to forfeit its esteem. On the ntrary, they are confident they have a better title to it, as they ad- ered steadfastly through every trial to those principles which formed nd supported the connexion—principles which founded and have sup- rted this republic, while others have wantonly abandoned them.

The subscriber thinks himself particularly fortunate to be thus accred- ed to a nation which has made such memorable exertions in favor of the ghts of men, and to a prince whose illustrious line of ancestors and redecessors have so often supported in Holland and England those lib- ties for which the United States of America now contend; and it will e the completion of his wishes if he should be so happy as to recom- end the cause of his country to the favorable attention of your most rene highness and of this people.

JOHN ADAMS.

Carmichael to Franklin.

MADRID, *April* 20, 1781.

DEAR SIR: I received by Mr. Jay's courier, who returned last night, our favor of the 12th, and seize the earliest opportunity of acknowledg- g my obligations for this fresh mark of your confidence and esteem. r. Jay communicated to me your letters, and their contents with spect to the situation of public affairs here, as well as to what con- rned ourselves personally, gave me the first moment of tranquillity at I have experienced for several weeks past. I am afraid the insinu-

* MSS. Dep. of State.

ations of Mr. Cumberland (now dangerously ill at Bayonne) and his apparently confidential communications have injured us here more than even our allies think, and indeed I suspect he has acquired an influence with *one* in particular who has it in his power to injure us effectually while he can justify his advice and mode of conduct by the long adopted maxims of the policy of this court. I am charmed with the distich you have sent me in opposition to that of *Yo y el tiempo*, and hope the event will further establish its credit. I will not pretend to give my opinion of the resignation you have sent to Congress, but I am sure you will have the plaudit of our enemies, who, pleased to see that they have obtained their ends, will be the first to prove the falsehood and malice of their attempts against you by their concurrence to render justice to your character and services in receiving your resignation of an employment which they have long desired to take away from you.

You will receive the gazettes by this courier. I intended sending you by the Baron Giusti the publications of the Economical Society but finding that he was overcharged with commissions of the same nature, I have reserved them for a Cadiz merchant who will shortly leave this city for Paris, by whom I will also send the works of its founder. I have for some time past been compiling a long letter to the Philosophical Society at Philadelphia, giving an account of the institution and proceedings of this society, which I have collected from its publications and notes taken of conversations with its founder, Mr Campomanes, and its secretary, the Abbé Gavarro, although I am almost afraid to submit such a crude performance as it will be to your inspection. If, however, it will give you any satisfaction I will forward one of the copies I intend sending to America for your perusal. You will find Mr. Giusti an agreeable and instructed man. I have been on a good footing with him, and indeed with most of the foreign secretaries of the embassies here. They paid me the first visits, and you may be persuaded that I have not been deficient in those attentions which conciliate good will. However this court may act with respect to us here I am convinced that their answer to the court of Vienna has been contenant [*sic*] to what the Ct. de Vergennes communicated to you of that of the ——— of France. I know *positively* that the Prince de Kankity complained of the answer to the offer of mediation which was transmitted from hence to the Spanish minister, the Ct. de Aguilar, and among other things, that it was not explicit. Mr. Giusti is rather sore and discontented with the Ct. de Kankity, his chief here, is vain and ostentatious, and your notice of him will confirm him in the sentiments he entertains of our affairs. I know not whether he can be of any service, but I know it can do no harm to have a man well disposed through whom I can give good or defeat the bad impressions the enemy may give of the situation of our affairs.

The enemies' fleet is at or near Gibraltar. They have been somewhat

ncommoded by the bomb batteries from the Spanish lines. The fire ships have not been hitherto employed, because the winds have not been favorable. The last advices from thence are of the 16th instant. The French convoy from Marseilles arrived at Alicant the 14th instant, and will sail from thence to Cartagena the first fair wind, so that our uneasiness on that account is at an end. You find that my American news from Cadiz is confirmed. I beg you to present the proper compliments for me to Mr. Laurens, the nature of whose commission is yet unknown to me.

I am, with very great respect and esteem, your excellency's mos obliged and most humble servant,

W. CARMICHAEL.

Proceedings in Congress.*

APRIL 21.

On a report of the committee to whom was referred Mr. Morris's letter of the 13th of March,

Resolved, That the superintendent of finance be, and he is hereby, authorised to remove from office or employment, for incapacity, negligence, dishonesty, or other misbehavior, such persons, not immediately appointed by the United States in Congress assembled, as are or may be officially entrusted with, and immediately employed in, the expenditure of the public supplies, stores, and other property; in stating, examining, and passing the public accounts, or in the receipt of the Continental revenues of the United States, and such of the said persons as are or may be in his judgment unnecessary, reporting to such authority, board, minister, or office, to whom it may belong to supply the vacancy, the respective names of the persons so removed.

That he be authorised to suspend from office or employment for similar causes persons officially employed and entrusted as aforesaid immediately appointed by the United States in Congress assembled, reporting forthwith their names and the reason of suspension.

Provided, that in all cases where any of the persons aforesaid are or may be amenable to the law martial, the superintendent be, and he is hereby, authorised and directed, if he shall deem it most expedient for the public service, to put them in arrest by order in writing, and to apply to the officer whose duty it may be to order a court-martial; and such officer is hereby directed to order proceedings on the arrest accordingly.

That in every case of suspension all pay and emoluments cease from the date thereof, unless the person suspended be, upon trial, acquitted and restored; and the superintendent shall have power to supply the place, when it may be necessary, by a temporary appointment, to continue until the person suspended be restored or dismissed.

---

*MSS. Dep. of State; 6 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 258.

That the aforesaid powers shall not be construed to interfere wit the rank, commission, or military duty of any officer in the line of th army, or those who may be duly entrusted with money for secre services by Congress, or the commander-in-chief of the army, or com manding officer of a separate department.

That the powers aforesaid be exercised during the pleasure of Con gress, but not to extend beyond the duration of the war.

APRIL 27.

On a further report of the committee on Mr. Morris's letter of th 13th ultimo,

Resolved, That, in order that the superintendent of finance may b at liberty to devote his time and attention to the more immediat duties of his office, he be, and hereby is, authorised to appoint, b letter of attorney or otherwise, such person or persons as he may thin proper to prosecute or defend for him, in his official capacity or i behalf of the United States, in all places where the same may be neces sary.

Franklin to J. Adams.*

PASSY, *April* 21, 1781.

SIR: Agreeable to my faith I have obtained a promise of money su ficient to pay the bills you have accepted, and shall accordingly accep those you draw on me for that purpose. I request only that you woul send me a list of the bills and of the times of their becoming due, tha I may be always provided, and that, as the money will come gradual into my hands, you would not draw upon me for the whole sum a once, but for the sums as they become demandable of you. Mr. Gran will write by this courier to the house of Fizeau & Grand to take you bills in that way, and furnish you with the money. Mr. Neufville ha written to me about another bill that is come into his hands, which h desires me to accept or engage to pay. There seems to me a risk i doing so without seeing the bill, as our enemies are not too honest t attempt counterfeiting. I wish, therefore, that you would look at i and if you find it good, accept it.

I must now beg you would concur with me in writing earnestly t Congress to hazard no more drafts where they have no funds. I believ there is hardly another instance in the world of a people risking the credit so much who unfortunately have so little, and who must by thi proceeding, if continued, soon have none at all. The necessity of the affairs is the only excuse for it. This court is our firm friend, but th best friends may be wearied and worn out by too frequent and unex pected demands.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

B. FRANKLIN.

* 7 J. Adams' Works, 407.

Paul Jones to Huntington.*

PHILADELPHIA, *April* 22, 1781.

SIR: I have received the letter your excellency did me the honor to rite me the 18th, enclosing a resolve of the United States in Congress ssembled, dated the 14th of this month, approving of and thanking ie for my past conduct as captain in the navy, after having taken into onsideration the report made thereupon from full evidences by the oard of admiralty the 28th of March last. That generous vote of ianks must necessarily gratify my fine feelings both as an officer and s a man. I can aspire at no higher honor than the approbation and onfidence of my fellow-citizens. Accept, sir, my sincere thanks for ie polite and affectionate manner in which you have communicated to ie the general approbation and thanks of the United States in Con-ress assembled.

I am, with great esteem and profound respect, your excellency's most bliged servant,

The Chevalier PAUL JONES.

Jay to Thomson.†

MADRID, *April* 23, 1781.

DEAR SIR: On the 30th of January last I had the pleasure of eceiving your very acceptable letter of the 12th October, 1780. he able manner in which it treats the important subject of American nance induced me to give that part of it to the minister and to send a opy of the same extract to Dr. Franklin, who in his answer says: I thank you for communicating to me the letter of the secretary of ongress on our finances. It gives light which I had not before, and ay be useful here." I wish in my heart that you were not only sec-etary of Congress, but secretary also for foreign affairs. I should hen have better sources of intelligence than gazettes and reports. Iy public letter contains a state of our affairs here. I flatter myself hat Congress will never again attempt to form an alliance on princi-les of equality in *forma pauperis*. Before their ungenerous letter on ur right to the Mississippi arrived it was known in Europe, and the ubstance of my last instructions on that head were not secret here efore they reached this side of the ocean. I would tell you more had now time to write in cyphers, but the gentleman who is to carry these espatches is waiting for them. The want of a regular and safe com-unication between Congress and their foreign ministers gives occasion o various inconveniences. Every letter known or suspected to be for r from me that gets into the post-office is opened and often kept back while, and to my certain knowledge sometimes suppressed entirely.

---

*MSS. Dep. of State, vol. 13, No. 78.

†N. Y. Hist. Soc., 1878, 40; 2 Corr. and Pub. Papers of John Jay, 19.

Hence it happens that Congress receives from me fewer letters than I would wish or than their affairs may demand. The expense of private couriers is intolerable, nor can many in that character be found who merit confidence. The unseasonable arrival of bills without being preceded by funds and the train of perplexing consequences resulting from that and other causes not in my power to prevent have given me some anxious hours, and often rendered my situation uneasy. It is my business, however, to reflect that pleasure was not the object for which I came here, and that obstacles should rather excite than repress perseverance.

Be pleased to present Mrs. Jay's and my compliments to Mrs. Thomson, and believe same to be, with sincere regards and esteem, your most obedient servant,

JOHN JAY.

J. Laurens to the President of Congress.*

PARIS, *April* 24, 1781.

SIR: I had the honor of addressing to your excellency a letter on the 9th instant, conformably to which I presented the memorial No. 1, after preparing the way for it by as many conferences as an intervening vacation would permit. In the course of these I discovered that it was impossible to obtain any further detachment of ships of force from hence; consequently, that the sum of specie to be sent immediately to America would be limited by the means of conveyance, and that successive epochs must divide a risk which would be too considerable if simultaneous.

In pursuance of these ideas Count de Vergennes declared to me that it had been solemnly determined to send no more than two millions in a frigate with me, and to have the remainder transmitted afterwards at different periods. This sum appeared to me so inconsiderable, compared with our necessities, that I thought it my duty to make the warmest remonstrances on the subject, and the succeeding day I delivered the memorial above mentioned. In the mean time I have been employed in engaging a conveyance from Holland, which is so unexceptionable as to enable me to demand with confidence an additional sum for the first envoy of specie. The conveyance alluded to is the *Indian*, a vessel having the dimensions of a seventy-four-gun ship, mounting twenty-eight French thirty-six-pounders on her main deck and twelve twelves on her quarter deck and forecastle, sold by the Chevalier de Luxembourg to the State of South Carolina for the term of three years, loaded in part with articles of clothing, &c., on the said State's account, nearly ready for sea, but reduced to the impossibility of sailing for want of ten thousand pounds sterling to discharge a

*MSS. Dep. of State; 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 164, with verbal changes.

accumulation of debts contracted in port. In these circumstances Captain Gillon, her present commander, has applied to me in the most pressing terms for assistance, and has offered to cede me the cargo which he has on board on condition of my furnishing the means of extricating himself from his present difficulties. As there appeared to me in this matter a happy coincidence of the interests of the State and the continent, I determined to accept his offer, annexing certain conditions, as will be seen in the enclosure No. 2.*

The advantages in favor of the continent are, in the first place, a very considerable and important gain of time in forwarding supplies of clothing, as no considerable quantity of that article could have been obtained at the proper seaport town in France at an earlier date than the 10th of June. Secondly, the excellence of the conveyance removes a powerful objection on the part of the ministry against augmenting the first envoy of specie.

The advantages on the part of the State are that she will be able to avail herself of the services of her ship, of which, without the present interposition, there would not be the least prospect, and, besides, she will derive her share in common with the other members of the Union from the general advantages.

I have not as yet received a definitive answer from the Count de Vergennes to my last memorial and subsequent applications, but I learn from M. Necker that the following will be the distribution of what relates to his department, viz., that two millions will be sent in the frigate with me, one million on board the *Indian*, and that it is besides in agitation to make an arrangement with Spain for assigning a sum of specie at Vera Cruz, to be transported from thence by a frigate to be ordered on that service from one of the West India islands.

I have reason to apprehend an unfavorable answer to my request that the military effects from the public arsenals should be granted on credit. The expense of these articles will make a considerable deduction from our pecuniary resources. Your excellency will observe that the same difficulties exist with respect to these objects as with regard to the manufactures of cloth, the great deposits of them all being situated in the interior country, remote from the sea. The cargo of the *Marquis de la Fayette*, that of the *Indian* (including the additional purchases which I have directed to be made in order to complete her tonnage), and the supplies collected at Brest or on their way thither, will nearly include the most essential articles of the board of war's estimate. The purchases in France are made under the direction of an intendant in the war department; those in Holland are made by M. I. le Neufville & Son, whom I employed because they appeared to possess the confidence of our minister plenipotentiary in that country.

I found great difficulties and delays likely to attend the plan of casting howitzers of English calibre in France. The scarcity of materials,

* Missing.

the great danger of a want of precision in the proportions, and the facility with which we cast shells in America, induced me to substitute six-inch howitzers of French calibre to those demanded by the board of war. This size, in the opinion of the most experienced artillerists, is preferable to the larger, their effects being the same, and their inferior size rendering them much more manageable as well as less expensive of ammunition. A certain number of shells will accompany the howitzers, but it will be necessary that the board of war should give immediate orders for making a larger provision of them. Their dimensions may be taken from those with the French artillery under General Rochambeau.

The same reasons as those above mentioned determined me to substitute the French twelve-inch mortar to the thirteen-inch of English calibre, as there was no other way of procuring them but the having them cast, and the same observation is to be made with respect to their shells as with respect to those of the howitzers. A store-ship, freighted by government, is to proceed under convoy of the frigate on board which I sail, and will be charged with such supplies as can be collected in time at Brest.

As soon as I shall have accomplished all that requires my presence here, which I flatter myself will be in a few days, I shall proceed to Brest, to do everything that can depend on me for hastening the departure of the frigate. I shall, in the mean time, despatch Captain Jackson, an officer of great intelligence and activity, who accompanied me from America, with instructions to exert his utmost efforts to get the *Indian* to sea without loss of time.*

I have the honor to be, with the greatest veneration, &c.,

JOHN LAURENS.

Jay to the President of Congress. †

MADRID, *April* 25, 1781.

SIR: I have had the honor of receiving your excellency's letters of the 6th and 17th of October last, with the enclosures. They arrived the 30th day of January last. There is more than reason to suspect that the French court were apprized of their contents before they arrived, and to believe that the construction of the treaty, by which the navigation of the Mississippi is supposed to be comprehended in the guarantee, does not correspond with their ideas on that subject. This court continues pertinaciously to insist on our ceding that navigation, nor will they, as yet, listen to any middle line. Whether this be their real motive for declining a treaty with us at present, or whether the bills

* For a correspondence on this subject between Dr. Franklin and Captain Jackson, see index, title Jackson.

† MSS. Dep. of State; 4 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 295; 2 Corr. and Pub. Papers of John Jay, 21.

drawn upon me have inspired an expectation of profiting by our necessities, or whether they flatter themselves with a future majority of Congress on that point, or whether they choose by continuing free from engagements with us to be better enabled to improve to their advantage the casualties of the war, are questions which still remain undecided. Indeed, the movements of this court in general, when compared with the great rules of national policy applicable to their situation, is so inexplicable, that I should not be surprised if it should appear in future that they had no fixed system whatever.

My last particular letter informed your excellency that, having in September last been told that his majesty could not advance us any money, but could be responsible for a loan to the amount of one hundred and fifty thousand dollars, I determined to continue accepting the bills, to attempt the loan, and, by a representation of my situation to the French court, endeavor to save the necessity of protesting them for non-payment.

I tried to borrow here on the security of this responsibility, but without the least success. I attempted it in France, but it would not do. I made the like attempt in Holland, and a gleam of hope appearing there I was about improving it, when a letter from America informed me that Mr. Adams was authorized to execute the business which had been committed to Mr. Laurens. I had heard before of his being in Holland, but did not know the object which had called him there. Several letters passed between Messrs. De Neufville and myself on the subject of this loan. The following is a copy of my last to them about it:

To de Neufville & Son:

MADRID, *January* 8, 1781.

GENTLEMEN: I have had the pleasure of receiving your favor of the 4th ultimo, together with the one referred to in it.

England has, it seems, declared war against the United Provinces, and that in a style of such eminent superiority as I am persuaded will remind your countrymen that the United Netherlands are not comprehended among the territories depending on the crown of Great Britain.

The English ministry, by charging the States with having acted under French influence, intend to alarm their national pride, and, by making Holland the particular object of their resentment, to sow the seeds of dissensions among them, and render that most important province obnoxious to the others. The tone of the whole declaration is that of a nation going rather to give correction to disobedient vassals than to war upon a free and independent people. It could have been assumed only upon a persuasion that the same supposed timidity to which they ascribe the long forbearance of the Dutch under multiplied insults and injuries would, on this ostentatious display of terror, reduce them to the humiliating measure of imploring forgiveness for having acted like freemen, and purchasing peace at the expense of their honor and liberty. Every other nation must expect better things of you, and can never believe that the present generation will want firmness to assert the rights and vindicate the honor of a republic which owes its very existence to the glorious spirit and magnanimity of its ancestors.

It gives me great satisfaction to hear that Mr. Adams has conversed with you on the subject of a loan, and I am persuaded that business will be much advanced by

it. The impropriety of two loans at a time is evident. My chief motive in proposing one at the time I did was, that no time might be lost by the absence of Mr. Laurens in prosecuting a measure which appeared to me highly useful to my country. I have no views or objects separate from her, and, provided she is effectually served, I am well content that the honor of doing it should devolve on others. As the management of our affairs in your country is committed to Mr. Adams, I request the favor of you to give him all the aid in your power. When that gentleman went to Holland I was ignorant of the business which called him thither; and the first knowledge I had of it was from America, long after Mr. Laurens's capture. It can not now be necessary that my name should appear in the affair of the proposed loan, but should it be in my power to be useful, Mr. Adams may rely upon my zealous endeavors to promote that and every other measure for the public good. Indeed, as matters now stand, delicacy forbids me to interfere further than as a mere auxiliary to Mr. Adams, to whom and to whose affairs I beg you to extend the influence of that generous regard for America which has placed you so high in the esteem of

Gentlemen, &c.

JOHN JAY.

My last particular despatches contained a copy of my letter to Count de Vergennes requesting his aid. I received from Count de Montmorin an extract of a letter he had received from the minister on that subject, in which he mentions the advances made to Dr. Franklin and the improbability of his being able to assist me, but concluded with saying he would do his best. Shortly after I received a letter from Count de Vergennes, which left me without hopes of succor from that quarter, except that Dr. Franklin promised to accept my drafts to the amount of twenty-five thousand dollars.

In December following I had a long and interesting conference with Count de Florida Blanca, the particulars of which it is not necessary minutely to enumerate by this opportunity. He expressly promised me one hundred and fifty thousand dollars. As the bills afterwards became due, I applied for money to pay them, and received it to the amount of thirty-four thousand eight hundred and eighty dollars.

On the 15th of March I sent him a list of the bills payable in April, which amounted to eighty-nine thousand and eighty-three dollars.

On the 25th I was informed that the payment of this sum could not then be possibly made, but that the balance due on the one hundred and fifty thousand dollars promised should be paid in the course of six months.

I communicated this matter to the ambassador of France, and I must do him the justice to say that his conduct on this occasion merits our thanks. All he could obtain from this court was, that the amount of the April bills should be paid me in six equal monthly payments. This arrangement still leaving me unprovided with the means of satisfying the approaching demands, the ambassador made personal application to a rich banker here, and on his personal credit and my consenting that the aforesaid six monthly payments should be applied to the repayment obtained a loan for me of the whole sum wanted for April. I have passed my note for it, payable as soon as possible, with

interest at the rate of six per cent. But this provision not extending beyond April, the fate of the bills payable in the succeeding months still remained dubious. That nothing in my power might be left undone, I sent on the 1st of April an express to Dr. Franklin, representing to him my true situation and the injuries our credit would sustain from the protest of a single bill drawn by order of Congress. I desired him to communicate my letter to Colonel Laurens, to whom I also wrote on the subject. The express returned on the 19th instant with a letter from Dr. Franklin, by which I am authorized to draw upon him as occasion may require to the amount of one hundred and forty-two thousand two hundred and twenty dollars towards paying the bills that become due between May and September.

My endeavors, however, to obtain further aids from Spain shall not be relaxed. They seem very desirous of having the ships of the line still unfinished on the stocks at Boston and Portsmouth. I have written to your excellency on this subject, and have as yet received no answer. When I consider that the state of our finances has so long prevented the completing those ships and the difficulties heretofore experienced in providing for those in service; when I recollect that the finishing and fitting out those ships will bring money into our country, and probably prepare the way for Spain's building more vessels in it; and, lastly, when I consider how much these ships seem to be an object, I am almost prevailed upon to engage positively that Spain shall have at least one of them at prime cost. To exercise the power not clearly within the limits of those confided to me is a delicate and disagreeable business. This is the first time I ever found myself disposed to hazard it, and yet so many circumstances lead me to think that the public good would be promoted by the sale of these ships, that in case I should be again pressed on this subject I believe I shall run the risk, from a persuasion that though such conduct ought not to be approved or encouraged by Congress, yet that when directed by the purest motives and for the best purpose it may obtain forgiveness.

Your excellency will receive herewith enclosed a copy of the invoice of prize clothing taken by Admiral Cordova, and presented by the courts of France and Spain to Congress. The Count de Montmorin was very much an American on this occasion also. Mr. Harrison, at Cadiz, has my orders to ship these goods in different vessels to America; part of them is now on the ocean, and the rest will soon follow. Your excellency will receive a letter of advice with each parcel from Mr. Harrison, of whom I have a very good opinion. He charges no commission for doing this business, being contented with the satisfaction of serving his country.

I have often mentioned to Congress the necessity of more effectual provision for our captive seamen. For want of money I can not pay that attention to them which their misfortunes and usefulness demand. I am already greatly in arrears on their account, and Mr. Harrison, unless reimbursed, must soon stop his hand.

Portugal, though overawed by France and Spain, fears and perhaps loves England; her conduct will be determined by future events. The minister here has promised me to interpose the good offices of his court with that of Lisbon in our behalf. In time something good may result from it. I have not received a line from Mr. Dohrman; I fear he is obliged to be very circumspect and cautious. The letters herewith enclosed from Dr. Franklin were left open for my perusal, the short stay of my courier not allowing time for copies to be made of the information conveyed in and with them. The intercepted letters will be found interesting. One of them ascertains the price paid Arnold.

I perceive that Dr. Franklin desires to retire. This circumstance calls upon me to assure Congress that I have reason to be perfectly satisfied with his conduct towards me, and that I have received from him all the aid and attention I could wish or expect. His character is very high here, and I really believe that the respectability which he enjoys throughout Europe has been of general use to our cause and country.

Your excellency may rely on my cordially adopting and pursuing any measures that can conduce to the enlargement of Mr. Laurens, and I regret that no occasion has yet offered in which I could do anything towards the attainment of that desirable object.

Mr. Cumberland is on the road home. I much suspect that he was sent and received from mutual views in the two courts of deceiving each other. Which of them has been most successful is hard to determine. I believe in point of intelligence England has had the advantage. As to the assurances of the minister on this subject, they are all of little consequence, because on such occasions courts only say what may be convenient, and therefore may or may not merit confidence. Time and circumstances will cast more light on this subject.

Whatever we may get from this court is clear gain. We have no demands upon it, and if we had, are not in a capacity to insist upon them. In my opinion, therefore, it is of the utmost importance to avoid appearances of discontent, and rather to impress other nations with an opinion of the friendship of Spain for us than otherwise. Indeed, I really believe the king means well towards us, and that the prime minister is also well disposed; but whether as much can be said of the minister's confidential and I believe influential secretary, M. Del Campo, is by no means a clear point. It is proper that Congress should know that the gentleman intended to succeed M. Miralles was recommended by M. Del Campo, with whom he has long been on terms of intimacy and friendship.

I have nevertheless no room to doubt of this gentleman's attachment to our cause, though I am inclined to think his conduct will be conformable in a certain degree with the views of his patron. This ought to remain a secret. He is still here, although he expects daily to be despatched.

I represented the case of the *Dover* cutter to the ministry here the 22d of June last. In December I obtained a promise that it should be appraised and the value paid to the captors, and two days ago I was again assured that measures were taking to bring this matter to a conclusion. *Festina lente* seems to be the first maxim in Spanish politics and operations. It is the fashion of the country, and strangers must conform to it.

I congratulate Congress on the victory obtained by General Morgan and the success of the French in the Chesapeake. The enclosed gazette contains much good news from the East Indies. These events will probably give Lord George Germain other ideas than those which appear in his intercepted letters.

M. Toscan, who goes to reside as vice-consul of France at Boston, will carry this letter to America, and perhaps to Philadelphia. He was ready to set out when my courier returned from France. I was obliged to delay my letters till his arrival, and M. Toscan has been so obliging as to wait till I could complete them.

I have the honor to be, sir, &c.,

JOHN JAY.

Dana to Jennings.*

AMSTERDAM, *April* 26, 1781.

DEAR SIR: Have you an inclination to favor me with your company to a certain place, where you seemed to think the presence of an American might be very useful to our country? I have it not in my power to make you any advantageous proffers, but perhaps it may be nearly equal to you to reside at Petersburgh or Brussels. It may eventually be turned much to your benefit and honor.

I need not be more particular on this subject, or to request you to keep it to yourself. If my loose proposition meets your approbation, you will please to hasten on here, *without loss of time*, as I must go forward soon. If you wish to confer with me before you decide come on immediately, but prepared, however, to proceed with me in case you think proper to agree to my proposals. Your expenses here and back again shall be paid, if you choose to return. I should be very happy to have your good company and the assistance of your abilities.

I am, dear sir, your sincere friend, &c.,

FRANCIS DANA.

---

* MSS. Dep. of State; 4 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 571.

J. Adams to Franklin.*

AMSTERDAM, *April* 27, 1781.

SIR: I have received your excellency's letter of the 21st, and wil send you the list of the bills and of the times of their becoming due according to your desire, as soon as I can make it out. I will examin M. de Neufville's bill, and if it is good accept it.

From the time I received from Congress their orders to borrow mone here I have constantly in my letters requested that no drafts might b made upon me until there was news from me that I had money to dis charge them; and this request I shall repeat. But the cry of the arm for clothes induces Congress to venture upon measures which appea hazardous to us. However, by the intelligence I have they had ground to expect that the drafts hitherto made would be honored.

I sometimes think, however, paradoxical as it may seem, that one se of bills protested would immediately procure Congress a large loan. N bills are in better credit than these. There is an appetite here for Ameri can trade as ravenous as that of a shark for his prey; and if they sav a prospect of having their trade broken up they would do much t save it.

I have the honor to acquaint your excellency that I some time ag received from Congress full powers to conclude with the States-Genera of the United Provinces of the Low Countries concerning a treaty o amity and commerce; and that I have very lately received a letter o credence as minister plenipotentiary to their high mightinesses, an another to his most serene highness the Prince of Orange. Being thu fixed to this country for the present, I have taken a house in Amste dam, on the Keizersgragt, near the Spiegel street, for the convenienc of our countrymen who have occasion to visit me and of the merchant who have bills upon me, until their high mightinesses shall have take the necessary time to deliberate upon it, and determine to acknowledg the independence of the United States, enter into a treaty with them and receive me at The Hague. If this should happen, I hope we shal obtain a credit here; but we never shall before.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

JOHN ADAMS.

Bedaulx to Dumas.†

NIMEGUEN, *April* 28, 1781.

SIR: As a friend to humanity it is hoped you will be so good as t relieve, by your correspondence with Congress, a good family fro their uneasiness on account of the fate of a son, of whom, notwith standing all our inquiries during these two last years, by the way o

* 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 356. † 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 329.

France, Spain, and Holland, we have not been able to get any positive intelligence. This son, Frederick Charles Bedaulx, can not be unknown to Congress, to their war office, and to the commanders of their army, having been engaged in their service since the year 1776, when he embarked for St. Eustatia; but the vessel being taken, he escaped from Falmouth, and went over with the Marquis de la Fayette, and, in consequence of a capitulation made before his first going, served and distinguished himself there as lieutenant-colonel, in which quality he commanded the infantry of the Pulaski Legion. For more than two years we have had no letter from him, and of many letters which were delivered for him to Mr. Deane, when he was minister from the United States at Paris, we do not know if one has been received by M. Bedaulx. According to some loose reports, being sick, he had been removed to Philadelphia, where he died. But this has been contradicted since by other people, who say he is still living, and sent away or confined by the intrigues of some enemy.

Sure of the principles of probity and honor with which he has been brought up, we can not think he has been wanting in his duty; and on the other hand, after so many repeated applications made to Congress and to the body in which he has served, we can not but be surprised and troubled to find them absolutely silent. You will oblige me, his uncle, sir, his worthy father, and a whole family, by helping us out of this cruel uncertainty.

I have the honor to be. &c.,

J. H. BEDAULX,
Major-General in the Dutch Service.

J. Laurens to the Director-General of Finance.*

PARIS, *April* 29, 1781.

The underwritten, special minister of the United States of North America, renews his representations to the director-general of finance, upon the necessity of augmenting the present remittance of pecuniary succors destined for America. He can not repeat too often that upon the quantity and seasonableness of these succors the fate of his majesty's allies must necessarily depend.

He entreats him to recollect that, in the first discussion with regard to the sum, the difficulties which opposed an immediate remittance more proportionate to the urgent necessities of the United States were unconnected with reasons of finance. With respect to the apprehension of exposing ourselves to simultaneous risks that would be too considerable, which was the principal reason alleged, he thinks himself warranted in saying that, comparing the sum with the risk, the strictest laws of prudence would not be violated in shipping the amount of

* MSS. Dep. of State; 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 167.

six millions on board of two frigates, well armed and good sailers, despatched from ports distant from each other.

The plan of procuring money from Vera Cruz or the Havana, the success and speedy execution of which were regarded as certain, would have dispensed government from making any considerable remittance from hence at the present moment, but as, according to the director-general's own account, there is reason to apprehend a delay which would render this plan delusive, the underwritten sees no other remedy than in augmenting the sums remitted from hence as far as the present means of conveyance will authorize, and seconding this first remittance by a definitive arrangement for having it closely followed by the remainder.

With regard to the distribution between the two ships, the underwritten would prefer committing the most considerable portion of the specie to the frigate in Holland on account of her very superior force.

He has the honor to apprize the director-general that he has authorized Mr. W. Jackson, captain of infantry in the service of the United States, to give receipts for the sum destined to be shipped in Holland, and that he will himself sign receipts for the sum to be shipped at Brest.

JOHN LAURENS.

Franklin to J. Adams.*

PASSY, *April* 29, 1781.

SIR: I enclose you extracts of two letters ministerial, found in the same packet with the former, written in the fond belief that the States were on the point of submitting, and cautioning the commissioners for peace not to promise too much respecting the future constitutions. They are indeed cautiously worded, but easily understood when explained by two court maxims or assertions, the one of Lord Granville's, late president of the council, that *the king is the legislator of the colonies*, the other, of the present chancellor, when in the House of Commons, that *the Quebec constitution was the only proper constitution for colonies; ought to have been given to them all when first planted, and what all ought now to be reduced to.* We may hence see the danger of listening to any of their deceitful propositions, though piqued by the negligence of some of those European powers who will be much benefited by our Revolution.

I have the honor to be, sir, your most obedient and most humble servant,

B. FRANKLIN.

This will be handed to you by Major Jackson, a worthy officer in the service of the States, whom I beg leave to recommend to your civilities.

---

*9 Sparks' Franklin, 23; 7 Bigelow's Franklin, 228.

Dumas to the President of Congress.*

THE HAGUE, *May* 1, 1781.

SIR: Since my last letter there has been no opportunity to write to America. This time has been employed in getting useful intelligence and preparing all things with Mr. Adams for the step he will take on Friday next of presenting his memorial to their high mightinesses. This evening I carried a card from him to the grand pensionary, who will receive a preparatory visit from him to-morrow morning. It is still uncertain whether he will be admitted at present, or if they will advise for a medium. The expected courier is not yet arrived from Petersburgh.

A good French translation of the memorial was absolutely necessary to be presented with the original. I am happy to have made it to the satisfaction of Mr. Adams, and this translation will be read to their high mightinesses whenever the memorial shall be laid before them. †

MAY 2.

I have attended Mr. Adams to the grand pensionary. When he told him that his intention was to present himself on Friday next to the president of their high mightinesses in quality of minister plenipotentiary from the United States, and that he had likewise credentials from the same to his serene highness the Prince of Orange, the pensionary answered that he apprehended a difficulty would soon arise against his admission in such a character from their high mightinesses having not yet acknowledged the independence of America. Mr. Adams having replied that this objection, since the war had broken out between Great Britain and this republic, seemed to have lost all its weight; the pensionary agreed that it was true at least both nations had now the same enemy; however, he would make his report to his masters and to the prince of the notice given him.

MAY 4.

This morning his excellency went to the grand pensionary with a copy of his memorial, which he declined to receive, saying it was not the usage when memorials were presented to the president of their high mightinesses to deliver copies of them to the grand pensionary of Holland, and that it would be more proper to deliver one to the graphiary of the States-General. This we judged proper to delay till after the audience at the president's, who received his excellency with great politeness, but declined charging himself with the memorial, alleging his acceptance of it would imply an acknowledgment he could not take upon himself, but must reserve it to their high mightinesses, to whom he would immediately report the case. His excellency told

* MSS. Dep. of State; 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 330, which version, paraphrasing and condensing the orignal, is here given.

† See this memorial *supra*, J. Adams to States-General, April 19, 1781.

him that to avoid misconstructions he would find himself obliged t lay his memorial before the whole world by publishing it immediatel At this the president smiled, and they parted. It was now becom improper to carry a copy to the graphiary, and therefore we dispense with it. The president went into the assembly of the States-Gener and made the report, which, having been recorded, the deputies all the provinces (except those of Zealand, who remained silent), aske a copy of the report, to transmit it to their respective provinces, whe it will be a matter of deliberation in their provincial assemblies.

From the president we went to the Baron de Larrey, privy cou sellor, &c., to the Prince of Orange, to whom his excellency delivere another memorial in a sealed letter for the said prince, which th baron promised to deliver immediately to the prince. He did so, an the prince having summoned M. Fagel, the graphiary, and the gran pensionary, consulted with them what was to be done with the letter two hours after, when we were ready to dine, the baron came at the in with the letter unopened, and a polite excuse from the prince that h could not receive it till after their high mightinesses should hav resolved if, and when, he was to be admitted in the character whic he had set forth with them.

MAY 11.

Mr. Adams, setting out last Saturday for Amsterdam, left me h order to publish the memorial, with the original French translatio made by your servant, acknowledged and signed by his excellency, an to procure also a Dutch translation; which I have performed to-da by distributing through the cities a sufficient number of each.

MAY 16.

All the public journals of this country have inserted the memoria which is now generally known, pleases, and puzzles at once everybod

M. Van Berckel, the first pensionary of Amsterdam, presented the 4th instant a very spirited address to the States of Holland, pe tioning them either to be impeached, that he might defend himsel or formally declared not guilty.

MAY 19.

This day the cities of Dort and Haerlem, by an annotation in th registers of Holland, have formally declared their accession to th proposition of Amsterdam, and with thanks acknowledged the tru patriotism of this last city. The other cities have taken the propositio *ad referendum*, and the final resolution on it will be taken by the ne assembly.

JUNE 6.

I presented yesterday a letter from Mr. Adams to the president their high mightinesses and another to the privy counsellor of th Prince of Orange, with a copy to each of the accession of Maryla to, and the final ratification of, your Confederation. I had sealed

he papers and put on the covers the proper superscriptions. They eceived them, and desired me to come to-day for an answer. Accordngly, I have waited on them this morning. They both had opened, nd consequently read, the contents, but said they could not keep them, nd that I must take them back.

The president seemed to me much embarrassed and a little caviling n my having delivered to him the letter of Mr. Adams without adding he quality of minister plenipotentiary, assumed in the subscription, y which omission he pretended I had deceived him; otherwise he ould not have received the letter. I denied any intention to conceal om him a quality which he knew as well as I and the whole nation Ir. Adams had openly assumed. He put them in my hat, and I told im I would, out of respect for the head of this republic, keep *in eposito* the papers, which in time might be thought of greater impornce to them than now. The other gentleman received me with the reatest cordiality, and apologizing very frankly for restoring me the apers (likewise opened), desired me repeatedly to understand, and to ive to understand, that this was a mere formality, and that while the dmission of Mr. Adams was under deliberation of the several provnces, the prince could not be beforehand with their high mightinesses or their high mightinesses with their constituents in such a matter f first importance.

JUNE 16.

I have been happy with the presence of Mr. Adams and with his pprobation of my conduct. The States of Holland have separated. heir next meeting, after the 27th instant, may be very stormy, not nly on account of the proposition of Amsterdam, but also on that of verbal remonstrance made by the same city to a great personage, esiring him to exclude from all political business the Duke of Brunsvick, formerly his tutor, when a minor; a message which has exceedngly hurt them both.

JUNE 22.

The great city persists in her late demand to the Prince of Orange oncerning the desired exclusion of the aforesaid great man, having, ince the verbal proposition, sent the same by writing to the great peronage and to the grand pensionary. Thus the fermentation rises nd draws to a very interesting crisis, which probably will decide itself ithin a fortnight either into some catastrophe or into a *ridiculus mus.* learn just now that the Duke of Brunswick presented yesterday to heir high mightinesses a long letter to justify himself. Many, even nconcerned people, think it an improper step, because he is, in fact, ot vested with any public department, and therefore not answerable or to be brought to account. His position seems to me near akin to hat of Lord Bute.*

* See the above remonstrance against the Duke of Brunswick and his reply, *infra*, . Adams to the President of Congress, June 26, 1781.

JULY 4.

There has been made mention in the provincial assembly, by the grand pensionary, but a very slight one, of the Duke of Brunswick's letter to their high mightinesses, as taken *ad referendum* by the several provinces. The nobility has acquainted the provincial assembly with the desire of the stadtholder of presenting to their high mightinesses a proposition of his own for having inquired into the causes of the defenceless state and inactivity of the republic and the means to be taken, etc. But the cities have declined countenancing it and even the taking it *ad referendum*, because there was already such a proposition made by the city of Amsterdam, a *membrum integrans* of the republic, on which they had received their instructions. The stadtholder was present and visibly disappointed.

Yesterday I was shown in confidence a despatch just now received from Petersburgh, purporting an insinuation made to the Dutch plenipotentiary by that court "that the said court had agreed with the Emperor of Germany to treat at Vienna for procuring a general pacification between the belligerent powers; and if, therefore, their high mightinesses should be inclined to entrust both their Imperial majesties with a mediation in behalf of this republic, they might make overtures in consequence to Prince Gallitzen, the Russian minister at The Hague." The republicans here are of opinion that, instead of this, vigorous measures should be taken immediately with the belligerent powers, to which the opposite party will by no means listen.

JULY 10.

The offered mediation will be accepted, even by the advice of the patriots; because they apprehend, if they do not, the opposite party would continue to insist upon begging for peace directly in England either by the good offices, as they call them, of the Sardinian envoy at London, who is entirely at their and the British court's devotion, or by sending deputies from hence. The final resolution of this province concerning the important proposition of Amsterdam is delayed till the next ordinary assembly by caviling on the expression of *next assembly* used in the proposition, as if this assembly, an extraordinary one, was but a prolongation of the last.

JULY 13.

The report which was current on the 10th of the emperor being inclined to support the Duke of Brunswick has proved false. I know from the best authority that quite the reverse is true. When the monarch arrived, the duke sent to him for permission to wait on him. Instead of which the emperor went immediately himself to the duke. What passed between them is not known. But the duke having soon after returned the visit, he was observed coming back with visible marks of discomposure. The following day the emperor dining at the Prince of Orange's seat, called the House in the Wood, showed himself

ery gentle in his address to the Princess of Orange and to everybody se but to the duke, to whom he said not a single word, being remarkbly cold to him, which apparently was the cause of the duke's withrawing sooner than any other. Besides this, the emperor has exained himself with other great men here this very day, by saying the gents of Amsterdam did their duty as brave patriots. He spent the vening at the French hotel, where he discoursed much with the French nd Russian ambassadors. The grand pensionary, although invited peatedly by the prince himself, excused himself from dining at the ouse in the Wood because he was ill.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

DUMAS.

J. Adams to Vauguyon, Ambassador of France at The Hague.*

LEYDEN, *May* 1, 1781.

SIR: By the tenth article of the treaty of alliance between France nd America the most Christian king and the United States agree to vite or admit other powers who may receive injuries from England make common cause with them, and to accede to that alliance under ich conditions as shall be freely agreed to and settled between all the rties.

It will be readily acknowledged that this republic has received injuries om England; and it is not improbable that several other maritime owers may be soon, if they are not already, in the same predicament. ut whether his majesty will think fit to invite this nation at present accede to that alliance, according to the article, must be submitted his wisdom.

It is only proper for me to say that whenever your excellency shall ave received his majesty's commands, and shall judge it proper to ke any measures either for admitting or inviting this republic to ccede, I shall be ready, in behalf of the United States, to do whatever necessary and proper for them to do upon the occasion.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

JOHN ADAMS.

Jennings to Dana.†

BRUSSELS, *May* 3, 1781.

DEAR SIR: I had the honor of receiving your letters of the 26th and 0th ultimo, by the last post, containing a most obliging invitation to ccompany you in some intended tour. It came upon me quite unexcted and when I had arranged matters to go a very different course,

---

* 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 357; J. Adams' Works, 409.

† MSS. Dep. of State; 4 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 571, with verbal changes.

and therefore embarrassed me much. However, your very kind manner of holding up to me the most flattering object that I have or ought to have, the service of my country, determined me to immediately accept of your invitation; and I am now laboring hard to settle my little matters here and elsewhere, that I may present myself to you at Amsterdam without loss of time. I am afraid, however, that I shall not be able to accomplish it before the middle of next week. Should you think you ought not to stay so long, I beg that no consideration for me should prevent you from making that despatch which the public service may require.

I am, with the greatest respect, &c.,

EDMUND JENNINGS.*

J. Adams to the President of Congress.†

LEYDEN, *May* 3, 1781.

SIR: On the 1st of May I went to The Hague, and wrote to his excellency Peter Van Bleiswick, grand pensionary of Holland that, having something of importance to communicate to him, I proposed to do myself the honor to wait on him the next morning at half past eight if that time should be agreeable to him; but if any other hour was more convenient, I requested his excellency to mention it. The answer which was not in writing, was that half after eight should be the time.

Accordingly, the next morning I waited on him, and was politely received. I informed him that I had asked his permission to make him this visit in order to inform him that I had received from my sovereign the United States of America, full powers to treat with the States-General, and a letter of credence as a minister plenipotentiary to their high mightinesses, and another to his most serene highness the prince; and that it was my intention to communicate those powers and letters to their high mightinesses and to his most serene highness on Friday next, the 4th of May.

His excellency said he would acquaint the States General and his highness with it; that, in his private opinion, he thought favorably of it, but that he must wait the orders of his masters; that it was a matter somewhat delicate for the republic. I replied, as to the delicacy of it, in the present state of open war between England and Holland, I hoped that it would not be any obstacle; that I thought it the interest of the republic, as well as of America. His excellency rejoined: "One thing is certain, we have a common enemy."

As this was a visit simply to impart my design, and as I knew enough of the delicate situation and of the reputed sentiments of this officer to be sensible that he did not wish to enter into any very par-

---

* As to the character of Jennings, see Adams to Jennings, Mar. 12, 1781, *note*.

† 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 357, with verbal changes; 7 J. Adams' Works, 409.

cular conversation at this time upon public affairs, I here arose to ake my leave. His excellency asked me if I had any good news from merica. I answered, none very late. He then said he should be ery glad to form an acquaintance with me. I answered this would be ery flattering to me, and thus took my leave.

To-morrow morning I propose to go to the president of the States-eneral, to Secretary Fagel, and to the secretary of the prince. This oment, for the first time, I have received the Congress account of eneral Morgan's glorious victory over Tarleton.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

JOHN ADAMS.

Franklin to Dumas.*

MAY 4, 1781.

DEAR SIR: It is so long since I heard from you, that I begin to fear ou are ill. Pray write to me, and let me know the state of your ealth. I enclose Morgan's account of his engagement with Tarleton. f he has not already received it, it may be agreeable to our friend the azetteer of Leyden. Everything goes well here, and I am ever, &c.,

B. FRANKLIN.

Franklin to Jay.†

PASSY, *May* 5, 1781.

DEAR SIR: I have received your favors of the 18th and 24th of April. t was with great satisfaction I read Gen. Morgan's soldierly account f his engagement with Tarleton, which you so kindly sent me.

I have, with the approbation of Col. Laurens, accepted the second of set of bills drawn on you for 4,444 dollars in favour of his father, of hich you will please to take notice, lest another of the set should be resented to you. It is the same that was returned by you to Mr. chweighauser for want of Mr. Laurens's indorsement. As that in-orsement can not now be easily obtained, and it appeared on the face f the bill that it belonged to the public, being to purchase naval stores, nd was transmitted by the admiralty to Mr. Schweighauser for that urpose, and the vessel waiting to receive those stores, I imagined it as right to pay it, which I hope you will approve.

I have found a packet for you, which, if I had it before the depar-ure of your courier, was unaccountably omitted to be sent by him, and have since known of no other opportunity but the post. You will eceive it by the next courier of the court.

Mr. Adams acquaints me that he is appointed M. P. to the States-eneral, but had not yet presented his credentials, &c.

---

* 9 Sparks' Franklin, 25. † MSS. Dep. of State.

We have here as yet no other than the English account of the en gagement between the French and English squadrons off the capes o Virginia. The London papers say that Pensacola is abandoned.

With great and sincere esteem, etc.,

Luzerne to Destouches.*

[Translation.]

PHILADELPHIA, *May* 7, 1781.

SIR: The accounts from Virginia and the other southern States leav no doubt but the English are resolved to attack them in very superio forces. They are already in a condition to command them by the ad vantage which they have of transporting themselves by the sea and b all the rivers, as it suits them. Virginia, one of the most powerfu States in the Union, finds herself by these means reduced to a state o inaction, and as the bay of Chesapeake is entirely in the possession o the enemy, it is to be feared that Maryland will find herself shortly i the same condition and in the same danger. It is manifest that th plan of the English is to harass and desolate them without intermission to inspire part of the inhabitants with a desire of seeing an end of th quarrel, and when they think their weariness and their calamities ar at the height, to make them propositions advantageous enough to with draw them from the Confederation.

Although these States are firmly attached to their independence, i has in the mean time become very important to make them participat as much as it is possible in the assistance which his majesty has grante to his allies, and I can assure you, sir, that you can not in present cir cumstances render them a greater service than by entering the bay o Chesapeake and endeavoring to establish yourself there.

Many other political considerations, into the details of which I shal not enter, press that measure, and if it be possible for you to carry i into execution, I have reason to believe that you will entirely disconcer the enemy's plans against Virginia and Maryland, and when you shal have given to those two States the liberty of exerting themselves, yo will contribute very much at the same time to the relief of the mor southern by the assistance which they will be capable of affording Your position in the bay of Chesapeake will restrain also their commu nication between New York and Charleston, and perhaps prevent othe events which may be yet more grievous to the invaded States.

In giving, sir, my opinion upon the utility of the movement, I avo to you that I am totally incapable of forming one as to the possibilit of carrying it into execution. I have had the honor of transmitting t you from time to time the details and plans which can enable you t

---

* 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 720.

form a judgment. M. de Tilly having been better situated during his stay in Hampton Roads to make the necessary observations, you can decide by them. I pray you also to regard my entreaties, although pressing as the circumstances render them, as entirely subordinate to the instructions which you may have received from the court.

I do not propose to you to change your position only upon a supposition that you have no orders to the contrary and that you have received no other destination.

As to the measures you are in this case to expect from the States which you will go to assist, I beg you to assure yourself, sir, that they will spare nothing to satisfy you, and if an assemblage of land forces is judged necessary, as I presume it will be, they will send their instructions in consequence of it to the officers who command them.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

LUZERNE.

Luzerne to Washington.*

[Translation.]

PHILADELPHIA, *May* 7, 1781.

SIR: I have the honor to send you the copy of a letter which I write to the Chevalier Destouches. I pray you to be persuaded that I do not take upon me to propose an expedition to that commander except at the pressing entreaties of the invaded States; but if it should be found at variance with the plans of the campaign which you have formed, I beg you to withdraw my letter to M. Destouches and the packet addressed to the Count de Rochambeau from the express, who will deliver this to you, and to send them back to me by the first safe opportunity.

I am, with respectful attachment, &c.,

LUZERNE.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.†

AMSTERDAM, *May* 7, 1781.

SIR: On the 4th of May I did myself the honor to wait on Peter Van Bleiswick, grand pensionary of Holland, and presented him a letter containing a copy of my memorial to the States-General, &c. His excellency said that it was necessary for me to go to the president and secretary of their high mightinesses, and that it was not customary for foreign ministers to communicate anything to the pensionary of Holland. I told him that I had been advised by the French ambassador to present copies to him, and they were only copies which I had the honor to offer

* MSS. Dep. of State; 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 720.

† MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 358, with verbal changes; 7 J. Adams' Works, 409.

him. He said he could not receive them, that I must go to the presi dent. "But," says he, "it is proper for me to apprise you that th president will make a difficulty, or rather will refuse to receive an letter or paper from you, because the State you say you represent i not yet acknowledged to be a sovereign State by the sovereign of thi nation; the president will hear what you have to say to him, mak report of it to their high mightinesses, and they will transmit it to th several provinces for the deliberation of the various members of th sovereignty."

I thanked his excellency for this information, and departed. I the waited on the president of their high mightinesses for the week, th Baron Linde de Hemmen, a deputy of the province of Guelderland, t whom I communicated that I had lately received from my sovereign the United States of America in Congress assembled, a commission with full powers and instructions to treat with the States-General con cerning a treaty of amity and commerce; that I had also received letter of credence as minister plenipotentiary to their high mightinesses and I prayed him to lay before their high mightinesses either the origi nals or a memorial, in which I had done myself the honor to state a these facts and to enclose copies.

The president said that he could not undertake to receive from m either the originals nor any memorial, because that America was not ye acknowledged as a sovereign State by the sovereign of this country but that he would make report to their high mightinesses of all that had said to him, and that it would become the subject of deliberatio in the several provinces; that he thought it a matter of great impo tance to the republic. I answered that I was glad to hear him sa that he thought it important; that I thought it was the interest of th two republics to become connected. I thanked him for his politenes and retired, after having apprised him that I thought, in the presen circumstances, it would be my duty to make public in print my appl cation to their high mightinesses. I had prepared copies of my mem rial, &c., for the secretary, M. Fagel; but as the president had refuse to receive the originals, I thought it would be inconsistent for the se retary to receive copies, so I omitted the visit to his office.

I then waited on the Baron de Ray, the secretary of the prince, wit a letter addressed to his most serene highness, containing a memori informing him of my credentials to his court and copies of the mem rial to their high mightinesses. The secretary received me politely, r ceived the letter, and promised to deliver it to the stadtholder. H asked me where I lodged; I answered at the Parliament of England, public house of that name.

Returning to my lodgings, I heard, about two hours afterwards, tha the prince had been to the assembly of the States-General for abou half an hour; and in about another hour the servant of the hous where I lodged announced to me the Baron de Ray. I went down t

door to receive him and invited him into my room. He entered, l said that he was charged on the part of the prince with his com- nents to me, and to inform me that as the independence of my ntry was not yet acknowledged by the sovereign of his, he could not eive any letter from me, and therefore requested that I would receive ack, which I did respectfully. The secretary then politely said he s very much obliged to me for having given him an opportunity to my person, and took his leave.

The president made report to their high mightinesses as soon as they embled, and his report was ordered to be recorded; whereupon the uties of each of the seven provinces demanded copies of the record e transmitted to the respective regencies for their deliberation and ision; or, in the technical language of this country, it was taken *ad erendum* on the same day.

The next morning I waited on the French ambassador, the Duc de Vauguyon, and acquainted him with all the steps I had taken. He l he still persisted in his opinion that the time was not the most orable, but as the measure was taken, I might depend upon it he uld, as an individual, support and promote it to the utmost of his ver.

t would take a large space to explain all the reasons and motives ich I had for choosing the present time in preference to a later; but ink I can demonstrate that every moment's delay would have been ended with danger and inconvenience. All Europe is in a crisis, and s ingredient thrown in at this time will have more effect than at other. At a future time I may enlarge upon this subject.

I have the honor to be, &c..

JOHN ADAMS.

J. Adams to Franklin.

AMSTERDAM, *May* 8, 1781.

SIR: I have the honor of yours of the 29th of April, and according your desire I have enclosed a list of the bills accepted, with the es of their becoming due, and shall draw for the money to discharge m only as they become payable, and through the house of Fizeaux Grand.

sincerely congratulate you upon the noble aid obtained from the nch court for the current service of the year. Aids like this for or three years, while the United States are arranging their nces, will be a most essential service to the common cause, and will a foundation of confidence and affection between France and the ited States which may last forever, and be worth ten times the sum noney. It is in the power of America to tax all Europe whenever

* 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 361.

she pleases by laying duties upon her exports enough to pay the int
est of money enough to answer all their purposes. England receiv
into her exchequer four hundred thousand pounds sterling in dut
upon the single article of tobacco imported from Virginia annual
What should hinder the government of Virginia from laying on t
same or a greater duty on the exportation? Europe would still p
chase Virginia tobacco, if there were eight pounds per hogshead du
to be paid. Virginia alone, therefore, could in this way easily pay t
interest of money enough to carry on the whole war for the thirte
States for many years. The same reasoning is applicable to eve
article of export.

Yesterday were presented to me fifty bills of exchange, for elev
hundred guilders each, drawn by Congress on me on the 27th day
January, 1781, at six months' sight. And on the same day other bi
from No. 37 to No. 76, inclusively, drawn on me on the same 27th d
of January, 1781, for five hundred and fifty guilders each, payable
six months' sight, were presented to me. I asked time to write
your excellency to know if these bills and the others drawn at t
same time can be discharged by you. If they can not, it will be wro
to accept them, for I have no prospect at all of getting the money he
unless the States-General, who have taken the independence of Am
ica *ad referendum*, should determine to acknowledge it.

About the same time that their high mightinesses took the ackno
edgment of the independence of the United States *ad referendum*,
Van Berckel demanded a declaration of his innocence or a tri
Whether the two affairs will aid or counteract each other I can not t

I have the honor to be, &c.,

JOHN ADAMS

J. Adams to John Laurens.*

AMSTERDAM, *May* 8, 1781

SIR: I have received the letter you did me the honor to write me on t
28th April. I sincerely congratulate you on the most essential aid y
have obtained from the court of Versailles, who upon this occasi
have done as much honor to their own policy as essential service
the United States. By a conduct like this, which it is easy for Fra
to hold, and which does as much service to the common cause as t
same sum of money possibly could in any other way, a foundation w
be laid of affection and confidence which will last long after this w
shall be finished. I wish that other nations had as much wisdom a
benevolence as France, indeed, as much knowledge of their own t
interests; in this case the burden upon France would be less.

I accept with pleasure the trust with which you honor me; bu

*7 J. Adams' Works, 415.

ll not think myself at liberty to draw any bills in consequence of it il the invoices and vouchers are produced to me to the satisfaction Iajor Jackson, who will be so good as to give me his approbation in ting. I am very happy to find that it is in your power to assist mmodore Gillon upon this occasion, whose industry and skill and severance have merited every assistance that can be legally given .

Iajor Jackson, sir, shall have every advice and assistance in my ver to afford him; and I am much mortified that I am not to have pportunity of showing you in person the respect which I have for r character, as well as that affection which I feel for the son of one he worthiest friends I ever had. Alas! when will he be able to ain his own liberty, who has so nobly contended for that of others? ave communicated my credentials to the States-General, who, after deliberations which the form of their constitution requires, will de- nine whether they can receive them or not. It will probably be g before they decide. It is of vast importance to obtain, if possible, acknowledgment of our independence by the maritime powers before conferences for peace shall be opened. Otherwise, it is not possible oresee how many intrigues and how much chicanery we may have ncounter.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

JOHN ADAMS.

Lovell to Franklin.*

PHILADELPHIA, *May* 9, 1781.

IR: Mr. Samuel Curson and Mr. Isaac Gouverneur, jr.,† of St. Eu- tius, after that place was taken, were sent to England in the *Ven- nce* man-of-war, Commodore Hotham, stripped of everything but ir wearing apparel; their books, papers, and slaves having been en from them, and Mrs. Gouverneur, with a young infant, turned out loors. Special severity, it is supposed, has been shown to them in sequence of their having acted as agents to Congress. Dr. John therspoon, jr., who was surgeon of the *De Graaf* letter of marque, en at St. Eustatius, is sent to England in the *Alcmena* man-of-war, l very hardly treated, on account of his father being a member of ngress, as is supposed.‡

Your particular attention to the exchange of these persons will tend

---

*MSS. Dep. of State; 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 151, with verbal changes.

†Seaton and Gouverneur, two British-American subjects, were confined in the Tower treason, in adhering to, corresponding with, and furnishing the rebels in America h military stores (of which this ministry was possessed of the fullest proof), and e also discharged on the advent of the Rockingham ministry.—2 Jones' Hist. N. 222.

‡See index, title Witherspoon.

to give confidence to all who, being connected specially with Congre
are exposed to captivity, and will also very particularly oblige the
lations of these unfortunates, who have requested Congress to menti
these circumstances to you.

Your most humble servant,

JAMES LOVELL,
For the Committee of Foreign Affairs.

Luzerne to the President of Congress.*

[Translation.]

PHILADELPHIA, *May* 9, 1781.

SIR: Congress has been pleased, by a resolution dated the 10th
November last, to take the measures suggested by the undersigne
minister of France, concerning the abuse by the English of the pape
letters of marque, and commissions which they find on board of t
American vessels of which they succeed in gaining possession. T
governors of our islands observe that the precautions pointed out
the resolution of Congress are insufficient, unless, independently of t
vessels and ships of war, they extend to merchant vessels, and, in ge
eral, to all ships sailing from this continent. The similarity of langua
enables the English to gain admission into our islands with great facil
by means of intercepted papers, and to send their spies and emissar
into the very middle of our ports, where their presence may be m
dangerous.

The said governors remark, that the greater part of the vessels whi
arrive at the islands do not conform to the resolutions of Congress; a
although they carry letters of marque, yet they do not take the preca
tions required by them. The undersigned requests that this assemb
would be pleased to consider these observations, and to adopt on th
subject such measures as shall seem best adapted to prevent the abus
in question.

The commanding officer of St. Domingo is also desirous that Congr
should be informed that the commanders of the American frigates ha
while stationed at the cape, given strong proofs of zeal for the comm
cause, whether in cruising against the enemy or in convoying, at th
departure, merchant vessels sailing for that colony.

LUZERNE

---

* 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 722.

Franklin to Dana.*

PASSY, *May* 11, 1781.

DEAR SIR: I received your favor of the 1st instant, and immediately pplied to Mr. Grand, our banker, to furnish you with the credit you esired at Amsterdam. He acquainted me that having a correspondent t Petersburgh he could give you a direct credit there; and that the hancellor, Count Osterman being an old friend of his, he would write nd recommend you. I accepted his proposition of a direct credit on Petersburgh, supposing that would be more convenient to you than eceiving the money in Holland; but I declined his letter to Count 'Osterman till you should desire it, as you did not propose immediately o assume your public character; and I requested him to recommend ou for the present only to his banker as a gentleman travelling for uriosity, &c. Mr. Grand writes to you by this post, and sends his etter of credit. On second thoughts, if you should have occasion for part of the money in Holland, you can draw on me for the sum you vant, and I will honor your bill; in which case you will receive so much ess on the Petersburgh credit.

I should have answered your letter sooner if the course of the posts ad permitted it. But you know the letters received here from Holland n Monday can not be answered till the Friday following.

I most heartily wish you a good journey, and all the success imagina- le in your negotiations, being with great esteem, etc.

B. F.

Dana to the President of Congress.†

AMSTERDAM, *May* 13, 1781.

SIR: I do myself the honor to transmit to your excellency the dupli- ates of the papers which have been already sent from France. To hese are added others, which will give to Congress precise information f everything which has hitherto taken place relative to my late ap- ointment that can be of any importance to them to know.

[The whole are numbered from 1 to 11 inclusive, in their proper order. There are many blanks left in them, for the greater caution, which your xcellency will meet with no difficulty in supplying.]‡

I shall not trouble you with observations upon any of them, except he letter of Dr. Franklin, and merely to correct one or two mistakes n his account of my conference with the Count de Vergennes. The octor says: "When I mentioned that I might appear to have *views of ommerce, as a merchant*, or of curiosity, as a traveller," &c., "that there vas a gentleman in Petersburgh with whom some *in America* had a

---

* MSS. Dep. of State.

† MSS. Dep. of State; 4 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Cor., 572.

‡ Passage in brackets omitted in Sparks' ed.

correspondence, who had given hints of the utility," &c., "and that I could *perhaps by means of that gentleman* make acquaintance," &c. Persuaded as I was from the beginning that it could not be for the interest of our country that I should be stopped short of my destination, and determined to endeavor to obviate every objection which might be made to my going on, I told the count, when he seemed to be stating a difficulty arising from my public character, that I could appear as a private gentleman, travelling with a view of obtaining some knowledge of that country. I added, indeed, of its laws, customs, manners, *commerce*, manufactures, &c. The character of a merchant in those countries is not so respectable as to recommend itself to my choice, when I wished to form connexions with a different order of men. As I did not know of any gentleman at Petersburgh with whom some *in America* had a correspondence, I could never inform his excellency of such a circumstance. The fact was quite otherwise, and that part of our conversation was introduced in the manner and was exactly of the tenor mentioned in my account of the conference. I have a personal knowledge of the gentleman I alluded to; he named the persons of rank, but I did not think it prudent to give their names to the count. Perhaps I may have the honor to form an acquaintance with persons of some consideration in the country to which I am going without laying myself under obligations to that gentleman.

I shall set off from hence in a few days on my journey, probably without consulting the Russian ambassador at The Hague, as I am not yet more reconciled to this step than I was when it was first proposed to me. Mr. Adams, your excellency will perceive, is decidedly against it. We have given our reasons. To these may be added, that to communicate my design of going into his country, and secreting from him at the same time my public character, if by such means I might possibly obtain his advice and passport to proceed whenever my real character should be made known, he would, perhaps, consider it as a mean artifice and an imposition upon him which he could not overlook, especially when the act of giving his advice or passport (though I have no expectation he would do either) might expose him, or his court, or both, to all the consequences of having done so with the full knowledge of my character; for declarations of ignorance in that respect would gain little credit. On the whole, I see no one good purpose that such a consultation as has been recommended to me would produce, but, on the contrary, I think I see many mischiefs which might come out of it.

Not thinking it prudent to go on farther unaccompanied by any person in whose hands, in case of my death or accident, your papers and affairs may be safely lodged, for the future advantage of Congress, I have invited Mr. Edmund Jennings, a native American, and a gentleman whose character, I believe, may be known to some of the members of Congress, not only to accompany me on my journey, but to remain with me there. I promise myself he will be able to afford me much

essential assistance in the execution of my duty. I did not, however, take this step till I had communicated my design to Mr. Adams, who well knows Mr. Jennings, and found that it met his full approbation. I enclose (over and above the other papers) my letter to Mr. Jennings on this occasion and his answer to me. I hope Congress will not disapprove of this measure. I have no other end in it than to promote the interests of our country, in obtaining the assistance of his abilities and to guard against an event which may take place, and I think common prudence forbids should be left wholly unprovided for.*

I am, sir, with sentiments of the highest respect, &c.,

FRANCIS DANA.

Franklin to the President of Congress.†

PASSY, *May* 14, 1781.

SIR: I did myself the honor of writing to your excellency pretty fully on the 12th of March, to which I beg leave to refer. Colonel Laurens arriving soon after, we renewed the application for more money.

His indefatigable endeavors have brought the good dispositions of this court to a more speedy determination of making an addition than could well have been expected so soon after the former grant. As he will have an opportunity of acquainting you personally with all the particulars of importance, a circumstantial account of the transaction from me is unnecessary. I would only mention, that as it is the practice here to consider early in the year the probable expenses of the campaign, and appropriate the revenues to the several necessary services, all subsequent and unexpected demands are extremely inconvenient and disagreeable, as they can not be answered without difficulty, occasion much embarrassment, and are sometimes impracticable. If, therefore, the Congress have not on this occasion obtained all they wished they will impute it to the right cause, and not suppose a want of good will in our friends, who indeed are such most firmly and sincerely.

The whole supply for the current year now amounts to twenty millions; but out of this are to be paid your usual drafts for interest money, those in favor of M. de Beaumarchais, and those heretofore drawn on Mr. Jay and Mr. Laurens, which I have already either paid or engaged for, with the support of your several ministers, &c., which I mention, that the Congress may avoid embarrassing my successor with drafts which perhaps he may not have the means in his hands of honoring. Besides paying the second year's salaries of Messrs. Adams and Dana, Jay and Carmichael, I have furnished Mr. Dana with £1,500 sterling credit on Petersburgh, for which place I suppose he is now on his way.

---

* As to character of Jennings, see Adams to Jennings, Mar. 12, 1781, *note*.

† MSS. Dep. of State; 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 153; 9 Sparks' Franklin, 32.

You will receive from Holland advices of the late declaration of that court with regard to the English refusal of its mediation and of the assistance requested by the States-General. I hope Mr. Dana will find it well disposed toward us.

I have received no answer yet to my letters relating to the proposed mode of lodging funds here, by supplying the French fleet and army. Having as yet heard nothing of Colonel Palfrey, and it being now more than four months since he sailed, there is great reason to fear he may be lost. If that should unhappily be the case, the Congress can not too soon appoint another consul, such an officer being really necessary here. Your minister plenipotentiary has hitherto had all that sort of business upon his hands; and as I do not now speak for myself, I may speak more freely. I think he should be freed from the burthen of such affairs, from all concerns in making contracts for furnishing supplies, and from all your bill of exchange business, &c., that he may be more at liberty to attend to the duties of his political function.

The prisoners in England are increasing by the late practice of sending our people from New York and the refusal of the English admiralty to exchange any Americans for Englishmen not taken by American armed vessels. I would mention it for the consideration of Congress whether it may not be well to set apart five or six hundred English prisoners, and refuse them all exchange in America but for our countrymen now confined in England.

Agreeable to the vote of Congress and your excellency's letter of the 4th of January I have requested the assistance of this court for obtaining the release of Mr. President Laurens. It does not yet appear that the thing is practicable. What the present situation is of that unfortunate gentleman may be gathered from the enclosed letters.*

I hope the *Alliance*, with the ship *Marquis de la Fayette* under her convoy, is by this time arrived, as they sailed the 27th of March. I flatter myself that the supplies of clothing, &c., which they carry will be found good of the kind and well bought. I have by several late opportunities sent copies of the government letters taken in the New York packet. Your excellency will see that they are written in the perfect persuasion of our submitting speedily, and that the commissioners are cautioned not to promise too much with regard to the future constitutions to be given us, as many changes of the old may be necessary, &c. One can not read those letters from the American secretary of state and his under secretary, Knox, without a variety of reflections on the state we should necessarily be in if obliged to make the submission they so fondly hope for, but which I trust in God they will never see. Their affairs in the East Indies, by the late accounts grow worse and worse; and twenty-two ships of the prey they made in the west are wrenched out of their jaws by the squadron of M. de la Motte Piquet.

* Franklin to Cooper, November 7, Vernon to Cooper, November 27, and Cooper to Franklin, November 29, 1780, *supra*.

I mentioned in a former letter my purpose of remaining here for some time after I should be superseded. I mean it with the permission of Congress, and on the supposition of no orders being sent me to the contrary; and I hope it will be so understood.

With the greatest respect, I have the honor to be, &c.,

B. FRANKLIN.

Franklin to La Fayette.*

PASSY, *May* 14, 1781.

DEAR SIR: You are a very good correspondent, which I do not deserve, as I am a bad one. The truth is, I have too much business upon my hands, a great deal of it foreign to my function as a minister, which interferes with my writing regularly to my friends; but I am, nevertheless, extremely sensible of your kindness in sending me such frequent and full intelligence of the state of affairs on your side of the water, and in letting me see by your letters that your health continues, as well as your zeal for our cause and country.

I hope that by this time the ship which has the honor of bearing your name is safely arrived. She carries clothing for nearly twenty thousand men, with arms, ammunition, etc., which will supply some of your wants, and Colonel Laurens will bring a considerable addition, if Providence favors his passage. You will receive from him the particulars, which makes my writing more fully by him unnecessary.

You mention my having enemies *in* America. You are luckier, for I think you have none here, nor anywhere. Your friends have heard of your being gone against the traitor Arnold, and are anxious to hear of your success, and that you have brought him to punishment. Enclosed is a copy of a letter from his agent in England, captured by one of our cruisers, and by which the price or reward he received for his treachery may be guessed at. Judas sold only one man; Arnold three millions. Judas got for his one man thirty pieces of silver; Arnold not a half-penny a head. A miserable bargain! especially when one considers the quantity of infamy he has acquired to himself and entailed on his family.†

The English are in a fair way of gaining still more enemies. They play a desperate game. Fortune may favor them, as it sometimes does a drunken dicer; but by their tyranny in the east they have at length

---

* MSS. Dep. of State; 9 Sparks' Franklin, 29; 7 Bigelow's Franklin, 234; 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 151.

† The letter here mentioned was from a banker in London to General Arnold, stating that he had received from him bills to the amount of five thousand pounds sterling, which the banker said he had invested in the stocks. This was supposed to be the money paid to Arnold as the reward of his treachery. After the war a pension was likewise granted to each of his children.—SPARKS.

roused the powers there against them, and I do not know that they have in the west a single friend. If they lose their India commerce (which is one of their present great supports) and one battle at sea their credit is gone, and their power follows. Thus empires, by pride, folly, and extravagance, ruin themselves like individuals. M. de la Motte Piquet has snatched from between their teeth a good deal of their West India prey, having taken twenty-two sail of their homeward-bound prizes. One of our American privateers has taken two more and brought them into Brest, and two were burnt. There were thirty-four in company, with two men-of-war of the line and two frigates, who saved themselves by flight; but we do not hear of their being yet got in.

I think it was a wise measure to send Colonel Laurens here, who could speak knowingly of the state of the army. It has been attended with all success that perhaps could reasonably be expected, though not with all that was wished. He has fully justified your character of him, and returns thoroughly possessed of my esteem; but that can not and ought not to please him so much as a little more money would have done for his beloved army. This court continues firm and steady in its friendship, and does everything it can for us. Can we not do a little more for ourselves? My successor (for I have desired the Congress to send me one) will find it in the best disposition towards us, and I hope he will take care to cultivate that disposition. You, who know the leading people of both countries, can perhaps judge better than any member of Congress of a person suitable for this station.

I wish you may be in a way to give your advice when the matter is agitated in that assembly. I have been long tired of the trade of minister, and wished for a little repose before I went to sleep for good and all. I thought I might have held out till the peace, but as that seems at a greater distance than the end of my days I grow impatient. I would not, however, quit the service of the public if I did not sincerely think that it would be easy for the Congress, with your counsel, to find a fitter man. God bless you, and crown all your labors with success.

With the highest regard, &c.,

B. FRANKLIN.

Morris to the President of Congress.*

PHILADELPHIA, *May* 14, 1781.

SIR: The honor conferred by Congress in appointing me superintendent of finance, their several resolutions of the 20th of March and the 21st and 27th of April, which your excellency has been pleased to transmit, and a serious conviction of that duty which every citizen owes to his country, especially in times of public calamity, will no longer permit me to hesitate about the acceptance of that office,

* MSS. Dep. of State; 6 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 260.

although I must again repeat that I have the fullest sense of my own inability. I shall, however, strive to find such assistance as will enable me, in some measure, to answer the reasonable expectations of Congress, to whom I can promise for myself nothing more than honest industry.

You will readily perceive that much time must be consumed in procuring proper officers; fixing on men for assistants whose abilities and integrity may be depended on; in laying plans for obtaining money with the greatest ease to the people and expending it with the greatest advantage to the public; forming arrangements necessary to carry these plans into execution; and obtaining information as to the present state of things, in order that abuses may be, if possible, speedily and effectually remedied.

Besides this, it will be necessary that I should confer with the commander-in-chief on the various expenditures of the war and the means of retrenching such as are unnecessary. Let me add that the accounts of my private business must be adjusted so as that all my affairs may be put into the hands of other persons and subjected to their management. My necessary commercial connexions, notwithstanding the decided sense of Congress, expressed in their resolution of the 20th of March, might, if the business were transacted by myself, give rise to illiberal reflections, equally painful to me and injurious to the public. This reason alone would deserve great attention; but, further, I expect that my whole time, study, and attention will be necessarily devoted to the various business of my department.

Having thus stated some of the causes which will prevent me from immediately entering on the arduous task assigned me, I pray leave to call the attention of Congress to the advanced season, and then I am persuaded their own good sense will render it unnecessary for me to observe that very little can be expected from my exertions during the present campaign; they will therefore easily perceive the propriety of the request I am to make, that the business may go on according to the present arrangements, or such other as Congress may devise, until I can take it up, which I promise to do as speedily as possible. By this means I may be enabled so to dispose of the several members of my department as to form them into a regular system; whereas by throwing the whole immediately upon me I shall be inevitably involved in a labyrinth of confusion, from which no human efforts can ever afterwards extricate me.

Another consideration of great magnitude, to which I must also pray the attention of Congress, is the present public debts. I am sure no gentleman can hope that these should be immediately paid out of an empty treasury. If I am to receive and consider the applications on that subject, if I am to be made responsible, that alone will, I fear, be full employment for the life of one man, and some other must be chosen to attend to the present and provide for the future. But this is not

all. If from that, or any other cause, I am forced to commit a breach of faith, or even to incur the appearance of it, from that moment my utility ceases. In accepting the office bestowed on me I sacrifice much of my interest, my ease, my domestic enjoyments, and internal tranquillity. If I know my own heart, I make these sacrifices with a disinterested view to the service of my country. I am ready to go still further; and the United States may command everything I have except my integrity, and the loss of that would effectually disable me from serving them more. What I have to pray, then, is that the adjustment of all past transactions and of all that relates to the present system may be completed by the means already adopted, that whatever remains unpaid may become a funded debt, and that it may in that form be committed to me to provide for the yearly interest and for the *eventual* discharge of the principal. This task I will cheerfully undertake; and if, in the progress of things, I am enabled to go further, with equal cheerfulness it shall be done; but I must again repeat my serious conviction that the least breach of faith must ruin us forever.

It is not from vanity that I mention the expectations which the public seem to have formed from my appointment. On the contrary, I am persuaded they are raised on a weak foundation, and I must lament them, because I foresee they must be disappointed. I must therefore entreat that no flattering prospect of immediate relief may be raised.

Congress will know that the public credit can not be restored without method, economy, and punctual performance of contracts. Time is necessary to each; and therefore the removal of those evils we labor under can be expected from time only. To hold out a different idea would deceive the people, and consequently injure the public service.

I am sure it is unnecessary to add, before I close this letter, that I confidently expect my measures will meet with the fullest support from Congress so long as they are honestly directed to the general welfare.

In this conviction, and with every sentiment of respectful attention, I have the honor to be, etc.,

ROBERT MORRIS. *

* *May* 14.—Wrote a letter to the President, promising to accept the office. At this time, however, various reasons occurred to prevent an immediate acceptance of the commission; but particularly it was necessary to retain my seat in the assembly of Pennsylvania, in order to lay a foundation for such measures as might tend to their support of me in pursuing the public good, not doubting but their example would have proper influence on the legislatures of the other States, especially in their determination upon general points, such as their repealing those tender and penal laws which in their operation had destroyed all public and private confidence and credit; in passing effective tax bills, that might yield substantial aid to the United States for calling in the paper money that had lost its credit; and in adopting plans of reviving and establishing the credit of such as had been injured in some degree, but which, being necessary in circulation and originally issued on funds sufficient for its redemption, ought not to be given up to ruin, if possible to prevent it.—Diary.

Deane to the President of Congress.*

PARIS, *May* 15, 1781.

SIR: On my arriving in France I applied to Mr. Johnson to appoint time for examining my accounts and vouchers, which I told him would oon be ready. He informed me that he had determined not to accept he appointment, and that he had informed Congress of his resolution ome time before. Though this was a severe disappointment to me, yet flattered myself that Congress would not delay the naming some other o the office, and in this hope I came to Paris in August last and en- ered on the adjustment of my accounts, which have been for many nonths ready for settlement, yet, to my extreme mortification, can not et them closed for want of an auditor, or person empowered by Con- ress to examine them.

I pray Congress would candidly review the circumstances I have een under from my leaving France in April, 1778, to this time. After aving to that time faithfully and successfully served them, I was, in bedience to their orders, obliged to make a voyage to America, and to ait their pleasure in Philadelphia for more than a year, unable to ob- ain their decision on my conduct, though it was almost daily solicited y me; the only objection made was, that my accounts remained un- ettled. As soon as Congress appointed an auditor to examine them I et out on my voyage to Europe, regardless of danger or expense, fondly oping that at last I should be able to close my accounts and to receive he balance due to me, but what was infinitely more important to vindi- ate my injured character. The expenses of my voyage were great, and f ten months' attendance here have been still greater, and though there s evidently a large balance in my favor, I have been refused money for ny support. I have never asked of Congress anything but common jus- ice in the payment of my just demands, out of which I have now been ept for three years. My necessities would long since have justified ny seizing on the public property here to the amount of the money due o me, but I have been withheld from doing it on account of my regard or the credit of my country, and have rather chosen to be obliged to trangers for money for my support. And to what purpose is it for ne to leave France and return with my accounts and vouchers unaudited? t is equally useless to transmit them in that state. My enemies repre- ented me as a defaulter, grown rich out of the public moneys in my ands, and prejudiced the minds of Congress so strongly against me, hat all my efforts in America to obtain even a hearing were vain and neffectual. My present situation, as well as the state of my accounts, ive the lie to every assertion or insinuation of the kind; yet I am still eft to suffer under the calumny in America, and to be obliged to stran- ers for money for my support in Europe. I will not trust myself fur- her on the subject, lest something escape me which may offend, without ny intending it.

* MSS. Dep. of State; 1 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 159.

I hope Congress will impartially review my case in every stage of it and that they will not force me to appeal to the laws of a foreign nation or to the tribunal of the public in Europe, for the recovery of my right and for justice to my character, which the great and first law of nature will oblige me to do, unless immediately relieved by those who owe me and more who owe to their own character and to that of their country the justice which I demand.

I have the honor to be, with great esteem and respect, &c.,

SILAS DEANE.

J. Laurens to the President of Congress.*

PARIS, *May* 15, 1781.

SIR: Since I had the honor of writing to your excellency on the 24th ultimo my prospects of pecuniary succor have suffered a very unfavorable change, first in the suspension, and I apprehend the total failure of the plan of procuring a sum of specie at Vera Cruz, to be transmitted immediately from thence for the service of the United States. This arrangement, which the Spanish agent at this court was at first very desirous of making with M. Necker, and which would have been a convenience to the finance of this country, was prevented from being carried into execution by the arrival of intelligence that the treasure had been safely transported from Vera Cruz to the Havana; in consequence of which the agent declined engaging to furnish the money on any other terms than by a schedule or bill of exchange payable at six months sight. M. Necker has since made him an offer of a profit on the money to be supplied at the Havana, and the agent has written to his court on the subject, but it does not appear to me that the offer is likely to be accepted. As soon as I was apprized of this I delivered the enclosed memorial to the director-general of finance.

In addition to this disappointment we have received notice from Holland of the total refusal of the Dutch to countenance the proposed loan of ten millions on account of the United States. M. Necker was of opinion that the Dutch would lend more readily on this footing than to France alone, as there would be a double security; but the event has proved that its being a concern of the United States was sufficient for political reasons to occasion the overthrow of the business. I have uniformly insisted from the beginning upon the necessity of securing this aid to the United States from the finances of France, and while I pleaded the fertility of her resources and facility of borrowing in her own name, have enlarged upon the fatal consequences to which we should be exposed by referring the matter to an uncertain and dilatory operation. I apprehend some new efforts are making on the subject of the loan. His majesty in the mean time engages to supply the

* MSS. Dep of State; 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 168, with verbal changes.

ilure of the loan from the finances of his kingdom. The future trans-
issions of specie are to be concerted between the minister of marine
d the director-general of finance, and Count de Vergennes has
omised me to urge them upon the subject. I have not been able to ob-
in any greater augmentation of the sums destined to be embarked at
rest and in Holland than half a million at the first and nearly the
me sum at the latter.

With respect to the maritime succors so repeatedly solicited, I am
thorized only in general terms to assure Congress that such disposi-
ons are made for detaching from the West Indies as give every rea-
n to hope a naval superiority will exist on the part of the allies in
merica; that the fleet will probably remain on that station three
onths; and that it will be time on my arrival to commence the most
gorous preparations for co-operating with it.

Immediately on closing this packet I shall set out for Brest, and use
y utmost efforts to accelerate our sailing. My frigate is ready in the
ads. If any delay arises it will be owing to the store-ship which she
ll have under convoy.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect,

JOHN LAURENS.

P. S.—These despatches will be delivered to your excellency by
ptain Jackson, of the first South Carolina regiment, whose zeal for
e service made him cheerfully undertake the journey to Holland for
e purpose of accelerating the departure of the *Indian*, and to whom
m much indebted for his assistance in this country.

J. L.

Franklin to Lewis.*

PASSY, *May* 16, 1781.

SIR: I received the letter you did me the honor of writing to me the
t of January. The bill for four thousand four hundred and forty-four
exican dollars, which you remitted to Mr. Schweighauser, being re-
sed payment by Mr. Jay for want of a regular endorsement by Mr.
urens, in whose favor it was drawn, and which endorsement could
t now be obtained, Mr. Schweighauser applied to me, informing me
at he should not send the things ordered by your board unless the
l was paid; and it appearing on the face of the bill that it was drawn
public service, I concluded to take it up, on which he has purchased
things and shipped them. Colonel Laurens has put on board some
er supplies for the army, and I suppose she will now sail directly.
The drafts from Congress upon me for various services and those on
. Jay and Mr. Laurens all coming upon me for payment, together

* MSS. Dep. of State; 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 156.

with the expenses on the ships, &c., have made it impracticable for me to advance more for loading the *Active*; but as we have obtained lately promises of a considerable aid for this year, I shall now try what I can do, as the money comes in, towards supplying what is demanded in the invoice you mention. You will receive, I hope, twenty-eight cannon and a large quantity of powder and saltpetre by the ship *Marquis de la Fayette.*

I have by several opportunities written in answer to your questions relative to the ship *Alliance.*

I have the honor to be, &c.,

B. FRANKLIN.

P. S.—Please to present my respects to the board.

Vergennes to John Laurens.*

[Translation.]

VERSAILLES, *May* 16, 1781.

Congress has directed Mr. Laurens to solicit from the king an aid of money and to request his guarantee for a loan. In consequence his majesty has been pleased to grant six millions tournois,† in form of a gift, and he has likewise agreed to be security for a loan of ten millions to be opened in Holland, for account of Congress; and if that loan should meet with difficulties, he has even resolved to supply it out of his own finances as soon as possible. The six millions which his majesty has granted have been employed in the following manner: Two million five hundred thousand livres are sent to Brest, there to be shipped; one million five hundred thousand are sent to Amsterdam, to be likewise shipped there; about two millions are to be employed in payment for the goods which Mr. Laurens was directed to purchase. Besides the sum above mentioned, his majesty has been pleased to grant Dr. Franklin four millions to discharge the bills of exchange drawn on him by Congress. In case the loan, which is to be opened in Holland on account of the Americans, should fail of success, his majesty will be under the necessity of supplying it. It is understood that the United States shall repay his majesty the sum of ten millions in order to fulfil the engagements that shall be entered into in Holland.

The operations of the campaign, of which his majesty has given a plan to the commander of his fleet in America, form the second object in which the United States are interested; and without being able to

* MSS. Dep. of State; 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 170.

† These six millions were not obtained "in consequence" of Colonel Laurens' solicitation, but were granted to Dr. Franklin before Colonel Laurens' arrival. See J. Laurens to President of Congress March 20, 1781, *supra*; Franklin to Jackson July 6; J. Laurens to the President of Congress, September 2, 1781, *infra.*

x the attention of Congress or General Washington upon the moment hen his fleet shall appear on the coast of North America, he assures iem that the success of their armies makes a principal part of his views r the ensuing campaign. It is therefore proper that, upon the arrival Colonel Laurens, the United States should put themselves in condi- on to take advantage of the operations of his fleet in America.

DE VERGENNES.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.*

AMSTERDAM, *May* 16, 1781.

SIR: I have the honor to enclose copies of the memorials which I ad the honor to present on the 4th instant to the president of their igh mightinesses and to the secretary of his most serene highness.† he former has been published in English, French, and Dutch, and as been favorably received by the public; but the public voice has ot that influence upon government in any part of Europe that it has every part of America, and therefore I can not expect that any nmediate effect will be produced upon the States-General. They will robably wait until they can sound the disposition of the northern owers—Russia particularly; and if they should not join in the war, heir high mightinesses will probably be willing to be admitted to ccede to the treaty of alliance between France and America.

The Dutch fleet of about ten sail of vessels from the Texel and the Iaese has sailed. The news from the southern States of America of ontinual fighting, in which our countrymen have done themselves reat honor; the capture of half the convoy under Hotham by the hevalier de la Motte Piquet, and the destruction made at Gibraltar y the Spaniards have raised the spirits of this nation from that un- anly gloom and despondency into which they were thrown by the apture of St. Eustatia, Demerara, and Essequibo. But after all, this ountry at present is divided in sentiments; it is an Alexandrine, that like a wounded snake drags its slow length along."

I have the honor to be, &c.,

JOHN ADAMS.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.‡

AMSTERDAM, *May* 16, 1781.

SIR: There has been much said in the public papers concerning con- rences for peace, concerning the mediation of the Emperor of Ger- any and the Empress of Russia, &c.

---

* MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 362; 7 J. Adams' Works, 417.

† These memorials are dated on the 19th of April. See *supra*.

‡ MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 363, with verbal changes; 7 Adams' Works, 419.

I have never troubled Congress with these reports, because I have never received any official information or intimation of any such negociation either from England or France, or any other way. If any such negociation has been going on it has been carefully concealed from me. Perhaps something has been expected from the United States which was not expected from me. For my own part, I know from so long experience, at the first glance of reflection, the real designs of the English Government, that it is no vanity to say they can not deceive me, if they can the cabinets of Europe. I have fully known that all their pretensions about peace were insidious, and therefore have paid no other attention to them than to pity the nations of Europe who, having not yet experience enough of British manœuvres, are still imposed on to their own danger, disgrace, and damage. The British ministry are exhausting all the resources of their subtility, if not of their treasure, to excite jealousies and divisions among the neutral as well as the belligerent powers. The same arts precisely that they have practised so many years to seduce, deceive, and divide America they are now exerting among the powers of Europe, but the voice of God and man is too decidedly against them to permit them much success.

As to a loan of money in this republic, after having tried every expedient and made every proposition that I could be justified or excused for making, I am in absolute despair of obtaining any until the States-General shall have acknowledged our independence. The bills already accepted by me are paying off as they become due by the orders of his excellency Mr. Franklin; but he desires me to represent to Congress the danger and inconvenience of drawing before Congress have information that their bills can be honored. I must entreat Congress not to draw upon me until they know I have money. At present I have none, not even for my subsistence, but what I derive from Paris.

The true cause of the obstruction of our credit here is fear, which can never be removed but by the States-General acknowledging our independence, which perhaps in the course of twelve months they may do, but I do not expect it sooner. This country is indeed in a melancholy situation, sunk in ease, devoted to the pursuits of gain, overshadowed on all sides by more powerful neighbors, unanimated by a love of military glory or any aspiring spirit, feeling little enthusiasm for the public, terrified at the loss of an old friend, and equally terrified at the prospect of being obliged to form connexions with a new one; encumbered with a complicated and perplexed constitution, divided among themselves in interest and sentiment, they seem afraid of everything. Success on the part of France, Spain, and especially of America, raises their spirits and advances the good cause somewhat, but reverses seem to sink them much more.

The war has occasioned such a stagnation of business and thrown such numbers of people out of employment, that I think it is impossible

things should remain long in the present insipid state. One system or another will be pursued; one party or another will prevail; much will depend on the events of the war. We have one security, and I fear but one, and that is the domineering character of the English, who will make peace with the republic upon no other terms than her joining them against all their enemies in the war, and this I think it is impossible she ever should do.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

JOHN ADAMS.

Morris to the President of Congress.*

PHILADELPHIA, *May* 17, 1781.

SIR: I beg leave to submit the enclosed plan for establishing a national bank in these United States and the observations on it to the perusal and consideration of Congress.

Anticipation of taxes and funds is all that ought to be expected from any system of paper credit. This seems as likely to rise into a fabric equal to the weight as any I have yet seen or thought of; and I submit whether it may not be necessary and proper that Congress should make immediate application to the several States to invest them with the powers of incorporating a bank, and for prohibiting all other banks or bankers in these States, at least during the war.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

ROBERT MORRIS.

Lovell to Franklin.†

PHILADELPHIA, *May* 17, 1781.

SIR: Dr. Putnam, whose letter is enclosed, by the uniformity of his attachment to our public cause merits your patronage. And I enclose for your information some former proceedings of Congress, in which this same gentlemen is interested; requesting, sir, that you would obtain a knowledge of the proceedings consequent upon efforts which M. Gerard has undoubtedly made to obtain compensation for the sloop which Count d'Arband restored to the governor of Antigua after it had been taken by Dr. Putnam and others.

Your most humble servant,

JAMES LOVELL.

---

* MSS. Dep. of State; 6 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 262.

† 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 156.

Franklin to J. Adams.*

PASSY, *May* 19, 1781.

SIR: I received the honor of yours, with an account of the bills you have to pay. I have accepted your drafts for 77,000 crowns at 15 days date. The shortness of the term is inconvenient, and as our money comes to hand by degrees, and these unexpected demands from Holland and Spain oblige me to anticipate our funds, for which anticipation I pay an interest of five p. cent, I wish you would for the future draw at two or three usances, because this would ease me in providing for the payment, and tho' the discount is considered in the rate of exchange, yet as that is but 4 p. cent. in Holland and is here 5, the public would save by it one p. cent., which in such large transactions amounts to a sum worth saving. I write on this head to Messrs. Fizeaux & Grand.

I was much surprized to find by your letter that the Congress continue drawing so largely on you without knowing whether you have any funds in hand. You mention numbers from 37 to 76, inclusively. Perhaps all the preceding numbers and many succeeding ones may soon appear also. I am never informed what to expect, and therefore know not what to provide for. To demand greater sums of the ministry than I can show that I shall want would have an ill appearance, when I must be sensible of the vast expense the war occasions and their difficulties in supplying it, and to be coming continually with after claps succeeding each other without end is extremely disagreeable to them as well as to me.

They usually form their plans at the beginning of the year and appropriate their funds. This arrangement once made, new and unforeseen demands disturb it and call for new consultations and determinations and means of procuring new funds, all which give trouble and put friends out of humor. The aid granted for this year is, as you observe, noble. We are purchasing with it a variety of necessary articles demanded by Congress, but the uncertainty of what demands they may think fit to make by way of bills must oblige us to hold our hands and retain something to face those unimaginable drafts, for absolutely I can not go to the minister for more this year. Last year Mr. Lovell wrote to me that the Congress were very sensible of the difficulties this wild drawing subjected me to, and that if I could obtain wherewith to answer the drafts then made I might rely upon it no more would be issued till the Congress were informed that I had funds to answer them. I communicated this letter to the minister with my fresh demand. I enclose a copy of his answer. You will by it feel something better. My situation, when the Congress not only continue drawing on me, but all their drafts on you and Mr. Jay come upon me for payment, I am really afraid that by these proceedings we shall, as the saying is, *ride a free horse to death*. But to the point; the bills you

* Franklin's MSS. Dep. of State; 7 Bigelow's Franklin, 248.

mention must be paid, and if you accept them I will answer your drafts for that purpose as they become due; but to enable me to do this I must, as I observed before, diminish the intended supplies; there is no other method to be taken.

I have, with you, no doubts that America will be easily able to pay off not only the interest but the principal of all the debts she may contract this war, but whether duties upon her exports will be the best method of doing it is a question I am not so clear in. England raised indeed a great revenue by duties on tobacco, but it was by virtue of a prohibition of foreign tobaccoes, and thereby obliging the internal consumer to pay those duties.

If America were to lay a duty of 5 pence sterling p. lb. on the exportation of her tobacco, would any European nation buy it? Would not the colonies of Spain and Portugal and the Ukraine of Russia furnish it much cheaper? Was not England herself obliged for such reasons to drop the duty on tobacco she furnished to France? Would it not cost an immense sum in officers, &c., to guard our long coast against the smuggling of tobacco and running it out to avoid the duty? And would not many even of those officers be corrupted and connive at it? It is possibly an erroneous opinion, but I find myself rather inclined to adopt that modern one, which supposes it best for every country to leave its trade entirely free from all incumbrances.

Perhaps no country does this at present. Holland comes the nearest to it, and her commercial wealth seems to have increased in proportion.

Your excellency has done me the honor of announcing to me your appointment. I hope soon to return the compliment by enforming you of my dismission. I find the various employments of merchant, banker, judge of admiralty, consul, &c., besides my ministerial functions, too multifarious and too heavy for my old shoulders, and have therefore requested Congress that I may be relieved, for in this point I agree even with my enemies, that another may be easily found who can better execute them.

In my last I mentioned to you that M. de la Motte Piquet's squadron took 22 sail of the 34 coming to England from St. Eustatia. It is now said that a St. Malo's privateer, having taken two more, was encouraged by the admiral to leave the prizes under his care and pursue the rest, which he did, and falling in with two American privateers and another French privateer, they took between them all the rest, so that not one of the 34 will arrive in England. If this be true, the ships that convoyed them will be able to render but a poor acct. of their conduct.

I send you the late accounts we have from America of the action between Destouches and Arbuthnot, Greene and Cornwallis. Your causing them to be inserted in the Dutch papers may prevent the effect of false and exaggerated reports from England.

I shall wish to know from you, when you think it proper, the proceedings of the state in your affair, and have the honor to be, sir, your excellency's.

Dana to the President of Congress.*

AMSTERDAM, *May* 20, 1781.

SIR: I do myself the honor to transmit to your excellency certain papers, which are duplicates of such as have not been sent off from France. Your excellency will receive the whole from hence in the *South Carolina*, commanded by Commodore Gillon, if she arrives safe. If not, the arrival of those from France, together with these by Captain Newman, for Newburyport, will supply them.

I shall not trouble your excellency with any political matters from hence, because you will doubtless be fully informed about them by Mr. Adams. I shall hope for early information from our country of every important event, civil or military. I perceive with much pleasure that Congress are about adopting a solid system of finance, which will doubtless meet with the cordial support of all the States in the Union. When this system shall be established I hope the committee of foreign affairs, or some others to whom it may belong, will not fail to transmit some account of it, with any observations which may be necessary to explain it. In my separate department, where there is yet little or no good information touching the state of our country, it may be more necessary to pay a particular attention to this business.

I am, with the highest sentiments of respect and esteem, &c.,

FRANCIS DANA.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.†

AMSTERDAM, *May* 21, 1781.

SIR: On the 30th of April the King of Prussia published the following ordinance relative to the navigation and commerce of his subjects during the whole course of the present war between the maritime powers:

ORDINANCE OF PRUSSIA RELATIVE TO NAVIGATION.

From the commencement of the maritime war, almost generally spread through the southern part of Europe, the king has applied himself with particular care to procure to those of his subjects who traffic by sea, or who engage in navigation, all the security possible, and to this end he has caused to be required of the belligerent powers to give exact orders to their vessels of war and privateers to respect the Prussian flag, and to suffer peaceably to pass all the Prussian vessels which should be loaded with merchandizes which, according to the law of nations, are reputed lawful and not contraband, and not cause to them any damage or delay, and much less still to conduct them without necessity or right into foreign ports, to which these powers have answered by assurances friendly and proper to make things easy in this regard. To attain still more certainly to this end, his majesty has ordered his ministers residing near the belligerent powers to interest themselves as much as possible, and by representations the most energetic, in favor of Prussian subjects who

* MSS. Dep. of State; 4 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 574.
† MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 364

trade at sea, and whose vessels might be taken, conducted into foreign ports, or, as has often happened, pillaged even upon the high seas, and to insist on their speedy release, and that the processes at law, occasioned by their capture, should be decided without delay and with the requisite impartiality. To the end, therefore, that the ministers of the king may be in a condition to acquit themselves of these orders in this respect, it is necessary that the subjects of his majesty who find themselves in such a case announce themselves, or by attorney, to the envoy of the king at the court where the complaints ought to be carried, and that they may give him information in detail of their subjects of complaint, that he may be able to support them there where they belong. They ought not, however, to repose themselves entirely on a similar intercession, but carry also their complaints themselves to the admiralties or maritime colleges of the country where their vessel has been conducted, or in which they have caused him damage, support his complaints with requisite proofs, follow the judiciary order, and the different trials established in each country, and solicit and pursue with diligence their causes by advocates and attorneys; by means of which it is to be hoped that they will obtain a prompt and impartial decision; in default of which it shall be permitted to them to address themselves to the envoys of the king, to carry to each court the complaints which the case may require, and obtain the redress of it.

But to secure still more the navigation of his subjects the king has caused to be demanded by his ministers of her majesty the Empress of Russia and the two other maritime powers of the north, who, as is well known, have united to maintain the maritime neutrality, to be so good, as powers with whom the king has the satisfaction to live in the strictest union, as to order the commanders of their vessels of war to take the Prussian merchant vessels which they may meet in their courses in their sight, and within reach of their cannon, under their convoy and protection, in case they shall be attacked or molested by the vessels of war or privateers of the belligerent powers. Her majesty the Empress of Russia has assured the king, by a declaration written by her ministry, that she had not only given precise orders to the commanders of her vessels of war to protect, against all attacks and molestations, the vessels of Prussian merchants and navigators that they may encounter in their course, as belonging to a power allied to Russia, and who observe exactly the rules of the maritime neutrality founded upon the law of nations, but that she would enjoin it also upon her ministers at the courts of the belligerent powers, that as often as the envoys of the King of Prussia should have claims and complaints to carry to the courts where they reside relative to the hinderances occasioned to the maritime commerce of the Prussian subjects, they should support such complaints in the name of her majesty the Empress of Russia by their good offices, and that she expected in return from his majesty the king that he would equally furnish his ministers to the belligerent powers with instructions conformable to the maritime convention of the powers of the north, with orders to accede by energetic representations to the complaints of the ministers of the powers allied for the defence of the maritime neutrality in case they shall have certain satisfaction to demand for the subjects of their sovereigns.

The king has accepted this friendly declaration of her majesty the empress with gratitude, and by a counter declaration, which is conformable to it, he has caused his ministers to be instructed at foreign courts. His majesty has before, on occasion of another negociation with the court of Denmark, required his Danish majesty to grant to Prussian merchant vessels the protection of his military marine, and has received the friendly assurances of it that the Danish vessels of war should take under convoy and protection the Prussian merchant vessels which should conform themselves to the treaties which subsist between the court of Denmark and the belligerent powers with relation to merchandizes of contraband. The king has addressed the same demand to the court of Sweden, and promised himself from the friendship of his Swedish majesty an answer as favorable as that of their majesties the Empress of Russia and the King of Denmark.

We give notice of those arrangements to all the subjects of the king who exercise navigation and maritime commerce, to the end that they and their captains of vessels and skippers may conform themselves to them, and in case they shall be attacked, molested, or taken by the vessels of war and privateers of the belligerent nations, address themselves to the Russian, Swedish, or Danish vessels of war which may be found within their reach, demand their protection and assistance, and join themselves as much as possible to the fleets and convoys of these maritime powers of the north.

But as the intention of his majesty is simply to assure, by the before-mentioned arrangements, the lawful maritime commerce of his subjects, and not to do any prejudice to the rights of the belligerent powers with whom he is in perfect harmony, or to favor an illicit commerce which might be dangerous to them, all the subjects of his majesty who exercise navigation and maritime commerce ought to conduct themselves in such a manner as to observe an exact neutrality, such as is founded on the law of nature, and in the general laws of nations almost universally acknowledged. But the different treaties which several powers have concluded with each other relative to maritime commerce occasioning a difference of law in this regard, it is principally to the known declaration which her majesty the Empress of Russia caused to be presented the last year to the belligerent powers and to the ordinance which she caused to be addressed in consequence to her college of commerce on the 8th of March, 1780, that the subjects of the king will have to conform themselves with regard to their maritime commerce, the principles which are there announced being those which his majesty finds the most conformable to the law of nations and to his in particular. It is in consequence ordained by the present edict to all the subjects of the king who exercise navigation or maritime commerce—

ARTICLE I. Not to take any part, under any pretence whatever, in the present war, and not to carry to any of the belligerent powers, under the Prussian flag, merchandizes generally acknowledged to be prohibited and contraband, and which properly constitute warlike stores, as cannons, mortars, bombs, grenades, fusils, pistols, bullets, flints, matches, powder, saltpetre, sulphur, pikes, swords, and saddles. The subjects of the king ought to have on board their merchant vessels only so much of these articles as is necessary for their own use.

ARTICLE II. The subjects of the king may, on the contrary, carry in Prussian vessels as well to belligerent as to neutral nations, all the merchandizes which are not comprehended in the preceding article, and which, not properly belonging to warlike stores, are not prohibited, and particularly the productions of all the provinces of the states of the king; his majesty promising himself from the equity and the friendship of the belligerent powers that they will not permit their armed vessels to molest or take the Prussian vessels loaded with masts, timber, pitch, corn, and other materials, which, without being warlike stores, may, nevertheles, in the sequel be converted into such stores, and which make the principal and almost the only object of Prussian commerce. These powers are too just to require that the commerce of a neutral nation should cease or be entirely suspended on account of the war. After these principles, it is hoped that the belligerent powers will suffer freely to pass without seizure or confiscation the lawful merchandizes and cargoes of the Prussian subjects which may be found on board the vessels of belligerent nations, as also the lawful cargoes and merchandizes of belligerent nations loaded in Prussian vessels, and in all these cases his majesty will interest himself effectually in favor of his subjects trading by sea. It is, however, the part of prudence for these last to load as much as possible their merchandizes and effects in Prussian vessels, and to transport them under the Prussian flag; not to employ themselves much in the coasting trade, but to apply themselves principally to a Prussian commerce without mixture, the better to avoid all accidents, misunderstandings, and difficulties.

ARTICLE III. All the Prussian vessels which shall put to sea ought to furnish themselves with passports and attestations of the admiralties, chambers of war, and the domains of each province, or of the magistrates of each city as also with charter-

parties, recognizances, and other certificates of common usage, which ought to express the quality and the quantity of the cargo, the name of the proprietor, and of him to whom the merchandizes are consigned, as well as the place of the destination. These sea papers ought to be clear, and to contain no equivocation. They ought to be found on board every vessel, and they ought not, under any pretence whatsoever, to throw them into the sea. The captains of vessels and skippers will take care above all not to have in their vessels any sea papers, double, equivocal, or false, by which they would render themselves unworthy of all protection.

ARTICLE IV. Every Prussian vessel loaded in a foreign port ought to furnish herself in the said port with sea papers necessary, and in the form used in the place where she loads, to the end to be able to prove everywhere of what nation she is, what is her cargo, from whence she comes, and whither she goes.

ARTICLE V. There ought not to be found on board of Prussian vessels neither officers of marine nor persons employed in it of the belligerent nations, nor more than one-third of the crew of those nations.

ARTICLE VI. It is forbidden to Prussian navigators to transport cargoes or merchandizes of any sort whatever to places or ports besieged, blocked, or shut up closely by any one of the belligerent powers.

ARTICLE VII. It is forbidden to Prussian navigators or merchants to lend their names to foreign nations, and they ought to exercise commerce in general in a manner conformable to the rights and customs of nations, so that they commit no infringment of the rights of any of the belligerent powers, and that they may have no just subject of complaint.

The subjects of the king who shall conform exactly to the present edict may promise themselves on the part of his majesty all possible protection and assistance, instead of which those who may contravene it ought not to expect it, but to attribute to themselves the dangers and damages which they may draw upon themselves by a conduct contrary to this ordinance.

Given at Berlin the 30th of April, 1781.

By express order of the king.

HERTZBERG.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

JOHN ADAMS.

Luzerne to the President of Congress.*

[Translation.]

PHILADELPHIA, *May* 22, 1781.

SIR: I have the honor of sending you a copy of a letter from the king in answer to that written to him from Congress on the 22d of November last. I shall have the honor of sending you the original this evening.

My despatches contain several important subjects, which I shall hasten to communicate to Congress as soon as they shall be wholly decyphered.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

LUZERNE.

---

* 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 722.

Morris to the President of Congress. *

PHILADELPHIA, *May* 23, 1781.

SIR: As I have heard in times past that the treasury has frequently been in want of hard money to comply with engagements made with the approbation of Congress, and sometimes obliged to obtain it upon terms inconsistent with the dignity of government and not very consonant to the public interest, I would wish to guard against the like inconveniencies by importing from foreign countries a supply at least sufficient to pay rents of the houses and offices necessarily employed for the Continental service; also to answer, as far as may be, the calls for secret service. And even if I could devise the means of obtaining it, I should suppose it would be agreeable to bring such sums as may answer other valuable purposes; but as it can not be imported but at the risk of being captured by the enemy and the danger of the elements, you will perceive the necessity of my being authorised by Congress to enter on and execute this business at the risk and for account of the continent on the best terms in my power.

The sum may be limited if thought needful, although I should suppose it not possible in our circumstances to obtain too much; yet the sum to be risked in any one bottom may very properly not exceed a certain amount in a line-of-battle ship or frigate, and a smaller in any one merchant vessel. Should Congress think proper to authorise these measures, as I hope they will, the private journals will be most proper to insert the proceedings in, as a want of secrecy may endanger the money.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

ROBERT MORRIS.

Washington to Luzerne. †

WEATHERSFIELD, *May* 23, 1781.

SIR: The letter which I have the honor to enclose from the Count de Rochambeau will, I imagine, inform your excellency of the intended march of the French army towards the North River, and of the destination of the king's squadron now in the harbor of Newport, if circumstances will admit of the respective movements. I should be wanting in respect and confidence were I not to add that our object is New York.

The season, the difficulty and expense of land transportation, and the continual waste of men in every attempt to reinforce the southern States are almost insuperable objections to marching another detachment from the army on the North River; nor do I see how it is possible to give effectual support to those States, and avert the evils which threaten them while we are inferior in naval force in these seas. It is not for me to

* MSS. Dep. of State; 6 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 263.

† 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 724.

now in what manner the fleet of his most Christian majesty is to be mployed in the West Indies this summer, or to inquire at what epoch it ay be expected on this coast; but the appearance and aid of it in this uarter are of such essential importance in any offensive operation, and o necessary to stop the progress of the enemy's arms, that I shall be xcused, I am persuaded, for endeavoring to engage your excellency's ood offices in facilitating an event on which so much depends. For this have a stronger plea, when I assure you that General Rochambeau's pinion and wishes concur with mine, and that it is at his instance rincipally that I make you this address.

If we are happy enough to find your excellency in sentiment with us, will be in your power to inform the Count de Grasse of the strength nd situation of the enemy's naval and land force in this country, the estination of the French squadron under Admiral Barras, and the tention of the allied arms, if a junction can be formed. At present he British fleet lies within Block Island, and about five leagues from oint Judith.

The Count de Rochambeau and the Chevalier Chastellux agree per-ctly in sentiment with me, that while affairs remain as they now are, he West India fleet should run immediately to Sandy Hook, if there re no concerted operations, where they may be met with all the infor-ation requisite, and where most likely it will shut in or cut off dmiral Arbuthnot, and may be joined by the Count de Barras. An arly and frequent communication from the Count de Grasse would ad to preparatory measures on our part, and be a means of facilitating he operation in hand, or any other which may be thought more advis-ble.

I know your excellency's goodness and your zeal for the common ause too well to offer anything more as an apology for this liberty; nd I persuade myself it is unnecessary for me to declare the respect nd attachment with which I have the honor to be, &c.,

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

J. Adams to Franklin.*

AMSTERDAM, *May* 23, 1781.

SIR: I have the honor of your letter of the 19th, with its enclosures, nd I thank your excellency for the pains you have taken to communi-ate the news from America, which I think can scarcely be called bad, hough General Greene lost the field. I had before received and pub-shed in the Amsterdam Gazette the same accounts. The gazetteers re so earnest after American news, that I find it the shortest method f communicating the newspapers to all.

I have received from Congress their resolution of the 3d of January,

* 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 370; 7 J. Adams' Works, 421.

1781, to draw bills upon me in favor of Lee & Jones at six months' sight for the full amount of the balance due on the contract made with them for a quantity of clothing for the army. I have also a letter from Mr. Gibson, of the treasury office, of January 28th, which informs me that the amount of Jones & Lee's account is sixteen thousand two hundred and forty-four pounds one shilling sterling.

I have just received from Gottenburg the enclosed letters, one to your excellency and one to Mr. Jay. I received both unsealed, with direction to take copies. I have put my own seal upon that to your excellency, and request the favor of you to put yours upon that to Mr. Jay, and to convey it in the safest manner. It contains matter of great importance, which ought to be carefully concealed from every eye but yours and Mr. Jay's; for which reason I should be cautious of conveying it, even with the despatches of the Spanish ambassador, especially as there are intimations in Mr. Lovell's letter of too much curiosity with regard to Mr. Jay's despatches, and as Mr. Jay himself complains that his letters are opened. I hope this instruction will remove all the difficulties with Spain, whose accession to the treaty would be of great service to the reputation of our cause in every part of Europe.

It seems to me of vast importance to us to obtain an acknowledgment of our independence from as many other sovereigns as possible before any conferences for peace shall be opened; because, if that event should take place first, and the powers at war with Great Britain, their armies, navies, and people weary of the war, and clamoring for peace, there is no knowing what hard conditions may be insisted on from us, nor into what embarrassments British arts and obstinacy may plunge us.

By the tenth article of the treaty of alliance the contracting parties agree to invite or admit other powers who may have received injuries from Great Britain to accede to that treaty. If Russia and the northern powers, or any of them, should be involved in the war in support of the Dutch, would it not be a proper opportunity for the execution of this article? Or, why would it not be proper now to invite the Dutch?

I have the honor to enclose a memorial to their high mightinesses. My mission is now a subject of deliberation among the regencies of the several cities and the bodies of nobles who compose the sovereignty of this country. It is not probable that any determination will be had soon. They will probably confer with Russia and the northern powers about it first. Perhaps, if these come into the war, nothing will be done but in concert with them. But if these do not come into the war this republic, I think, in that case will readily accede to the treaty of alliance between France and America; for all ideas of peace with England are false and delusive. England will make peace with the Dutch upon no other condition than their joining her in the war against all her enemies, which it is impossible for them to do, even if their inclinations were that way, which they are not. The public voice here is well decided against England.

I have the honor to be much of your excellency's opinion respecting duties. I mentioned tobacco to show what duties America was able to bear. Whatever sums a people are able to bear in duties upon exports or imports upon the decencies, conveniences, or necessaries of life they are undoubtedly able to raise by a dry tax upon polls and estates, provided it is equally proportioned. Nay more, because the expense of collecting and guarding against fraud is saved.

Our countrymen are getting right notions of revenue, and whenever these shall become general, I think there can be no difficulty in carrying on the war.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

JOHN ADAMS.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.*

AMSTERDAM, *May* 24, 1781.

SIR: A proposition of very great consequence has been made in the assembly of the States of Holland by the city of Amsterdam. It is conceived in these words:

The gentlemen the deputies of the city of Amsterdam, have, by the express orders of the gentlemen their principals, represented in the assembly that the venerable magistrates had flattered themselves that they should see the effects of the efforts attempted for some time by the admiralties to put to sea a quantity of vessels of war, capable of protecting the commerce and the navigation of the inhabitants of this state, or at least some branches of them; that the gentlemen their principals had had reason to be confirmed in their expectation above all when they were informed that a number sufficiently considerable of vessels of war, provided with things necessary, were ready to put to sea, and that orders had been positively given upon this subject; but to their extreme astonishment they had learned some time after that the officers who commanded the said vessels, upon the point of executing the said orders, had given notice that the want of stores, provisions, and victuals put them out of a condition to obey the said orders; that the gentlemen their constituents having considered that not only this want of stores, &c., ought not to have existed, but that it might have been seasonably obviated; they had been so struck with this unexpected delay in an affair, which they judged of the last importance for this country, especially on account of certain particular circumstances, that they could not refrain from declaring freely that they had lawful reasons to fear that such inactivity left little hope of seeing effected a protection which is of the last necessity for the commerce and navigation, the total interruption of which can not fail to occasion a great dearness, and to bring on very soon a most sensible scarcity, without speaking of the impossibility of striking blows to an enemy who has for five months attacked this state by an unjust war, and has already rendered himself master by surprise of a great number of rich vessels of war and merchant ships, and of some of our distant possessions.

That the gentlemen, the principals, in virtue of these reasons, and of others not less pressing, have judged that they could not longer delay to lay before the eyes of the members of the assembly of your noble and grand mightinesses, in the manner the most pressing and the most lively, the terrible consequences which this deplorable state of things makes them apprehend for their dear country. That the powers of

* MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 373.

the north, with whom the republic has entered into an alliance, and from whom she has sufficient reasons to expect succors, have marked more than once their astonishment at our inactivity and at the affected tranquillity with which the republic suffers all the insults of her enemy without making the least preparation to repel them. That, from time to time, advices have come from our ambassadors extraordinary to the court of Petersburgh that we had not to expect, neither from that court nor from her allies, succors but in proportion to the efforts which the republic should make on her part. That these things have appeared to the gentlemen, the principals, of so great importance and of so extensive consequence, that it is more than time that this sovereign assembly pass, as soon as possible, to a scrupulous examination of the true causes of such inactivity; that she cause to be given instructions and an explanation of the state of defence of the country relative to the necessary orders which she has given; that she obtain information concerning the reasons of the extreme sloth and lukewarmness with which they proceed to the protection of the country against an enemy formidable, especially for his activity, and concerning the means which we may and ought to employ to shut up the source of these evils and make them disappear.

That the gentlemen, the constituents, have desired to put themselves out of the reach of all reproach from the inhabitants of this country, whose total ruin advances with rapid strides, and who, to this day, have not ceased to pour out with joy into the public treasury the imposts and taxes which we have imposed on them, demanding in return, with the greatest justice, to be protected by the fathers of the country. To this end, and to ward off as much as it is in their power the ruin of this republic, formerly so flourishing and so respected by its neighbors, they have charged in the manner the most express their deputies to these States to insist in the strongest manner that we proceed to the before-mentioned examination, and that, on the part of this province, things be directed in the Generality in such a manner, that we demand as soon as possible to enter into negotiation with the court of France, which has not ceased to give us such numerous and shining marks of her good will and of her inclination to succor us against the common enemy, and has already shown us by the effects that her offers of service do not consist in vain words; to deliberate with this court concerning the manner in which it will be convenient and practicable to act, by communicating to each other the reciprocal plans of operation which we may attempt during this summer.

That, at the same time, it is not expedient to neglect to instruct our ministers at the courts of Russia, Sweden, and Denmark of the state of things in this country, and of the means of defence which the republic puts in motion, with the express orders to make, without relaxation, to the said courts pressing and redoubled instances to send us a large number of vessels of war well equipped, to which at least one of them has already shown herself disposed; representing to them, at the same time, in a pressing manner the present necessity of sending us, conformably to the stipulations of the convention lately concluded and ratified, as soon as possible, the succors promised in the said convention.

That, besides the propositions which we have pointed out, and from the success of which the gentlemen, the constituents promise themselves all sorts of advantages, the venerable magistrates are still in the opinion that this state, although abandoned to itself, against all expectation and all hope, does not yet cease to have numerous and sufficient resources not to consider its defence as absolutely desperate; for it is very true that after a long peace the first alarm of a war, and of an unforeseen attack, may at first throw men's minds into terror, disorder, and consternation; but it is not less true that the riches and the resources of the nation in general, having received a considerable increase by the enjoyment of the fruits of this peace, the supreme government finds itself, by employing them in a useful and salutary manner, in a condition to make head for a long time against an enemy already exhausted by a long and expensive war, and to take so good measures that we may force her to renew an honorable and advantageous peace.

In fine, the gentlemen, the said constituents, are of opinion that to give a ready ffect to the resolutions tending to the said objects, and which may serve for the pro- ection of the state and of its establishments in the other parts of the world, and to iscuss the resolutions with all the secrecy requisite, there be formed by the lords the tates a committee of some gentlemen of the respective provinces, giving them the ower and instructions necessary to labor conjointly with his highness the prince ereditary stadtholder, to contrive, prescribe, and put in execution all the measures hich shall appear the most proper and the most convenient, to the end that we may, nder the benediction of God Almighty, repair the past and wash out the shame and ie dishonor with which this republic is stained in the eyes of foreigners, and by a vig- rous defence of the country, and of all which it holds most dear and precious, and o maintain it in the advantages of a liberty purchased so dear against all further vils and calamities.

Finally, the gentlemen, the said deputies, find themselves, moreover, expressly harged to cause to be laid in the records of Holland the said proposition for the pology and the discharge of the gentlemen, their constituents, and to insist in all ie ways possible that we take in this regard prompt resolutions whereof we may ee the effects, in the view of accomplishing their salutary designs, to pray in the anner the most earnest and pressing the other members to labor to obtain in favor f this proposition the suffrage of the gentlemen, their principals, to carry it into the pproaching assembly.

Thus ends this manly address, in which there is the appearance of he old Batavian spirit. In my excursions through the various parts f this country I have found the eyes of all parties turned towards Amsterdam, and all true patriots said that the salvation of this coun- ry depended upon the firmness of that city. There has indeed been n this city the appearance of feebleness and irresolution, but it has tood its ground. The presentation and publication of my memorial to he States-General, which was more universally and highly applauded han was expected by me or anyone else, furnished the regency of the ity an opportunity to discover the general sense of the public voice, nd they have not failed to take an early advantage of it. They have ot mentioned a treaty with America, the reason of which was, that his subject was already taken *ad referendum* and under the considera- ion of the several branches of the sovereignty. They mention only a egociation with France, knowing very well that this would necessarily raw on the other; so that things seem at present in a good train; but long time will necessarily be taken up, according to the constitution nd in the present disposition of this country, before anything can be one to effect.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

JOHN ADAMS.

Luzerne to the President of Congress.*

[Translation.]

PHILADELPHIA, *May* 25, 1781.

SIR: The undersigned, minister plenipotentiary of France, has the honor of informing Congress that it has been found im possible to send the second division of the troops under the comma nd of Count de Rochambeau and of the French squadron designed for the defence of the coasts of the thirteen States, and that it can no longer be expected during the course of this campaign. The necessary measures have, however, been taken for increasing the body of troops now at Rhode Island, and, by sending some vessels of force, for putti ng the squadron into a condition to enter again upon active service.

The undersigned requests Congress to be pleased to appoint a committee, to whom he will communicate the causes which have occasioned this change; and Congress will find in them new proofs of the wisdom of the motives which direct the conduct of his majesty. But if considerations of the greatest importance deprive him of the satisfaction of assisting the thirteen United States in their own country by sending a number of vessels and of auxiliaries as considerable as he had proposed, he will make no less vigorous efforts against the enemy; and he hopes that these powerful diversions will prevent the enemy from forming any enterprise to which the resources and the courage of the thirteen States shall be unequal.

The king has, at the same time, resolved to give a new proof of his affection and of his earnest desire to afford a remedy for the difficulties which they experience in procuring the funds necessary for acting with vigor and effect during the present campaign. With this view the king, notwithstanding the immense expense at which he is obliged to support the war in which he is engaged, has resolved to dispose of a considerable fund, which shall be appropriated to the purchase of clothing, arms, and stores for which Dr. Franklin has been instructed to ask. The Count de Vergennes will concert measures on this subject with the minister plenipotentiary of the United States, Dr. Franklin; and M. Necker proposes to take the proper precautions, in order that the merchandise may be of a good and sound quality, and at a price answering to its exact value.

The subsidy which the king has resolved to grant to the thirteen United States amounts to six millions of livres tournois, independent of the four millions which the ministry have enabled Dr. Franklin to borrow for the service of the current year. It is presumed that this sum of six millions will not be wholly applied to the purchase of the articles asked for, and in that case it is his majesty's intention that the surplus should be reserved, that it may be at the disposal of Congress, or of the superintendent of the finances of the thirteen States, if they

* 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 725.

think proper to confide the management of it to him. It has not been possible for the court, by reason of the speedy departure of the vessel which brought this intelligence to the undersigned minister, to determine what will be the amount of the sums of money remaining after the purchase of the above-mentioned articles, but lest there should seem to be any delay in supplying the wants of the thirteen States, the Chevalier de la Luzerne takes it upon himself, without waiting for any further orders, to fix the amount of these sums at fifteen hundred thousand livres tournois, and if Congress in fact think that they shall need this whole sum, he will without delay inform his court of it, in order that the necessary measures may be taken for discharging the bills of exchange which shall consequently be drawn. As it is the intention of the king that the greatest regularity shall take place in the payments, it will be well for the undersigned to agree with Congress, or with the superintendent of finance, and fix upon the times at which these bills shall be negociated and upon those at which they shall be payable. It is necessary that these times of payment should be at sufficient distances from each other, so that the department of finance may not be obliged to pay considerable sums in too short intervals of time.

The intention of the king, in granting to the thirteen States this purely gratuitous subsidy, is to put them in a condition to act vigorously during this campaign; and his majesty is desirous that Congress would be pleased to give the necessary orders that it may be entirely applied to this important object, which admits of no delay. The communications which the undersigned is instructed to make to Congress will convince that body of the necessity of losing no time.

LUZERNE.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.*

AMSTERDAM, *May* 25, 1781.

SIR: The following convention concerning recaptures made from the English is, it is hoped, the first step toward more intimate connexions between this republic on one side, and France and the United States of America on the other:

FRENCH AND DUTCH CONVENTION CONCERNING RECAPTURES.

The lords the States-General having judged that it would be of reciprocal utility to establish between France and the United Provinces of the Low Countries uniform principles with relation to captures and recaptures which their respective subjects might make upon those of Great Britain, their common enemy, they have proposed to the most Christian king to agree with them on a regulation concerning this matter. His most Christain majesty, animated with the same views and desiring to consolidate more and more the good correspondence which subsists between him and the United Provinces, has well received the overture of the lords the States-General. In

*MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 376.

consequence his said most Christian majesty and the said lords the States-General have given their full powers, to wit: his most Christian majesty to the Sieur Gravier Count de Vergennes, &c., his counsellor of state of the sword, his counsellor in all his councils, commander of his orders, minister and secretary of state, and of his commands and finances, and the lords the States-General to the Sieur de Berkenrode, their ambassador to the most Christian king, who, after having duly communicated their respective powers, have agreed on the following articles:

"ARTICLE I. The vessels of one of the two nations, French and Dutch, retaken by the privateers of the other, shall be restored to the first owner, if they have not been in the power of the enemy during the space of twenty-four hours, at the charge of the said owner, to pay one-third of the value of the vessel recaptured, as well as of her cargo, cannon, and apparel, which shall be estimated by agreement between the parties interested, and if they can not agree among themselves, they shall apply to the officers of the admiralty of the place where the recaptor shall have conducted the vessel retaken.

ARTICLE II. If the vessel retaken has been in the power of the enemy more than twenty-four hours it shall belong entirely to the recaptor.

ARTICLE III. In case a vessel shall have been retaken by a vessel of war belonging to the most Christian king or to the United Provinces, it shall be restored to the first proprietor, paying the thirtieth part of the value of the vessel, of the cargo, cannon, and apparel, if it has been retaken in twenty-four hours, and the tenth if it had been taken after the twenty-four hours, which sums shall be distributed as a gratification to the crews of the vessels recaptured. The estimation of the thirtieth and tenth before mentioned shall be regulated conformably to the tenor of the article first of the present convention.

ARTICLE IV. The vessels of war and privateers of the one and the other of the two nations shall be admitted reciprocally both in Europe and in the other parts of the world in the respective ports with their prizes, which may be there unloaded and sold according to the formalities used in the state where the prize shall have been conducted; provided, nevertheless, that the lawfulness of the prizes made by the French vessels shall be decided conformably to the laws and regulations established in France concerning this matter, in the same manner as that of prizes made by Dutch vessels shall be judged according to the laws and regulations established in the United Provinces.

ARTICLE V. Moreover, it shall be free to his most Christian majesty, as well as to the lords the States-General, to make such regulations as they shall judge good relative to the conduct which their vessels and privateers respectively shall hold in regard to the vessels which they shall have taken and carried into one of the ports of the two dominions.

In faith of which the aforesaid plenipotentiaries of his most Christian majesty and of the lords the States-General, in virtue of our powers, respectively have signed these presents and have hereunto affixed the seal of our arms.

Done at Versailles the first of the month of May, 1781.

GRAVIER DE VERGENNES.
LESTEVENON VAN BERKENRODE.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

JOHN ADAMS.

Carmichael to the Committee of Foreign Affairs.*

ARANJUES, *May* 25, 1781.

GENTLEMEN: Since my last, of the 16th instant, the French ambassador has received the agreeable intelligence that M. de la Motte Piquet fell in with the St. Eustatia fleet, consisting of thirty-four sail, of which he captured twenty-four; their escort, two seventy-four-gun ships, and two frigates having escaped by their superior swiftness; five other vessels of the same fleet I hear are taken. The captain of a packet boat arrived at Corunna from Newport says that he was chased in the latitude of the Azores by the English fleet, which consisted of eighteen sail of the line. The Spanish squadron has not been heard of since it sailed.

Thirty-six transports of two hundred and two hundred and fifty tons, are taken up at Cadiz on government account, and provisions for eight thousand men for four months are ordered. The destination of this armament is a secret, but there is reason to think it is either intended for the West Indies or for their own settlements in Peru. If for the former, it will scarcely commence its operations before the month of November, when the Count de Grasse will be able to join it after his return from our coasts.

[The following is a state of the supplies lately afforded by France, of which I hope, however, Mr. Laurens will give you in person the first intelligence. 10 millions of livres to be procured on loan in Holland, but should that measure not be successful, the money will be advanced by the treasury in France; 2 millions livres in warlike stores, &c.; 2,500,000 livres which Mr. Laurens brings out with him in specie; 1,500,000 livres to be sent from Holland; 4,000,000 to Dr. Franklin to answer bills drawn on him by Congress.] †

Many bills drawn by Congress last year have lately been presented and accepted by Mr. Jay; the funds are not yet provided for their payment, but I hope the advices lately received from Congress will produce a change of conduct in this court. I allude to a letter from the committee, which came in the *Virginia* to Cadiz. I am persuaded the minister was informed of its contents before it reached Mr. Jay, for the packets were stopped at Cadiz, and bore evident marks of having been inspected.

The committee must be sensible that a negociation will ever be carried on to our disadvantage when the parties with whom their minister treats are thus early informed of the most secret intentions of Congress. This apprehension renders my correspondence with the committee more irregular than it would otherwise be, for I am often obliged to wait ten days and more for safe opportunities of conveying my let-

* MSS. Dep. of State; 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 51, with verbal corrections and omissions.

† Passage in brackets omitted in Sparks' ed.

ters by private hands to Cadiz, Bilboa, or the ports of France, to prevent a previous examination of them here.

I hope soon to write by M. Gardoqui, but I have so often advised you of this gentleman's intended departure and then been so often disappointed, that now I can not give full belief to the late information I have received on this subject.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

WILLIAM CARMICHAEL.

Carmichael to the Committee of Foreign Affairs.*

ARANJUES, *May* 26, 1781.

GENTLEMEN: The court being at this place at present, Mr. Jay has judged proper to reside here until it returns to Madrid, from which city I addressed the committee the 23d ultimo. Mr. Jay, since his arrival here, has seen the minister and been civilly received. He will inform Congress of what passed on this occasion. M. de la Motte Piquet, whose squadron could not be ready in time to join M. de Cordova, and enable the Spanish fleet to oppose that of England destined to relieve Gibraltar, sailed on a cruise the 24th ultimo, to intercept the homeward-bound fleet from St. Eustatia, or one from the Leeward Islands, daily expected. The English squadron, after leaving Gibraltar, is gone to cruise off the Azores or the Canaries, to intercept the fleet from the Havana with treasure, the amount of which I mentioned in my last; this, at least, is the opinion of several well-informed people here. That of Spain has sailed from Cadiz to cruise for it and escort it into port, I believe, on a presumption that the English would return to port, or detach a part of their squadron to reinforce their others in various parts of the world. Should the latter be the case, and these fleets should encounter, that of Spain will have greatly the advantage in number, it consisting of thirty-two sail of the line.

I have the pleasure of informing Congress that the court of France has engaged to guarantee a loan of ten millions of livres for the States, and to make large advances in cash and stores immediately. I wish it were in my power to furnish as agreeable accounts from this court. The negociation is in the same situation as when I had last the honor to write to the committee; my sentiments of the motives for this conduct are still the same. The mediation seems at a stand, and probably will not be renewed before the end of the campaign. Troops have been ordered to march towards Gibraltar from various parts of the kingdom, but I have some reason to think with a view to another object, viz., either to be sent to the West Indies or to Peru, where it is said there appears a spirit of disaffection which creates some apprehensions here.

The crop is likely to be more abundant throughout Spain than it has

*MSS. Dep. of State; 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 52, with verbal corrections.

been for many years past. I have not as yet heard that Russia has taken a decided part in favor of the Dutch. Their squadrons in the Mediterranean and at Lisbon are ordered home. The Portuguese preserve a strict neutrality at present. M. Gardoqui is still here, but I hope will embark next month. I have not had the honor of hearing from the committee since I have been in Europe, and Mr. Jay informs me that he has received but three letters from Congress since his residence here.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

WILLIAM CARMICHAEL.

Morris to Hamilton.*

PHILADELPHIA, *May* 26, 1781.

SIR: It is some time since I received your performance, dated the 30th of April last. I have read it with that attention which it justly deserves, and finding many parts of it to coincide with my own opinions on the subject, it naturally strengthened that confidence which every man ought to possess to a certain degree in his own judgment.

You will very soon see the plan of a bank published and subscriptions opened for its establishment, having already met with the approbation of Congress. It only remains for individuals to do their part, and a foundation will be laid for the anticipation of taxes and funds by a paper credit that can not depreciate. The capital proposed fell far short of your idea; and, indeed, far short of what it ought to be, but I am confident if this is once accomplished the capital may afterwards be increased to almost any amount. To propose a large sum in the outset and fail in the attempt to raise it would be fatal. To begin with what is clearly within our power to accomplish, and on that beginning to establish the credit that will inevitably command the future increase of capital, seems the most certain road to success.

I have thought much about interweaving a security with the capital of this bank, but am apprehensive it would convey to the public mind an idea of paper being circulated on that credit, and that the bank in consequence must fail in its payments in case of any considerable run on it; and we must expect that its ruin will be attempted by external and internal foes. I have therefore left that point to the future deliberations of the directors of this bank, to whom in due time I shall communicate your address.

I esteem myself much your debtor for this piece, not merely on account of the personal respect you have been pleased to express, but chiefly on account of your good intentions; and for these and the pains you have taken I not only think, but on all proper occasions shall say, the public are also indebted to you.

---

* MSS. Dep. of State; 6 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 264.

My office is new and I am young in the execution of it. Communi cations from men of genius and abilities will always be acceptable, an yours will ever command the attention of, sir, your obedient humbl servant,

ROBERT MORRIS.

Luzerne to the President of Congress.*

[Translation.]

PHILADELPHIA, *May* 26, 1781.

SIR: The underwritten, minister plenipotentiary of France, has re ceived orders to communicate to Congress some important details touch ing the present situation of sundry affairs in which the United State are immediately interested. The most essential are in regard to som overtures which announce on the part of Great Britain a desire of peace The Empress of Russia having invited the king and the court of Lon don to accept her mediation, the latter court considered this as a forma offer and accepted it. This court appeared at the same time to desir the Emperor of Austria to take part therein, and this monarch has i fact proposed his co-mediation to the belligerent powers of Europe.

The king could not but congratulate himself on seeing so importan a negociation in the hands of two mediators whose understanding an justice are equal. Nevertheless his majesty, actuated by his affection for the United States, returned for answer that it was not in his powe to accept the offers made to him, and that the consent of his allies wa necessary. The king wishes to have this consent before he formall accepts the proposed mediation. But it is possible that circumstances joined to the confidence he has in the mediators and the justice of hi cause and that of the United States, his allies, may determine him t enter upon a negociation before the answer of Congress can reach him

But in either case it is of great importance that this assembly shoul give their plenipotentiary instructions proper to announce their dispo sition to peace and their moderation, and to convince the powers o Europe that the independence of the thirteen United States and th engagements they have contracted with the king are the sole mo tives which determine them to continue the war; and that whenever they shall have full and satisfactory assurances on these two capita points they will be ready to conclude a peace. The manner of conduct ing the negociation, the extent of the powers of the American plenipo tentiary, the use to be made of them, and the confidence that ought t be reposed in the French plenipotentiaries and the king's ministers, ar points which should be fully discussed with a committee.

And the underwritten minister entreats that Congress would b pleased to name a committee with whom he will have the honor to treat

---

* 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 727.

He thinks that this assembly will be sensible that the king could not give a greater mark of his affection for the thirteen United States, or of his attachment to the principles of the alliance, than by determining not to enter upon a negociation before they were ready to take part therein, although in other respects his confidence in the mediators, and the relation he stands in to one of them, were sufficient motives to induce him to accept their offers. Congress are too sensible of the uncertainty of negociations of this sort not to know that the moment of opening them is that precisely when the efforts against the enemy ought to be redoubled, and that nothing can facilitate the operation of the negociators so much as the success of the arms of the allies; that a check would be productive of disagreeable consequences to both, and that the enemy would rise in their pretensions, their haughtiness, and obstinacy in proportion to the languor and slackness of the confederates.

The undersigned will have the honor to communicate to the committee some circumstances relative to the sending Mr. Cumberland to Madrid; to the use which Mr. Adams thought he was authorized to make of his plenipotentiary powers; to the mission of Mr. Dana; to the association of the neutral powers, and to the present state of affairs in the south. Congress will find new motives for relying on the good will of the king, and on the interest he takes in favor of the United States in general and of each one of them in particular.

LUZERNE.*

Papers Respecting the Mediation of the Imperial Courts in 1780–'81.†

THE ANSWER OF HIS MOST CHRISTIAN MAJESTY TO THE ARTICLES PROPOSED BY THE TWO MEDIATING COURTS.

MAY 26, 1781.

The mediators are too well satisfied of the moderation of the king, and his constant wish for the re-establishment of peace, not to be previously assured that his majesty will receive with as much gratitude as warmth the preliminary articles they have communicated. The king, the more fully to convince the two high mediators of his frankness and of the purity of his intentions, as well as of the unreserved confidence that he places in the justice and impartiality of their high Imperial majesties, believes he ought to make some confidential observations upon these preliminary articles. His majesty flatters himself that this will be the more acceptable to them as its sole objects are to prevent discussions which are equally mischievous and complicated, and to facilitate the much-wished-for success of their generous interposition.

ARTICLE 1. *All the objects for the re-establishment of peace which the belligerent powers shall judge it proper to propose shall be discussed.*

---

* The committee appointed under the above request were Messrs. Carroll, Jones, Witherspoon, Sullivan, and Mathews.

† Franklin MSS., Dep. of State, No. 82, Vol. 2, pp. 31, *ff.*

According to the verbal observations these expressions have bee
used merely to place the King of Spain in a situation to propose th
cession of Gibraltar, and this turn has been judged necessary becaus
the court of London had previously declared that it ought to be *mad*
abstracted from this cession, while the Catholic king demands it as a pre
liminary. As this article immediately affects the court of Madrid, th
king can not but refer himself to it for the answer that shall be mad
thereto. His majesty is content to observe that having united himse
in the same cause with the king, his uncle, he neither can nor will sepa
rate his interests from those of that prince, and that he regards th
satisfaction he claims as a condition without which he can not personall
treat of these matters.

ART. 2. *Great Britain and the Colonies of America shall at the sam*
time treat of the re-establishment of the peace in North America with eac
other without the intervention of any of the belligerent powers.

The two imperial courts can not flatter themselves with the hopes o
bringing their mediation to a happy issue if they do not prevent th
subterfuges, the subtleties, and false interpretations which either of th
belligerent powers may avail themselves of to explain, according t
their views, the preliminary propositions, which will certainly happe
if they do not previously ascertain the sense of the expressions whic
relate to America.

The court of London will elude as much and as long as she possibl
can the direct or indirect acknowledgment of the independence of th
United States, and will avail herself of the terms that are used i
speaking of them to maintain that she is not obliged to treat with he
ancient Colonies as with a free and independent nation; that she i
consequently not reduced to admit a plenipotentiary on their part, an
that she is at liberty to view the American representatives as a deput
from a part of her subjects who demand a favor. From whence it wi
follow that when the mediation is in force, and they shall be about t
enter upon the negociation, that they will dispute the character i
which the American plenipotentiary shall be received. The King o
England will consider him as his subject, while Congress will deman
that he should be received as the representative of a free people, b
means whereof the mediation will be stopped at the first outset. T
prevent this inconvenience, it should seem that previous to any othe
measure the character of the American agent ought to be determine
in the most precise and positive manner, and Congress should be in
vited to confide its interests to the mediation. This invitation is s
much more interesting, as the negotiation relative to America shoul
go hand in hand with that of the courts of Madrid and Versailles, an
by consequence the negotiations, altho' separate, should commence a
the same time. But who will invite the Congress to treat with England
The king can not, since the first article excludes him from the negotia
tion. This task then can only be executed by the mediators themselves

ll that the king can do, and that he will do with zeal and fidelity, is invite the Americans to the peace, and to facilitate it by every eans that they believe compatible with their essential interests. But at the king may take this step with safety and the hopes of success, d with the certainty of not rendering himself suspected by the mericans, it is necessary that he should first know the determination the mediators upon the observations now made to them, and that is determination should be proper to secure to the American States eir political existence. The two high mediators and their ministers e too enlightened not to perceive that without this preliminary meas- e the Congress will send no person to Vienna, and that the king can ake no attempts to engage them thereto without incurring the danger involving himself. By means whereof, and for the reasons already ged, the mediation will be stopped at its first outset. These reflec- ons appear to merit the most serious attention of the two mediating urts.

ART. 3. *This particular peace can not*, &c.

When the United States shall have been duly called to the congress at ienna, and shall have commenced their separate negotiation with ngland, this article will make no difficulty with his majesty.

ART. 4. *There shall be a general armistice during the term of one year*, c. *All things shall remain in the state in which they were on the day of e signature of the present preliminary articles.*

This article includes two objects equally important—an armistice d a *status quo.* The mediators have already acknowledged that with- t this preliminary basis they can not enter upon a serious negotiation r a peace, and for still stronger reasons these preliminaries should e established before a truce can be spoken of.

The two mediating courts are themselves of this opinion, since they o not propose the armistice but in consequence of the acceptation of e 1st and 2d preliminary articles. The king thinks that before they n agree to an armistice it is necessary that the belligerent parties ould have established preliminaries, and it can not be denied that the asis which the high mediators have proposed may lead to a delay of ose preliminaries which should serve as the pledge and security for e re-establishment of peace, when in fact they really afford none.

But when these preliminaries shall be invariably established, it may e of consequence to determine what duration should be given to the spension of arms. The plan of the mediators proposes one year, but is term appears too short not to be illusory. In fact, it should be bserved that the fire of war being kindled in the four quarters of the orld, one part of the year will have revolved before the orders can e received by the respective commanders. So that tranquillity will e established in Europe while hostilities continue in America and in e Indies. Besides, all the powers remaining armed, the slightest cir- umstance may occasion a violation of the truce. In fine, it is vain to

flatter ourselves with the hope of concluding a definitive peace in t
short space of one year. As exclusive of the variety of subjects th
must necessarily be discussed, the two mediating courts are at a gre
distance from each other, nor is there less between the belligere
powers; and we should deceive ourselves if we supposed that all t
propositions which will be made on the one part and on the other w
not give room for much debate and altercation, or that they will n
consequently consume much time. To these considerations we oug
to add that an armistice for one year would be very burdenson
because the powers at war will be obliged to remain in arms to th
manifest loss, as it will be impracticable to disarm, as well from t
dispersion of the troops as from the enormous expence, if (which
highly probable) it should become necessary to renew hostilities.
then, the mediators wish sincerely to establish the peace they propo
they should prefer a truce of many years to a simple armistice for o
year. This expedient is better adapted to consolidate their work th
a suspension of arms for a short time. But a truce will have the sa
inconveniences and be equally dangerous with an armistice if t
belligerent powers remain under arms. Thus it seems necessary
agree at the same time reciprocally to disarm.

But supposing these two points settled, there remains another equal
important; that is, the *status quo;* neither France nor Spain have a
reason to reject it, so far as they are individually concerned. This
not the case with the Americans. To be satisfied of this, we need on
cast our eyes upon the *points* that the British troops actually occu
upon the continent of North America. The question then will be
obtain the consent of the United States, and this consent can only
demanded by the two courts that offer their mediation for the reaso
that have already been urged.

ART. 5. *This plan of negotiation being adopted by all the parties, t
belligerent powers will require the mediators to open their conferences.*

He will conform himself with as much pleasure as earnestness to th
article as soon as the preliminary basis shall be irrevocably establishe
agreeable to the obligation above mentioned, and the king will th
authorize his plenipotentiaries to treat immediately of the prelimina
articles which should lead to a cessation of hostilities, and as soon
these articles shall have been agreed to, to labour with zeal and assidui
to the early conclusion of a definitive treaty. The high mediators m
be assured that his majesty will facilitate this double task by eve
means which he shall deem compatible with his dignity and with h
interests and with those of his allies; and that as far as depends up
him they will acquire the glory of having established upon a solid a
unalterable basis the peace and tranquillity of every part of the wor

ANSWER OF THE COURT OF LONDON TO THE PRELIMINARY ARTICLES PROPOSED BY THE MEDIATING COURTS:

ım actually authorized to return an answer to the paper which, by orders of your t, you delivered me, and of which I have given an account to his majesty.
ıe answers marked A and C, which I have the honor to transmit to you, explains unalterable sentiments of the king upon points essential to his dignity, and destrate the reasons that obliged his majesty to decline the plan proposed, so far as lates to his rebellious subjects. The king knows the justice and the impartiality ıe two mediating courts, and he considers the plan with that spirit of conciliation ch they give birth to. But his majesty can not but see it in a very different t of view from that in which it appeared to the august mediators when they supd it admissible in all points. The king persuades himself that after having conred it again they will not entertain the same judgment relative thereto as herere, and that they will even cease to wish that it should be admitted. Since from r intention as well as from the principles which they have laid down with so h wisdom, and which the king adopts altogether, it necessarily results that ything inconsistent with the dignity of his majesty, the essential interests of ıation, and the rights of his crown is inadmissible.
just and honourable peace with the belligerent powers under the mediation of the imperial courts is the first object of his majesty's wishes. The king knows that two august mediators will pursue the great work that they have undertaken with same sentiments which induced them to engage therein—the desire of being ul to the belligerent powers; and his majesty hopes that their generous cares be crowned with success, and that they will serve to reconcile all the sovereigns ar by a safe and honourable peace which it shall be the interest of all parties to pt, and which shall not wound the dignity of either of them.

Answer to the paper marked *A*, transmitted to the court of London M. Le Count de Belgioso.

ıe sincere desire of peace, the gratitude due to the august sovereigns who have ı willing to charge themselves with the mediation of it, and the sentiments ı which the king will always receive whatever shall be proposed to him by them ld dispose his majesty to accept the proposed articles if that acceptation could econciled to his dignity, the interests of the empire, and the rights of his crown.
On every occasion in which there has been a question of negotiation since the mencement of the war with France the king has constantly declared that he could er admit, in any manner whatever, nor under any form, that there should be any rference between foreign powers and his rebellious subjects.
The resolution of his majesty upon this important object is founded upon what king owes to his own dignity, upon the essential interests of his people, and upon incontestable rights which every sovereign has to determine at his pleasure that ch is already within his jurisdiction. This resolution is as immutable as the ndation upon which it rests. The application of this principle to the different ıts of the first, second, and third articles evidences itself, and from thence results melancholy but indispensable necessity of declining all that is proposed in these erent articles relative to the rebellious subjects of his majesty. The king invari entertains the desire, which he has so often manifested, of terminating the war hich he is engaged with the belligerent powers by a just and honourable peace er the mediation of the imperial courts, and for this purpose his ministers pleniıtiary shall be furnished with instructions and full powers necessary to treat of bjects directly relative to the said powers. They shall be ordered to pursue the otiation conformably to the principles explained therein with all possible zeal, to contribute on their part every suitable means to conduct it to a happy end.

The verbal answer of the King of Great Britain to the verbal observations made by the Count de Belgioso.

Since the king finds himself under the necessity of declining a plan proposed by th two mediating courts, he should think himself wanting in that respect which is du to them on so many accounts, if he did not give some details of the reasons whic have rendered it indispensable for him to take this step. His majesty is persuade that when the two august mediators shall have considered them with that spirit justice and impartiality which characterizes them they will become sensible of the weight. The king would derogate from his rights of sovereignty should he consen in any manner to the admission of any person whatever delegated to the Congress b his rebel subjects, this admission being absolutely incompatible with their quali of subjects. For the same reason, conciliatory measures employed to put an end a rebellion ought not to be intermixed either in their commencement or in their co clusion with a negotiation between sovereign states. In consequence of the sam principle, his majesty can never enter into any engagements nor adopt any pla which may limit or suspend the incontestable right which every sovereign has employ all the means in his power to terminate a rebellion kindled in his dominio either by the progress of his arms or by conciliatory means employed in the count itself. If, instead of taking advantage of the present disposition of a great part his rebellious subjects to return to the allegiance, he was to stop the effect and pro ress of that disposition by stipulating a suspension of arms, he would retard th instant of that conciliation which he wishes so much to hasten, and would furni the leaders of the rebels with the means of fostering and strengthening their rebe lion and oppressing the well-affected by the weight of their usurped authority; h would put it in the power of his enemies to prolong the troubles if he made th return of peace in America to depend on the success of a negotiation with a belligere power, a negotiation which it would always be in their power to render fruitles The favorable intentions of the king towards his rebellious subjects and his desire make them experience the effects of his clemency and restoring them the happine which they enjoyed before their rebellion are generally known; but whatever ma be the arrangements which his majesty will make to restore and insure the quiet his Colonies and link the happiness of his American subjects to that of the metropoli they will be in their nature, as all things which are merely national, arrangemen of internal policy, and as such they can not properly be the object of the mediatio or guaranty of any foreign power. When the king has availed himself of the di positions of the two imperial courts and employed their mediation, H. M. gave plain to understand that the restoration of peace between the belligerent powers to which appeared to him that a mediation could possibly be applied (*sic*). Persisting invari bly in the same sentiments, the king wishes that the mediation, at the same tim that it confines itself to this particular object, may comprehend it in its full exten and that the war between Great Britain and the republic of Holland may be includ in it. If the negotiation is opened agreeable to these principles, and directed sole to this salutary end; if the other belligerent powers bring to it the same conciliato spirit which his majesty will shew, the generous care of the mediating powers w meet with the success the most complete and the most conformable to their views.

The answer of the mediators:

The courts of Versailles and Madrid having transmitted to the two imperial cou their respective answers to the articles proposed to serve as a basis to the negotiati which had been communicated to them, as the court of London had done on the 15 of June last, the two imperial courts think that they must not delay to communica them reciprocally to the three respective courts as necessary to their mutual directio and they have directed in consequence their ambassadors and ministers with the sa courts to present copies of them to their respective ministries. Their imperi majesties have seen with the greatest satisfaction in that which was transmitted

em by H. M. C. M. the assurance of the grateful sentiments and real pleasure with
nich his majesty has received the said articles, but they could not but be so much
e more affected by the exposition of the motives which have appeared to his
itannic majesty sufficient to prevent his acceptation of them. It appears con-
nient to them in the actual state of things to refer to another time and other cir-
mstances the observations which they might produce, and which it would proba-
y be useless to expose in the present moment; but what can not be so, either at
esent or in the future, is that the belligerent powers may see in their proper light
e articles which have been proposed to them, and may in consequence appreciate
em properly. The mediating powers could not allow themselves to make any
opositions which might wound the dignity or delicacy of either of the parties, nor
y of those which might in the first instance have obliged them implicitly or ex-
icitly to decisions which can only be the result of a consent obtained by the way
negotiations. They must consequently have confined themselves to seeking and
ding out some proper means to enable the belligerent powers to assemble their
spective plenipotentiaries at the place where the congress shall sit to endeavour,
der the mediation of the two imperial courts, to settle amicably all the differences
nich are the causes of the present war; and, when once they have met and are
ovided with instructions for all possible cases, to be continually at hand to seize
e of those happy moments which circumstances sometimes bring on, and which are
en lost forever, or at least for a great while, when one has not been at hand to
ke advantage of them. They have found at the same time no other inconveniency
this but that perhaps the progress of the negotiation might not be altogether so
pid as it should undoubtedly be wished. The suspension of arms and of the *status*
o by itself, independent of the remaining part of the propositions, can either be
opted or rejected, and after having weighed with the greatest impartiality the in-
nveniences and advantages which may result from the acceptation of their propo-
ions, it has consequently appeared to them that nothing could better suit the
spective interest of the belligerent powers as well as their general and particular
rcumstances. They still persist in that opinion, and from the sincere interest
nich they take in the circumstances of all the belligerent parties, they can not but
sh that they might still admit it between themselves, with such modifications as
ey should think proper, the articles which have been proposed to them, and which,
H. M. C. M. well observes, are not preliminary articles, as in the nature of things
ey could not be such, but which can no less be the means not only of bringing on
one moment or other the conclusion of a preliminary treaty, but perhaps even that
a peace, a speedy return of which is so much to be wished for. The two imperial
urts have thought that in return for the confidence with which H. M. C. M. has
pressed himself in his answer they ought to shew as much in exposing to him the
ht in which they have seen the steps they have taken in proposing the articles
nich they have caused to be communicated to him, and which they still persist in
lding out, that the belligerent parties may still be able to adopt what has been
oposed to them, or if not, to communicate some other idea which may be produc-
ve of the same good effects, or of happier ones if possible. H. M. C. M. may be
rsuaded beforehand that in that case they will with the greatest zeal make such
e of it as they shall think most useful and convenient. Nothing can certainly add to
e sincerity with which they will take care to justify on every occasion the con-
ence which the high belligerent parties have shown in accepting their mediation.*

---

*Sir James Harris, afterwards the first Lord Malmesbury, thus, on April 30, 1782, then British minister at St. Petersburg, stated in a despatch to Mr. Fox, secretary of state, the then position of Russia as to mediation:

'Besides the separate peace with the Dutch, the empress is strongly bent on mak-g a *general* peace. She wishes to set the joint mediation again on foot, and that the eliminary proposals the two imperial courts gave in to the belligerent powers in e course of last summer, and which were refused by them all, shall again be re-

J. Adams to the President of Congress. *

AMSTERDAM, *May* 27, 1781.

SIR: In the assembly of the States-General the following report has recently been made:

Messrs. de Lynden de Hemmen, and other deputies of their high mightinesses for maritime affairs, have, in consequence of the commissorial resolution of the 27th of the last month, examined a letter of the directors named in the commission by the respective chambers of the granted general company of the Dutch East Indies, to the assembly of seventeen, held the 23d of the same month at Amsterdam, representing the great inconveniences to which it would be exposed by the delay of the expedition of the vessels of the company if it were not soon provided with the customary provisions, at least as much as in ordinary times, as well as the possibility that the enemy may attempt an attack in that country, upon which the directors would be exposed to answer for it, having in the different chambers seven vessels ready to put to sea, with the hope that ere long this number will be still further augmented; soliciting to this end a convenient number of vessels of war to give a safe escort to the ships of the company, while the directors on their parts will put all in motion to watch over the safety of their vessels; wishing to this end to arm some of these vessels in an extraordinary manner, to the end that they may be able to oppose some resistance both for themselves and for the others scattered over the sea of the Indies. That, nevertheless, if their high mightinesses could not determine themselves to this, they, the directors, hoped that they should not be responsible for the consequences which might result. That, on the contrary, all the shares in general,

---

newed, and that these should serve as the groundwork of the negotiation. As they have certainly been a subject of your thoughts, it is superfluous entering into any reasoning upon them. We at the time refused them *immediately;* our enemies, after long and mature deliberation. *Whatever may have happened since to alter our resolutions relative to them* (*e. g.*, surrender of Cornwallis), nothing certainly has intervened to change theirs; and it is but fair to suppose that if the two mediating courts were again to make a tender of these preliminary proposals those of Bourbon would again decline them. We possibly may induce the two imperial courts to speak to France and Spain, as the empress at this moment does to Holland. At all events, we shall conciliate to ourselves their good will, and destroy that idea of our *roideur et fierté* so prevalent on this continent." (1 Malmesbury Corr., 434.)

While this mediation was in progress an attempt was made by Lord Stormont, who had been promoted from the Paris embassy to the foreign office in London, to bribe the Empress of Russia, who was the leader in the mediation. Of this most disreputable and significant proceeding Harris, then British minister at St. Petersburg, afterwards the first Earl of Malmesbury, gives a full account. He begins by introducing to him Stormont's instructions of January 20, 1781. In these instructions it is said:

"His majesty, after taking the opinions of his confidential servants, has empowered me to authorize you to mention the conditions upon which alone so great and important a cession can be made. (You will decipher with the utmost attention what follows.)

"The Empress of Russia shall effectuate the restoration of peace between Great Britain, France, and Spain upon the following terms, viz., The treaty of Paris in 1762 shall be the basis of the treaty to be made; it shall be renewed with great alterations only, respecting the possessions of the contracting parties as the events of the war have made; with regard to all which the present *uti possidetis* shall be the rule, unless where the parties shall choose to vary it for mutual conveniences.

"*It shall be an express condition that the French immediately evacuate Rhode Island and every other part of his majesty's Colonies in North America.* No *stipulation or agreement*

---

* MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 378.

nd their high mightinesses in particular, would agree that in this the directors have one all that could be required of persons to whom had been confided the direction f the goods of so many widows and orphans, of persons who, under the immediate uspices of their high mightinesses, had the honor to direct a colony whose prosper-y is essentially connected with that of this country.

Upon which, having demanded and received the considerations and the advice of ne committees of the colleges of the respective admiralties which are at present ere, we have reported to the assembly, that the gentlemen the deputies should be f opinion that, notwithstanding the most ardent wishes to employ a sufficient num-er of vessels of war, not only for the defence of the ships, but also that of the pos-essions of the company of the East Indies of this country, it would, however, be npracticable at this time, considering the present situation of the navy of this tate, universally known, which could not appear strange to any one instructed in ne natural representations so often repeated from time to time by the colleges of the dmiralty in this respect; especially if he considers that a navy fallen into so great decay could not be rebuilt so suddenly and placed so soon upon a respectable ooting; that, moreover, this navy already so enfeebled was become still more so by ne surprise and capture of different vessels of war, by casual disasters happened to hers, and because the rest were dispersed into so many different places, that for ne equipment projected for this year there was wanting a great quantity of vessels nd frigates well equipped and provided, at least such as in the case in question ould be used; that besides the vessels ready to act, which are actually in the ports f the republic, ought in the first place, and before all things, to serve for the defence f the coasts and harbors (or mouths of the rivers) as well as for the protection of ne navigation towards the North Sea and the Baltic and of the ships which return rom thence; that principally by reason of the unheard-of scarcity of seamen, occa-

---

hatever shall be made with respect to his majesty's rebellious subjects, who can never be ffered to treat through the medium of a foreign power. If the Empress of Russia will ffectuate such a peace as is here described, the king will, in that case, cede to her mperial majesty and to the imperial crown of Russia the island of Minorca; this ession to take place as soon as possible after the preliminaries of the above-described eace are signed. A treaty of *perpetual* defense or *alliance* between Great Britain nd Russia, of which treaty the cession and guarantee of Minorca shall make part, nd shall be signed on the same day as the above-mentioned preliminaries; though ne cession must be conditional, and can not be made until after the service performed, et the effectual agreement may be entered into immediately, but must, for many easons, be kept absolutely secret for the present. * * * To prevent the danger f a sudden attack upon Minorca during the present war, the Russian fleet in the Mediterranean shall receive orders to be attentive to its protection. You see with hat frankness we have gone at once as far as it is possible to go. A little time will ow show whether Prince Potemkin is, or is not, mistaken in the opinion he enter-ains of her Imperial majesty's intentions. A great field is open to her worthy her alents, and a rich harvest of real glory must attend her in the completion of such a lan. *You will take care to let it be fully understood that no other court has the least knowl-dge of this business*, and that the whole should at present be an inviolable secret, trusted nly to the empress, Prince Potemkin, and yourself." (1 Malmesbury Corr., 324.)

"In regard to the joint and great mediation, she (Russia) set about it with the ost friendly views and best intentions, but as she left the conduct of it entirely to ne court of Vienna, and as the sentiments of the court now appear to be rather jimical to us, I am on my guard lest it take a wrong bias; I rather hope, how-ver, from the opinion of our present ministry (that of Shelburne), who cordially sapproves the mediation (probably because it was the work of their predecessors), iat it will be dropped entirely, and that we shall get rid of it at the expense of a w moments of ill-humor and pouting."—Sir James Harris to Lord Mount Stuart, etersburg, 14–25 October, 1782. (1 Malmesbury Corr., 473.)

sioned in a great measure by the capture of so enormous a quantity of Dutch merchant ships, which had been manned by the best seamen of the nation, it was almost impossible to determine the time when the other vessels of war in commission should be able to act.

That, nevertheless, the company of the East Indies was of too great importance to this country for us to be able to reject entirely her demand; and by so much the less as the directors do not request to be protected to the detriment of the republic, but they demonstrate also that they are really willing on their part to make their last efforts for their own defence, and contented themselves to require the suitable support of the state to sustain the forces which the company was about to put in action; that from the refusal of a requisition of this nature it might result, that in losing all hope in the protection of the state they may neglect also those efforts which otherwise might be employed with some appearance of success; that, besides, the national establishments in this distant part of the globe would also fall, and without the least resistance, into the hands of the enemy, and that this republic at the end of the present war would find itself destitute of all its resources; that this presentiment, apparently, ought to effect a close union of all the forces, to fulfill as far as possible the desire of the said directors, and that to the end to try all practicable means, expecting at the same time the celestial benediction, and the prompt and effectual succor of our high allies, in default of ordinary remedies, it is necessary to have recourse, without the smallest loss of time, to extraordinary remedies, and to this effect his most serene highness, in his quality of stadtholder and admiral-general of the republic, ought to be solicited and authorized, if it was possible, either by borrowing vessels of war, their equipages, or by purchasing or hiring here or elsewhere other suitable ships which might be appropriated to this, or finally in every other practicable manner to reinforce at the expense of the country the marine of the state with the greatest celerity, and as much as possible; in consequence of which, in concert with the said directors of the East India Company, we may regulate the time, the manner, and the force of the protection to be procured for the company in question; the whole, as his most serene highness, of saving the sense of the resolution of their high mightinesses the 26th of March last, shall judge the most convenient for the greatest utility of the republic and of the said company. Finally, that it would be convenient also to intimate to the colleges of the admiralty respectively of this country to co-operate as much as possible with his most serene highness, not only to put and hold with the greatest expedition in a convenient state the vessels of the republic, but also in particular for everything that may contribute to accelerate their equipment and sailing, and to the greatest success of the enrolments; with a promise that the extraordinary expenses which shall result from it and be advanced with the advice of his most serene highness shall be restored and made good to them.

Upon which, having deliberated, the deputies of the province of Zealand have taken a copy of this report, to be able to communicate more amply.

I do myself the honor to transmit such state papers entire, because Congress will be able from them to collect the real state of things better than from any remarks of mine. The state of the republic is deplorable enough. There is but one sure path for it to pursue, that is, instantly to accede to the treaty of alliance between France and America. They see this, but have not the firmness to venture upon the measure. Indeed, the military character, both at land and sea, seems to be lost out of this nation. The love of fame, the desire of glory, the love of country, the regard for posterity—in short, all the brilliant and sublime passions are lost, and succeeded by nothing but

he love of ease and money; but the character of this people must hange, or they are finally undone.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

JOHN ADAMS.

Huntington, President of Congress, to Jay.*

IN CONGRESS, *May* 28, 1781.

SIR: Your letter of the 6th of November last, detailing your proeedings from the 26th of May down to that period, has been received by the United States in Congress assembled. At the same time was eceived your letter of the 30th of November, with the several papers herein referred to.

It is with pleasure, sir, I obey the direction of Congress to inform ou, that throughout the whole course of your negociations and transctions, in which the utmost address and discernment were often necesary to reconcile the respect due to the dignity of the United States vith the urgency of their wants and the complaisance expected by the Spanish court, your conduct is entirely approved by them. It is their nstruction that you continue to acknowledge, on all suitable occasions, he grateful impression made on these States by the friendly disposition nanifested toward them by his Catholic majesty, and particularly by the roofs given of it in the measures which he has taken, and which it is oped he will further take, for preserving their credit and for aiding hem with a supply of clothing for their army. You are also authorsed and instructed to disavow, in the most positive and explicit terms, ny secret understanding or negociation between the United States and Great Britain; to assure his Catholic majesty that such insinuations ave no other source than the invidious designs of the common enemy, nd that as the United States have the highest confidence in the honor nd good faith both of his most Christian and of his Catholic majesty, o it is their inviolable determination to take no step which shall depart n the smallest degree from their engagements with either.

Should the court of Spain persist in the refusal intimated by its inister to accede to the treaty between the United States and his most hristian majesty, or to make it the basis of its negociation with you, he difficulty, it is conceived, may easily be avoided by omitting all xpress reference to that treaty, and at the same time conforming to he principles and tenor of it; and you are accordingly authorised so r to vary the plan of your original instructions. As his most Christian ajesty however may justly expect, in a matter which so nearly conerns him, and which was brought into contemplation in the treaty he o magnanimously entered into with these States, the strongest marks f attention and confidence, you will not fail to maintain, in the several

*4 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 301.

steps of your negociation, a due communication with his minister at the court of Spain, and to include his interests as far as circumstances will warrant.

You are authorised to acquaint his Catholic majesty that not only entire liberty will be granted, during the war at least, to export naval stores for the royal marine, but that every facility will be afforded for that purpose.

As Congress have no control over the captains of private vessels, however proper your hints may be of obliging them to give a passage to American seamen returning home from foregn ports and to send an officer with despatches entrusted to them for foreign ministers, it is impracticable to carry them into execution; you will therefore continue to provide for these objects for the present in the best manner you can. As soon as the United States are in condition to establish consuls in the principal ports of the states with which they have intercourse the difficulty will be removed; or if any other practicable remedy be suggested in the mean time, it will be applied.

The letter, of which you enclose a copy, from Stephen d'Audibert Caille, styling himself consul for unrepresented nations at the court of Morocco, had before been received through the hands of Dr. Franklin. If you shall have no objection to the contrary you will correspond with him, and assure him in terms most respectful to the emperor that the United States in Congress assembled entertain a sincere disposition to cultivate the most perfect friendship with him, and that they will embrace a favorable occasion to announce their wishes in form.

The generous and critical services rendered these United States by Messrs. Neufville and Son have recommended them to the esteem and confidence of Congress. You will signify as much to them, and that their services will not be forgotten, whenever a proper occasion offers of promoting their interests.

Your intimation with respect to complimenting his Catholic majesty with a handsome fast-sailing packet boat claims attention; but the variety of public embarrassments will render the execution of it very uncertain.

Congress agree to an extension of Colonel Livingston's furlough till the further order of Congress, which you will make known to him.

Your letter of the 16th of September last was received on the 4th day of December. No bills have been drawn on you since. That of the 28th of January was received on the 27th day of April; and in consequence of it the sale of the bills already drawn, but then remaining on hand, was countermanded.

By a letter from Mr. Carmichael, dated the 22d of February, and received on the 27th of April last, Congress are informed that you had received despatches from them dated in October. These must have contained their instructions to you to adhere to the claim of the United States to the navigation of the Mississippi. A reconsideration of that

subject determined Congress, on the 15th day of February last, to recede from that instruction so far as it insisted on their claim to the navigation of that river below the thirty-first degree of north latitude and to a free port or ports below the same. On the receipt of this latter instruction Congress have little doubt that the great obstacle to your negociations will be removed, and that you will not only be able without further delay to conclude the proposed alliance with his Catholic majesty, but that the liberality and friendly disposition manifested on the part of the United States by such a cession will induce him to afford them some substantial and effectual aid in the article of money. The loss attending the negociation of bills of exchange has been severely felt. A supply of specie through the Havana would be much more convenient and acceptable.

SAMUEL HUNTINGTON,
President.

Report of a Conference with the French Minister, Luzerne.*

IN CONGRESS, *May* 28, 1781.

The committee appointed to confer with the minister of France report:

That the minister communicated some parts of a despatch which he had received from the Count de Vergennes dated the 9th of March, 1781. That the resolves of Congress which had been adopted on the association of the neutral powers were found very wise by the council of the king, and that it was thought they might be of service in the course of the negociation. The French minister did not doubt but they would be very agreeable to the Empress of Russia. But they were not of the same opinion with respect to the appointment of Mr. Dana as a minister to the court of Petersburgh. The reason is that Catharine the Second has made it a point until now to profess the greatest impartiality between the belligerent powers. The conduct she pursues on this occasion is a consequence of the expectation she has that peace may be re-established by her mediation; therefore, she could by no means take any step which might show on her side the least propension in favor of the Americans and expose her to the suspicion of partiality towards America, and of course exclude her from the mediation. The appointment of Mr. Dana, therefore, appears to be at least premature, and the opinion of the council is that this deputy ought not to make any use of his powers at this moment. In case he applies to the Count de Vergennes for advice, he shall be desired to delay making any use of his powers. The count observes it would be disagreeable to Congress that their plenipotentiary should meet with a refusal, that their dignity would be offended, and that such a satisfaction ought

* MSS. Dep. of State; 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 729.

not to be given to the court of London, especially when negociations of a greater moment are about to commence. However, the French minister had orders to assure the committee that his court would use all their endeavors in proper time to facilitate the admissions of the plenipotentiary of Congress.

The minister communicated to the committee several observations respecting the conduct of Mr. Adams; and in doing justice to his patriotic character he gave notice to the committee of several circumstances which proved it necessary that Congress should draw a line of conduct to that minister, of which he might not be allowed to lose sight. The minister dwelt especially on a circumstance already known to Congress, namely, the use which Mr. Adams thought he had a right to make of his powers to treat with Great Britain. The minister concluded on this subject that if Congress put any confidence in the king's friendship and benevolence; if they were persuaded of his inviolable attachment to the principle of the alliance, and of his firm resolution constantly to support the cause of the United States, they would be impressed with the necessity of prescribing to their plenipotentiary a perfect and open confidence in the French ministers and a thorough reliance on the king, and would direct him to take no step without the approbation of his majesty; and after giving him, in his instructions, the principal and most important outlines for his conduct, they would order him, with respect to the manner of carrying them into execution, to receive his directions from the Count de Vergennes, or from the person who might be charged with the negociation in the name of the king.

The minister observed that this matter is the more important because, being allied with the United States, it is the business of the king to support their cause with those powers with whom Congress has no connexion, and can have none until their independence is in a fair train to be acknowledged. That the king would make it a point of prudence and justice to support the minister of Congress; but in case this minister, by aiming at impossible things, forming exorbitant demands, which disinterested mediators might think ill-founded, or perhaps by misconstruing his instructions, should put the French negociators under the necessity of proceeding in the course of the negociation without a constant connexion with him, this would give rise to an unbecoming contradiction between France and the thirteen United States, which could not but be of very bad effect in the course of the negociation.

In making these observations the minister remarked that it was always to be taken for granted that the most perfect independency is to be the foundation of the instructions to be given to Mr. Adams, and that without this there would be no treaty at all. The Count de Vergennes observes that it is of great importance that the instructions aforesaid be given as soon as possible to Mr. Adams. And the minister desired the committee to press Congress to have this done with all possible despatch.

He communicated to the committee the following particulars as a proof hat this matter admits of no delay, and that it is probable the negociaion will very soon be opened. He told the committee that the English inistry, in the false supposition that they might prevail on the court f Madrid to sign a separate peace, had begun a secret negociation with hat court by the means of Mr. Cumberland, but without any success. hat the court of Spain had constantly founded her answer on her enagements with his most Christian majesty. That, on the other side, he King of France had declared to the king, his cousin, that the indeendence of the United States, either in fact or acknowledged by a olemn treaty, should be the only foundation of the negociations of the ourt of France with that of London. That, the British court not seemng to be disposed to grant the independency, it appeared the negociaion of Mr. Cumberland was superfluous. However, this English emisary continued, and still continues, his residence at Madrid, although e can not have any expectation of obtaining the object of his comission. That this direct negociation was known to all Europe, and hat it seemed to render every mediation useless. That, however, the Empress of Russia, excited by motives of friendship to the belligerent owers, and in consequence of the share which the association of the eutral powers had given her in the general emergency, has invited the King of France and the court of London to require her mediation. That he court of London has accepted the invitation with a kind of eageress, and at the same time desired the Emperor of Germany to take art in it. That the answer of the King of France to the overtures of he court of Petersburgh was, that he should be glad to restore peace y the mediation of Catharine, but that it was not in his power immeditely to accept her offers, as he had allies whose consent was necessary or that purpose.

To the same application made by the court of Petersburgh, to that of Madrid this court answered, that having entered into a direct negociaion with the court of London by the means of Mr. Cumberland, it hought proper to wait the issue of it before it had recourse to a mediaion. The emperor, as has already been observed, having been desired y the court of London to take part in the mediation, immediately informed the King of France, as well as his Catholic majesty of this circumtance, offering his co-mediation to both the allied monarchs. To this the King of France gave the same answer which he had given to the Empress f Russia. As to the King of Spain, he again expressed his surprise at he English ministry's requesting a mediation after having entered into direct negociation; and he declared that, unless this negociation should e broken off by the English themselves, it would be impossible for him o listen to a mediation, which in any other circumstance would be infiitely agreeable to him.

These answers, though of a dilatory nature, may be looked upon as n eventual acceptation of the mediation. The minister observed that

it will be, in effect, difficult to avoid it. That a refusal will not be consistent with the dignity of the two powers that had offered their interposition. That the king is obliged, from friendship and good policy, to treat them with attention. He further observed, that the demands of the King of France will be so just and so moderate, that they might be proposed to any tribunal whatever. That the only reason the king could have to suspend a formal acceptation is, that at the time the offer was made he was not acquainted with the intentions of his allies, namely Spain and the United States.

The minister observed to the committee that in his opinion this conduct must afford Congress a new proof of the perseverance of the king in the principles of the alliance and of his scrupulous attention to observe his obligations; he added, that, however, it is not without inconveniency that this dilatory plan has been adopted. The distance between the allied powers of France and the United States has obliged the court of Versailles to adopt that plan, though liable to inconveniences, in order to conform to the engagements made by the treaties, to determine nothing into a negociation without the participation of Congress. Besides, several States being invaded by the enemy, the French council thought it inconvenient to begin a negociation under these unfavorable circumstances. And being in hopes that the diversions made by the king's arms will prevent the British from making very great exertions against the thirteen United States, the French ministry expected that during the course of the present campaign they might be enabled to present the situation of their allies in a more favorable light to the congress that might assemble for peace. These delays, however, can not with propriety take place for any long time, and it was the opinion of the French ministry that it would be contrary to decency, prudence, and the laws of sound policy again to refuse listening to the propositions of peace made by friendly powers; for which reason the Chevalier de la Luzerne was directed to lay all these facts confidentially before Congress.

The minister informed the committee that it was necessary that the king should know the intentions of the United States with regard to the proposed mediation, and that his majesty should be authorised by Congress to give notice of their dispositions to all the powers who would take part in the negociation for a pacification. The minister delivered his own opinion, that he saw no inconveniency arising from the Congress imitating the example of the king, by showing themselves disposed to accept peace from the hands of the Emperor of Germany and the Empress of Russia. He added, that Congress should rely on the justice and wisdom of those two sovereigns; and at the same time, he renewed the assurances that his majesty will defend the cause of the United States as zealously as the interests of his own crown.

He informed the committee that, according to all accounts, the British ministry were removing as far as possible in this negociation every

lea of acknowledging the independence of what they call their thirteen olonies; and he said that Congress would judge by themselves that ne court of London would debate with the greatest energy and obsti- acy the articles relating to America. He availed himself of this re- ection to impress the committee with the necessity Congress are under f securing in their favor the benevolence and good will of the mediat- ng powers, by presenting their demands with the greatest moderation nd reserve, save independence, which will not admit of any modifica- on. He further observed, that it was possible the difficulty of making definitive peace might engage the mediators to propose a truce; and nat it was necessary, therefore, to authorise eventually the plenipo- entiary of the United States to declare their intention thereon.

He further observed, that whatever might be the resolution of Con- ress, they would do well to recommend to their plenipotentiary to dopt a line of conduct that would deprive the British of every hope of ausing divisions between the allies, and to asssume a conciliating naracter, as much as can be consistent with the dignity of his con- ituents, and to show such a confidence in the plenipotentiary of his ost Christian majesty as is due to a power so much interested to upport the dignity and honor of a nation whose independence they ave acknowledged.

The minister told the committee that whatever might be the resolu- on of Congress respecting a peace or truce, it was necessary to carry n the war with the utmost vigor. He urged reasons too well known o Congress to be related.

He desired the committee to inform Congress that in case the offer f mediation from the two imperial courts should become so serious and o pressing as to oblige the king to give a decisive answer, his majesty ould accept of it conditionally for himself and for the United States. he taking this resolution would have no inconvenience, as the court f France knew no reasons which could prevent them from following ne example of the king, by trusting their interests in the hands of just nd wise mediators, and the refusal being liable to very dangerous onsequences. The minister concluded the conference by observing nat a great object was to secure the United States from the proposition *f uti possidetis;* that the surest way to obtain that end was to reduce ne English to confess that they are not able to conquer them. That resent circumstances require great exertions from the consideration, nd that it was plain that every success gained by the army of Con- ress would infinitely facilitate the negociations of their plenipoten- aries.

Morris to Schuyler.*

PHILADELPHIA, *May* 29, 1781.

DEAR SIR: You will probably have heard that Congress have don me the honor to bestow their confidence by appointing me to the im portant station of superintendent of finance of North America; station that makes me tremble when I think of it, and which nothin could tempt me to accept but a gleam of hope that my exertions ma possibly retrieve this poor distressed country from the ruin with whic it is now threatened merely for want of system and economy in spen ing and vigor in raising the public moneys. Pressed by all my friend acquaintances, and fellow-citizens, and still more pressed by *the necessit* the *absolute necessity*, of a change in our moneyed system to work salv tion, I have yielded, and taken a load on my shoulders which it is im possible to get clear of without the faithful support and assistance those good citizens who not only wish, but will promote the service their country. In this light I now make application to you, sir, whos abilities I know, and whose zeal I have every reason to believe. Th object, however, before me is not of such magnitude as to require an great exertion of either at present, although it is of sufficient impo tance to induce the invocation.

General Washington is distressed for want of an immediate suppl of flour, and as I am not even yet fairly entered on the execution my office, and when I do have to meet an empty treasury and a totall exhausted credit, it must be some time before funds can be created money be commanded for any purpose whatsoever; and as I do n know any gentleman of such resources as General Schuyler, he seem the most likely of all men to give assistance under the present circun stances. I must, therefore, request that you will take the most speed and effectual measures to deliver to the order of his excellency Gener Washington one thousand barrels of flour, which I am sure you wi purchase and cause to be transported on the most reasonable term that are practicable. No time must be lost, but the flour must be se down in the parcels as fast as procured. The Pennsylvania Bank ha all the flour they supplied to the army secured with outside linin hoops on each head of every barrel, and the weight and tare marke on each cask. If you were to cause this to be done, and add to th mark your name, it would save a waste of flour, oblige the issuing com missary to take notice of an account for the weight as well as barrel and teach the army to think that they are indebted to your exertion for a seasonable supply.

I have the means of raising hard money to pay for this flour and th charges on it; but the longer time I am allowed to do it, the more I ca consult the public interest. I take it for granted that you can, upo your own credit and engagements, either borrow the money for a fe

* MSS. Dep. of State; 6 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 265.

onths necessary to accomplish this business, or that you can make
ne purchases on such credit without giving higher prices; and for
our reimbursement you may either take me as a public or a private
an, for I pledge myself to repay you with hard money wholly, if
equired, or part hard and part paper, if you so transact the business.
n short, I promise, and you may rely, that no consideration whatever
hall induce me to make a promise that I do not see my capability to
erform, that I will enable you to fulfil your engagements for this supply
f flour. If you find it convenient you may draw on me for hard money
r paper, payable in such sums and at such times as you can conceive
ay not be inconvenient, judging by what I have said on this subject.
hould good bills on France be wanted, at about ——— hard money,
our currency, for five livres tournois, I will furnish them, drawn or
ndorsed by myself, for the whole or any part of this purchase.

I hope we shall hereafter supply our army by contracts, and your
nformation and observations on this subject would be very obliging.
erhaps, if you are not fully employed otherwise, you might start some
orthy man under your patronage that might render essential service
o the public, with proper advantage to himself and connexions, in this
ne.

I am, dear sir, yours, &c.,

ROBERT MORRIS.

P. S.—Remember that I put absolute dependence on you for this one
housand barrels of flour, and it must be sent to the army directly.

Jay to the President of Congress.*

ARANJUES, *May* 29, 1781.

SIR: My last to your excellency was of the 25th ultimo, and was the
ore particular, as Mr. Toscan, who is appointed vice consul of France
t Boston, was the bearer of it. He sails from Bilboa.

On the 18th instant I received from the Hon. Mr. Lovell three letters,
ritten on one sheet, viz., 20th of February, 9th and 31st of March
st. No other copies of these letters ever reached me. They arrived
t Cadiz in the *Virginia*, but the papers and journals said to accom-
any them never came to my hands, nor have I received any letters
om your excellency since January last.

On the 23d instant I waited upon his excellency the Count de Florida
lanca, and informed him of the facts stated in the above memorial.
e said he had not as yet heard anything upon the subject; that there
as such an ordinance, and that prudence demanded that the admis-
on of letters from abroad, especially in time of war, should be under
ne direction of government. That the situation of North America

* MSS. Dep. of State; 4 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 304, with verbal changes.

rendered new regulations necessary, that he would turn his thought to it, and do what should appear equitable. The next day I sent him Mr. Harrison's memorial in a letter on the subject of it.

As this letter will go by the post, I must omit being minute about many matters which I wish to communicate to Congress. Cypher would probably impede the progress of this letter, if not stop it.

The captors of the Dover cutter still remain unsatisfied. My first memorial on that subject was dated and presented the 22d of June last. In the winter I was promised that the prize should be appraised and the value paid. At present I am assured that informations about it are taking.

M. Gardoqui, it is said, will set out in June. If a safe conveyance which I am encouraged to expect in about a fortnight's time, should offer, I shall write your excellency a long letter and mention the dates of my former ones. If not, I shall take another method not proper to explain in this letter, which, notwithstanding its different covers, will I doubt not, be inspected before it reaches Cadiz.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

JOHN JAY.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.*

AMSTERDAM, *May* 29, 1781.

SIR: The English, by the capture of St. Eustatia, seem to have committed the most complete blunder of all. There was found in that island a greater quantity of property belonging to the Britons themselves than to the French, Dutch, or Americans. They have broken up a trade which was more advantageous to them than to any of their enemies, as it was a channel through which British manufactures were conveyed to North America, and much provisions and assistance to their fleets and armies in the West Indies. As the British merchants were warranted by an act of Parliament to trade to this island, all those who are sufferers by its capture are clamoring against Government, and especially against Rodney and Vaughan, for illegally seizing their property, and threatening these commanders with as many lawsuits as there are losers. But what completes the jest is, that M. de la Motte Piquet has carried safe into Brest two and twenty of the vessels loaded with the spoils of St. Eustatia, which Rodney had sent under convoy of Commodore Hotham and four ships of the line; so that Rodney, after having lost his booty, is like to have lawsuits to defend, and very probably the whole to repay to the owners.

Thus the cards are once more turned against the gambler; and the nation has gained nothing but an addition to their reputation for iniquity. This is good justice. There is room to hope for more instances of it

* MSS. Dep. of State, 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 381, with verbal changes.

cause their fleets are coming home from the West Indies, and the panish fleet of thirty sail of the line under Cordova is again at sea, and is hoped the French fleet will soon go out again.

The English fleets are so fully employed by the French and Spaniards, at the Dutch might do a great deal if they would; but something in is machine is fatally amiss. The patriots weep, but all in vain. The ets and ships that sail are said to have orders to act only on the de- nsive. The courtiers say that Amsterdam is the cause of the war; the ends of Amsterdam say the courtiers are corrupted by the English. me say the prince declares he will never do anything against the nglish; others say that he has authorized the French ambassador to sure the king, his master, that he was ready to make arrangements th him; others report sayings of the princess, that the conduct of me of the courtiers will be the ruin of her family. All these reports rve to no purpose but to show the confusion and distraction of the untry. However, there must be a change soon for the better or worse, r hunger will break down all ordinary fences.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

JOHN ADAMS.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.*

AMSTERDAM, *May* 31, 1781.

SIR: The following memorial lays open a dispute between two nations:

HIGH AND MIGHTY LORDS. It is well known to your high mightinesses with what nstancy and for how long a time the subscriber has had the honor to lay before you, order of his court, how much she desires to accomplish a settlement of the differ- ces which exist upon the Rio Volta between her subjects and yours, who have by tle and little wrongfully occupied and fortified the posts of Creve Cœur and of Good ope, which at present incommode and restrain the Danish establishments upon that ast to a degree almost to destroy the existence of them, to put them to expenses for eir maintenance, which absorb their utility, and to render more and more necessary easures which his majesty would desire not to be obliged to think of. In conse- ence, although the subscriber has rendered a faithful account of the assurances nich have been repeatedly given him of the desire which your high mightinesses ve to take away even from its source all subject of misunderstanding reciprocally, lesire very conformable with that of the king, his master; nevertheless, as nothing s resulted from these general assurances, he finds himself at present obliged to exe- te the orders which he has received, to demand of your high mightinesses to cause be evacuated the said forts of Creve Cœur and Good Hope, the existence of which n not consist with that of the establishment of Denmark. He has express orders to ake this requisition, and to give to understand that as his majesty will be very nsible of this friendly manner of terminating the present differences upon the coast Guinea, so will he see with sincere regret that you will oblige him to give to this 'air a more serious attention.

The Hague, April 28th.

ST. SAPHORIN.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

JOHN ADAMS.

---

*MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 382.

Jay to Franklin.*

MAY 31, 1781.

DEAR SIR: Your favor of the 20th instant reached me two days ago. The intelligence transmitted with it had reached us by the way of Cadiz. I am nevertheless much obliged by this mark of your friendly attention. The packet from America, about which you enquire, came safely to hand. It contained only some old letters of Jan'y last from Governor Livingston and his family. The vessel which lately arrived at Cadiz from Philadelphia brought several letters. I have not, however, received a line from Congress since January last, though some of my correspondents inform me that the President had written. I am much perplexed for want of regular intelligence, and expect to continue so till some other than the usual mode of conveying it is adopted. The enclosed extracts of letters from Mr. Harrison to me show that this remark is not without foundation. Bills upon me have lately arrived *dated in March*. How can this be reconciled to the obvious dictates of prudence and policy? I hear Mr. Laurens has left you to return to America. He promised to give me previous notice of it, but not a line. I have lately received a letter from Mr. Adams requesting, but not containing, intelligence. It is the first I have had from him these six months. I wait only for a proper opportunity to reply particularly to your letter by my courier.

Mr. Vaughan, who brought a recommendatory letter from you to Mr. Carmichael, is here. He desired me on his arrival at Madrid to administer to him an oath of allegiance to the *United States* in order to justify his calling himself an American, and to facilitate his pursuing his objects in this country and his passing from hence to America. I have no doubt but that his character and intentions are fair. He seems to be a sensible young gentleman, and I would with pleasure do him service; but as I knew he was not an American I could not represent him as such, nor could I comply with his request as to administering the oath, having no powers for that purpose either expressed or implied in my commission or instructions. He told me you had advised him to take such an oath at Bordeaux, and had appointed a person there to administer it, but that prudential considerations had induced him to postpone it till his arrival here. I advised him to wait on the minister and to communicate to him a true state of his case, being of opinion that such a step, supported by your letters to Mr. Carmichael, would silence doubts and enquiries and enable him to obtain such support as might be necessary for his travelling in this kingdom. He nevertheless thought it best to delay it for the present, and to go and stay at Toledo till I should receive your answer to a letter I promised to write you on the subject of administering the oath. He accordingly went to Toledo, but not having a passport, the governor would not permit his remaining

* MSS. Dep. of State.

ere. This circumstance brought him here. I shall endeavor to ob-
in a pass for him to return there on the ground of your letter in his
vor.

I believe it to be the inclination as well as the interest of America to
gment her number of citizens; but still her consent to admit a for-
gner must be as necessary as his consent to be admitted. Besides, it
pears to me that an oath of allegiance to the *United States* can with
opriety be only administered to servants of Congress, for though a
rson may by birth or admission become a citizen of one of the States,
an not conceive how one can either be born or be made a citizen of
em *all*.

I wish these difficulties did not oppose my complying with the request
Mr. Vaughan, whom I am the more desirous of serving, as he appears
possess your regard.

Be pleased to present my compliments to your grandson, and be as-
red that I am, with sincere esteem and attachment, dear sir, your
bliged and obedient servant,

JOHN JAY.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.*

AMSTERDAM, *May* 31, 1781.

SIR: The cities of Haerlem and Dort have seconded Amsterdam, though the other cities of Holland have hitherto been silent, as appears by the following declarations:

declaration of the gentlemen the deputies of Dort, concerning the proposition of the city of Amsterdam, made at the assembly of their noble and grand mightinesses on the 18th of May, 1781.

The gentlemen the deputies of Dort have declared to the assembly that they had en earnest to transmit to the regency of their city the propositions of the gentle-en the burgomasters and counsellers of Amsterdam, communicating to them at the me time that, with regard to the matter which makes the object of it, the gentle-en the deputies had beforehand declared that since the substance of the said propo-ion was entirely conformable to that which for some time had formed among the ntlemen the constituents the object of preliminary deliberations, the deputies had lieved themselves tacitly authorized to adopt immediately the said proposition in l its points, which determined them also to testify their very sincere gratitude to e gentlemen the deputies of Amsterdam, and in their persons to the gentlemen the rgomasters and regents of the same city, for the enlightened and vigilant zeal with hich these gentlemen in taking this step, so salutary and so necessary, had shown at they have at heart the true interests of their dear country, which had already perienced so many injuries; that at present the gentlemen the deputies, after the mmunications alleged, found themselves expressly instructed to cause to be inserted the minutes of their noble and grand mightinesses, for the justification of the re-ncy of their city before posterity, that the venerable magistracy of Dort, approv-g what is before mentioned, had learned with a lively satisfaction the proposition fore mentioned; that it was ready and disposed, in the name of that city, to con-

*MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 383.

cur efficaciously in all the means which may be judged the most convenient to sav with alacrity this country, now threatened and surrounded with the greatest an most terrible dangers; that to this end the venerable regents of Dort would not fai to deliberate immediately upon the particular points which the proposition in ques tion presents, and to cause in course their resolution to be transmitted to the assem bly of their noble and grand mightinesses.

Note of the deputies of Haerlem touching the provisional resolutio taken by their noble and grand mightinesses upon the proposition o Amsterdam:

The gentlemen the deputies of the city of Haerlem, resuming the extension of th 18th of May, have declared that in accepting the proposition of the gentlemen th deputies of the city of Amsterdam, their advice had been that, since the said propo sition ought to be attributed to a laudable desire to watch over the common inter ests, the gentlemen the deputies of Amsterdam, and in their persons the gentleme their constituents, ought to be thanked for the zeal and marked attention upon thi occasion for the utility of their dear country. But as at that time almost all th members relished this advice in such a manner that the assembly had converted it int a provisional resolution, the gentlemen the deputies had a good right to presum that, in imitation of many antecedent facts, this advice would have become an essen tial measure to cause to be passed the before-mentioned provisional resolution; bu the gentlemen the deputies seeing the contrary, and their remarks made in this re gard answered by a frozen silence on the part of the other members, they have, both on account of this circumstance and to ascertain what really passed in consequenc of the proposition in question, and to justify the report made to the gentlemen thei principals upon this object, judged necessary to cause this note to be inserted i the minutes of their noble and grand mightinesses.

With hearty wishes that this dumb spirit may be soon cast out, have the honor to be, &c.,

JOHN ADAMS.

Luzerne to Washington.*

[Translation.]

PHILADELPHIA, *June* 1, 1781.

SIR: I have received the letter which your excellency did me th honor to write on the 23d of the past month, and that of the Count d Rochambeau, with which it was accompanied.

I wait with extreme impatience the news of the arrival of the Frenc division before New York, and no one can desire more earnestly than do to see it under your immediate command. I hoped that you woul have been this spring in the command of a more considerable body o auxiliaries. The causes which have hindered the execution of tha plan have been so urgent and so decisive, that I am sure you will ap prove them after I shall have had the honor of making you acquainte with them. I have, nevertheless, been much pained that I could no explain to you this change of measures, and my attachment to th

* 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 735.

ause which you defend has made me feel as sensibly as any citizen of merica all the delays that could happen to the assistance which we ish to give to the thirteen States.

I am impressed with the necessity of maintaining a perfect confi- ence with your excellency upon these different points, and I shall eize the first occasion which presents itself to visit your army.

In the mean time I shall transmit to the Count de Grasse what your xcellency did me the honor to communicate. Be persuaded that I hall use the most pressing motives to determine him, and I shall do it ith so much the more zeal as I feel the necessity of it. I shall trans- hit to that general an extract of your letter, and I know nothing more kely to give weight to the demand which I shall make of him.

The king has charged me, sir, to inform Congress that he grants hem a gratuitous subsidy to enable them to make the greatest efforts n the course of this campaign. This subsidy, amounting to *six millions f livres tournois*, is to be employed in the purchase of arms, ammuni- on, and clothing, and it is the intention of the king that the surplus hall be at the disposal of Congress. I have not been instructed as to hat will be the exact amount of this surplus, but it is determined that ne million and a half shall be employed by the superintendent of nance according to the directions which you shall give him, after the rrangements you shall make with him in the visit which he intends aying you.

I have informed Congress, and I entrust it to your excellency, that he Emperor of Austria and the Empress of Russia have offered their ediation to the court of London, who has accepted. The same has lso been offered to the court of Versailles and that of Madrid. But hey have given for answer that time must be left for Congress to deter- ine if it suits them to put the interests of the thirteen United States nto the hands of the mediators. In any event, it is of the greatest mportance that the allies make all their efforts to drive the enemy from his continent, and nothing will be more likely than the success of the onfederate arms to make a successful negociation.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

LUZERNE.

J. Adams to the President of the Assembly of the States-General.*

AMSTERDAM, *June* 1, 1781.

SIR: I have received from my sovereign, the United States of America n Congress, their express instructions to notify to their high mighti- esses the States-General the complete and final ratification of the Con- ederation of the thirteen United States from New Hampshire to Georgia, oth included, on the 1st day of March last.

* MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 385; John Adams' Works, 423.

I do myself the honor to enclose an authentic copy of this important act, and to request the favor of you, sir, to communicate it to their high mightinesses in such manner as you shall judge most convenient, as in the present circumstances of affairs I know of no more proper mode of discharging this part of my duty.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

JOHN ADAMS.

Carmichael to the Committee of Foreign Affairs.*

ARANJUES, *June* 2, 1781.

GENTLEMEN: The last post from France brought the news of M. Necker's removal from the ministry. This change would have been agreeable to this court some months ago on account of the interference of that minister in the operation of the loan mentioned in former letters. At present it seems to be regarded in a disagreeable point of view, as M. Necker had engaged to furnish monthly considerable sums to persons employed to procure money for this court on condition of being reimbursed in specie in Spanish America, and on other terms that would have been advantageous to the lenders. Part of the specie thus procured was intended for the payment of the French troops in North America, and, as I have been told, for the immediate service of Congress, as part of the sum the court of France has lately engaged to furnish to the United States.

I have been told that M. Necker was not disposed to make large advances to Congress, and, as a proof of this, it has been mentioned to me that he opposed the king's guaranty of a loan which Dr. Franklin endeavored to negociate last year at Genoa. He is said to have been obstinately attached to his own opinions and of a haughtiness in supporting them which the man who placed him could ill brook. He felt an opposition that he could not bear, and which, perhaps, he saw he must sink under, and therefore asked his dismissal, which was granted him. He is regretted as a public loss. It would be presumption in me to enter into a more minute detail on this subject, as your correspondents on the spot will certainly give the committee much ampler information than it is in my power to do.

Since my letter of the ——— ultimo I have had an opportunity of knowing, through the same channel of intelligence mentioned in former letters, that the court of Vienna still persists in its good offices to bring about conferences for a general peace. Without being able to mention particulars, I can assure the committee that in the middle of April the Baron de Breteuil, ambassador of France at the above-mentioned court, insisted for the admission of an American plenipotentiary at the proposed congress. The Prince de Kaunitz lamented

* MSS. Dep. of State; 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 54.

his proposition as an obstacle that might impede a business which the mperor had much at heart. I have not been able to trace the de- ands of Spain, but I believe their pretensions in general do not ppear reasonable to the imperial court.

We have had no news of the fleets since I had last the honor of riting to you. There is reason to think, by news received from Eng- nd, that Darby had orders to return to that country. The expedi- on mentioned in former letters will be ready for action in the month of uly. The choice of officers to command it is not yet public. The egociation is in the same situation.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

WILLIAM CARMICHAEL.

Morris to the President of Congress.*

PHILADELPHIA, *June* 4, 1781.

SIR: Having been informed by several members of Congress, as also y his excellency the Chevalier de la Luzerne, that it was determined o put the management of the moneys lately granted by his most hristian majesty under my direction, in order that they might be punc- ually applied to the purposes for which the grant was made, viz., a igorous prosecution of the present campaign, I had, in conjunction ith the minister of France, formed some arrangements for drawing art of this money into immediate use; but, on applying to the secre- ary of Congress, I do not find that any act has been passed giving me uthority over the moneys so granted; consequently, all proceedings ust stop until the previous steps are taken by Congress.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

ROBERT MORRIS.

Franklin to Vergennes.†

PASSY, *June* 4, 1781.

SIR: I beg leave to acquaint your excellency that the purchases of othing, &c., for the troops made by Mr. Laurens and by his orders in olland will, as I understand, amount to near a million, which he has ft for me to pay, and that, in consequence of his majesty's late liberal rants in aid of the United States, I have, for the absolutely necessary pport of their credit, engaged to accept and pay their drafts on Mr. resident Laurens, those of Mr. Jay in Spain, and those on Mr. Adams Holland, which, with those upon myself, exclusive of the loan-office terest bills, will demand about three millions and an half more.

I would therefore request that of the money proposed to be left sub-

* MSS. Dep. of State; 6 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 267.

† MSS. Dep. of State.

ject to the drafts of General Washington there may be retained her about five millions, for the discharge of the above mentioned bills a they shall become due and for other occasional demands.

Mr. Jay and Mr. Adams have, as well as myself, remonstrated strongly to Congress against their drawing any more upon either of us, and w have reason to believe there is an end to that inconvenient practice.

With great respect, etc.

Lovell to Jay.*

PHILADEPHIA, *June* 4, 1781.

SIR: I enclose a resolve of Congress, of May 24, respecting an interes of Messrs. Dumain and Lyon, with their petition annexed. I also ad the copy of a resolve of September the 27th, 1780, and of a short lette of mine to a gentleman of Teneriffe, to serve as a memorandum in cas you have not already procured justice for Mr. Magnall and his asso ciates who took the Dover cutter. Mr. McCarrick, of Santa Cruz, i knowing to all the circumstances of that affair. Magnall has bee unfortunate from the time he left this place last October; he is now here. I do not know whether this is the matter referred to in the lette of Mr. Carmichael of December 24th, where he says, "The ministe also engaged to do justice to certain Americans who carried a British privateer to the Canaries." I send you an extract from instructions given to Dr. Franklin concerning M. d'Audibert Caille, which may serve to govern your conduct towards that gentleman.

Your humble servant,

JAMES LOVELL.

J. Adams to the President of Congress. †

AMSTERDAM, *June* 5, 1781.

SIR: The deputies of Middleburg, in the Assembly of the States o Zealand, on the 14th of May, consented to the petition for granting larger bounties to those who shall engage in the service of the republi by sea. Their advice has been given in this manner:

> The gentlemen the deputies of Middleburg have said that they were authorised by the gentlemen their principals to conform themselves to the report in question in al its parts. They are further specially instructed and ordered (renewing the advice o their city, communicated with their consent to the two states of war of the 9th o last month) to represent upon this occasion, in the name of the gentlemen their prin cipals, and to insist strongly, that without delay it should be deliberated by a com mittee, concerning the measures the most prompt and the most efficacious to be take by this province to direct things in course in the Generality in such a manner that

* MSS. Dep. of State; 4 Spark's Dip. Rev. Corr., 305.
† MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Spark's Dip. Rev. Corr, 386.

the critical and disastrous situation in which the republic is, we should apply our tention conjointly, with redoubled zeal, activity, and wisdom, in defence of the rritory, commerce, and possessions of the republic; that we finally awake out of at unexpected inaction in which, as is too apparent, the republic is still found, e causes of which can not, and ought not in any degree, to be attributed to this rovince; or that at least without delay and without reserve the true reasons of this ngerous and disgraceful situation should be communicated to the lords the States Zealand, from whom nothing which concerns the union ought to be concealed; to e end that in course they may deliberate sincerely with the other confederates upon e means of deliverance and of precaution the most prompt and the most convenient r the common advantage, safety, and preservation.

The lords the States of Zealand have also represented to their high mightinesses e propriety of establishing batteries upon the coast of Flanders upon the places e most exposed, and to provide them with cannon and necessary stores, that they ay be able to act, with the armed vessels stationed upon the river, against any terprises which may be attempted by the enemy's vessels.

On the 22d of last month their noble and grand mightinesses deliberated upon e proposition of the counseller pensionary, made on the 18th of the same month, in e name of the gentlemen the counsellors' committees, viz., that it having been solved, by a resolution of their noble and grand mightinesses of the 16th of Janu- y, to negociate a sum of eight millions, at two and a half per cent. interest, this gociation had had so happy a success, that it was almost filled up, as the treasury neral and the other treasuries of the quarter of the south of this province have ceived seven millions forty-six thousand six hundred and fifty florins, and those of e quarter of the north five hundred and seventy-eight thousand eight hundred rins. That the counsellor pensionary, seeing that the present situation of affairs quires in all respects that the treasury of the state should be provided of a larger antity of money, has proposed to the consideration of their noble and grand ightinesses whether they did not judge it convenient to augment the negociation question by four other millions, and, consequently, to extend it to twelve millions, on the same footing and with the same interest as determined by their resolution the 16th of January last.

Upon which it was thought fit, and resolved, to consent to the negociation of these ght millions, and to increase it with four others, so as to make twelve millions on the same footing. The prince has made a tour to the Brille, Helvoetsluys, oeree, and Willemstadt, where he has reviewed the troops and vessels of war, and turned to The Hague on the third of this month.

I send to Congress an account of these faint feeble symptoms of life, ecause there is no appearance of any more vigorous. I am told that at this *vis inertiæ* is profound policy. If it is policy at all, it is so rofound as to be perfectly incomprehensible. However, their property nd dominion, their honor and dignity, their sovereignty and independ- nce are their own, and if they choose to throw them all away, for ght I know they have a right to do it. There is one comfort, if other ations have nothing to hope, they have nothing to fear from such olicy.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

JOHN ADAMS.

Franklin to Adams.*

PASSY, *June* 5, 1781.

SIR: I have received the honour of your letter, dated the 25th past, advising me of your drafts for forty thousand livres, payable to the order of Capt. Joiner, which I shall accept when they appear.

No specific sum having been mentioned to me by Col. Laurens as what would be wanted to fulfil his orders in Holland, I think myself obliged to acquaint your excellency that I fear my funds will not permit my furnishing more than about £5,000 sterling in the whole, that is to pay for the purchase of the goods that had been bought by Commodore Gillon, and such others as Col. Laurens has himself ordered.

I just now hear by some intelligent persons who left London last Tuesday that it was understood there the *Indienne* would sail about the beginning of this month, and that some ships were ordered to cruise for her.

I have the honour to be, sir.

Morris to Jay.†

PHILADELPHIA, *June* 5, 1781.

DEAR SIR: I must freely acknowledge the justice of your charge against me as a bad correspondent, for the force of truth would convict were I to deny, and perhaps friendship will hardly bear with palliatives; but knowing well your attachment to and practice of sincerity, I shall honestly tell you I did not like to write on political matters; and in what may be called domestic you had constantly better information than it was possible for me to give, having also very ample employment for my time. You will reflect that all these circumstances combined to make me silent, although not inattentive or forgetful of my friends abroad.

I have three letters from you, dated the 28th May, 16th September, and 19th November last, and feel myself exceedingly indebted to that partiality which prompted you to say many civil things. These are stamped with an unusual value, not because I suffer myself to think they are merited, but because you thought so. We have heard more of you and Mrs. Jay than these letters tell me, and upon the whole have not found much cause to be pleased with your situation. Her's must too often have been very disagreeable; the loss of the little one was truly distressing, and your almost constant absence extremely hard. But you must comfort yourselves with the reflection that still more cruel things might have happened had you remained in your own country. Suppose you had been with your father when some of the enemy's ruffians broke into the house, and after satiating themselves with plunder, they had carried you, my dear friend, a prisoner to New York. Think of the

---

* MSS. Dep. of State.

†2 Jay's Life, 80; 2 Corr. and Pub. Papers of John Jay, 35.

iumph of your enemies, the distress of your friends, and what you ust, under such circumstances, have suffered. Happy that you have scaped such an event, I will not prolong the idea of it.

Our friend Gouverneur has acquainted you with my appointment to e superintendent of finance. The motives of my acceptance are purely atriotic, and I would this moment give much of my property to be xcused; but pressed by my friends, acquaintances, fellow-citizens, and most by all America, I could not resist. I will therefore most assidu-isly try to be useful, and if in this I do but succeed, my recompense ill be ample. Gouverneur and others have promised me the assist-nce of their abilities. Congress promise support. If the legislatures nd individuals will do the same we will soon change the face of our fairs, and show our enemies that their hopes of our ruin, through the hannel of finance, is as vain as their hope of conquest.

This campaign, as usual, opens to our disadvantage; but I expect it ill also, as usual, close favorably for us. The vices and follies of our nemies may justly be counted among the number of our fast friends. hey never fail to work for our relief in the hour of distress; for at those mes the pride, insolence, and tyranny of the British heroes are too nsufferable to be borne even by the peasantry of America. It affords e much pleasure to find the assistance I have given towards deliver-ng supplies at Havana is known and approved by the ministry at the ourt of Madrid, as a favorable impression there may be serviceable o my administration of the finances, and I hope still to return more nportant services for those I expect from them to this distressed ountry.

Adieu, my dear sir, with sincere affection, &c.,

ROBERT MORRIS.

Congress—Instructions to Peace Commissioners.*

JUNE 6, 1781.

[For instructions to Jay as to Mississippi navigation, see *supra*, Feb. 15, 1781.]

A motion was then made by Mr. Witherspoon, seconded by Mr. louston, that the minister who is to negotiate in behalf of the United tates be further instructed as follows:

"But as to disputed boundaries and other particulars we refer you o our former instructions, from which you will easily perceive the esires and expectations of Congress, but we think it unsafe at this istance to tie you up by absolute and peremptory directions upon ny other subject than the two essential articles above mentioned. ou will therefore use your own judgment and prudence in securing he interest of the United States in such manner as circumstances may irect and as the state of the belligerent and disposition of the medi-ting powers may require.

*MSS. secret journals Dep. of State; printed secret journals, with variations and nissions.

"You are to make the most candid and confidential communications upon all subjects to the ministers of our generous ally, the king of France, to undertake nothing in the negotiations for peace without their knowledge and concurrence, and to make them sensible how much we rely upon his majesty's influence for effectual support in everything that may be necessary to the present security or future prosperity of the United States of America."

On the question to agree to the first paragraph, the yeas and nays being required by Mr. M. Smith,

New Hampshire	Mr. Sullivan ..... Aye.	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Livermore ..... Aye.		
Massachusetts	Mr. Lovell ..... No.	No.	No.
	Mr. Ward ..... No.		
Rhode Island	Mr. Varnum ..... Aye.	Aye.	Aye.
Connecticut	Mr. T. Huntington ..... No.	No.	No.
	Mr. Ellsworth ..... Aye.		
	Mr. Sherman ..... No.		
New Jersey	Mr. Witherspoon ..... Aye.	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Houston ..... Aye.		
Pennsylvania	Mr. Atlee ..... Aye.	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Clymer ..... Aye.		
	Mr. T. Smith ..... Aye.		
Maryland	Mr. Jenifer ..... Aye.	Aye.	Aye.
Virginia	Mr. Madison ..... No.	No.	No.
	Mr. Bland ..... No.		
	Mr. M. Smith ..... No.		
North Carolina	Mr. Sharpe ..... Aye.	0.	0.
	Mr. Johnston ..... No.		
South Carolina	Mr. Mathews ..... Aye.	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Bee ..... Aye.		
	Mr. Motte ..... Aye.		
Georgia	Mr. Walton ..... Aye.	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Few ..... Aye.		
	Mr. Howley ..... Aye.		

So the question was lost. Whereupon

Ordered, That the report, together with the foregoing motion, be recommitted.

JUNE 7, 1781.

The committee to whom was recommitted their report, together with the motion of Mr. Witherspoon, reported that they have considered the subject referred to them, and submit to the consideration of Congress the motion of Mr. Witherspoon, together with the following additional and secret instructions with respect to the boundaries of the United States:

1. You are to use your utmost endeavours to secure the limits fixed exactly according to the description in your former instructions.

2. If that can not be obtained, it is the wish of Congress that a peace be made without fixing northern and western limits, but leaving them to future discussion.

3. If that also is found impracticable and boundaries must be ascertained, you are to obtain as advantageous a settlement as possible in favour of the United States.

The secret instructions were taken into consideration, and on the uestion to agree to the first, the yeas and nays being required by Mr. . Smith,

Resolved in the affirmative, every member answering aye.

On the question to agree to the second, the yeas and nays being re-uired by Mr. M. Smith,

New Hampshire	Mr. Sullivan	No.	No.
	Mr. Livermore	No.	
Massachusetts	Mr. Lovell	Aye.	0.
	Mr. Ward	No.	
Rhode Island	Mr. Varnum	Aye.	Aye.
Connecticut	Mr. Huntington	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Ellsworth	Aye.	
	Mr. Sherman	Aye.	
New Jersey	Mr. Witherspoon	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Houston	Aye.	
Pennsylvania	Mr. Atlee	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Clymer	Aye.	
Maryland	Mr. Jenifer	Aye.	Aye.
Virginia	Mr. Jones	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Madison	Aye.	
	Mr. Bland	Aye.	
	Mr. M. Smith	No.	
North Carolina	Mr. Sharpe	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Johnston	Aye.	
South Carolina	Mr. Mathews	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Bee	Aye.	
	Mr. Motte	Aye.	
Georgia	Mr. Walton	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Few	Aye.	
	Mr. Howley	Aye.	

So it was resolved in the affirmative.

On the question to agree to the third, the yeas and nays being re-uired by Mr. Smith,

New Hampshire	Mr. Sullivan	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Livermore	Aye.	
Massachusetts	Mr. Lovell	No.	No.
	Mr. Ward	No.	
Rhode Island	Mr. Varnum	Aye.	Aye.
Connecticut	Mr. Huntington	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Ellsworth	Aye.	
	Mr. Sherman	No.	
New Jersey	Mr. Witherspoon	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Houston	Aye.	
Pennsylvania	Mr. Clymer	Aye.	Aye.
Maryland	Mr. Jenifer	Aye.	Aye.
Virginia	Mr. Jones	No.	No.
	Mr. Madison	No.	
	Mr. Bland	No.	
	Mr. M. Smith	No.	
North Carolina	Mr. Sharpe	Aye.	0.
	Mr. Johnston	No.	
South Carolina	Mr. Mathews	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Bee	Aye.	
	Mr. Motte	Aye.	
Georgia	Mr. Walton	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Few	Aye.	
	Mr. Howley	Aye.	

So the question was lost.

JUNE 8, 1781.

The subject of the instructions was resumed, and the first part of Mr. Witherspoon's motion, which was again reported by the committee, being under debate, a motion was made by the State of Virginia to add to it as follows:

"*Provided*, That you shall not recede from the former ultimatum of Congress on the subject of the boundaries of the United States in any part thereof except with respect to so much of the said ultimatum as delineates the boundary from the intersection of the 45th degree of north latitude with the river St. Lawrence to the mouth of the Illinois River, from which you are authorized to recede so far as to agree that the boundary of the States between these two points shall run from the intersection aforesaid through the middle of the said river, of Lake Ontario, of the strait of Niagara, and of Lake Erie to the mouth of the Miami River, thence in a direct line to the source of the river Illinois, and thence down the middle of the said river to its confluence with the Mississippi."

On the question to agree to this, the yeas and nays being required by Mr. Bland,

New Hampshire	Mr. Sullivan	No.	No.
	Mr. Livermore	No.	
Massachusetts	Mr. Lovell	No.	No.
	Mr. Ward	No.	
Rhode Island	Mr. Varnum	No.	No.
Connecticut	Mr. Huntington	No.	No.
	Mr. Ellsworth	No.	
	Mr. Sherman	No.	
New Jersey	Mr. Witherspoon	No.	No.
	Mr. Houston	No.	
Pennsylvania	Mr. Atlee	No.	No.
	Mr. Clymer	No.	
Maryland	Mr. Jenifer	No.	No.
	Mr. Carroll	No.	
Virginia	Mr. Jones	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Madison	Aye.	
	Mr. Bland	Aye.	
	Mr. Smith	Aye.	
North Carolina	Mr. Sharpe	Aye.	0.
	Mr. Johnston	No.	
South Carolina	Mr. Mathews	No.	No.
	Mr. Bee	No.	
	Mr. Motte	No.	
Georgia	Mr. Walton	No.	No.
	Mr. Few	No.	
	Mr. Howley	No.	

So it passed in the negative.

A motion was then made by the State of Virginia to add the words following:

"*Provided*, That you shall not in any case agree to a cession of any part of the territory lying on the southeast side of the river Ohio, nor admit any exclusive claims on the part of Great Britain to the territory lying between the said river, the rivers Mississippi and Illinois, and the lakes Erie and Ontario."

A division was called for, and on the question to agree to the first ause as far as "the river Ohio" inclusive, the yeas and nays being quired by Mr. Madison,

New Hampshire	Mr. Sullivan ... No.	No.
	Mr. Livermore ... No.	
Massachusetts	Mr. Lovell ... No.	No.
	Mr. Ward ... No.	
Rhode Island	Mr. Varnum ... Aye.	Aye.
Connecticut	Mr. Huntington ... No.	No.
	Mr. Ellsworth ... No.	
	Mr. Sherman ... No.	
New Jersey	Mr. Witherspoon ... No.	0.
	Mr. Houston ... Aye.	
Pennsylvania	Mr. Atlee ... No.	No.
	Mr. Clymer ... No.	
Maryland	Mr. Jenifer ... No.	No.
	Mr. Carroll ... No.	
Virginia	Mr. Jones ... Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Madison ... Aye.	
	Mr. Bland ... Aye.	
	Mr. M. Smith ... Aye.	
North Carolina	Mr. Sharpe ... No.	No.
	Mr. Johnston ... No.	
South Carolina	Mr. Mathews ... No.	No.
	Mr. Bee ... No.	
	Mr. Motte ... No.	
Georgia	Mr. Walton ... No.	No.
	Mr. Few ... No.	
	Mr. Howley ... No.	

So it passed in the negative, and the second clause was dropped.

A motion was then made by Mr. Smith, seconded by Mr. Bland, to ike out all that follows the words "expectations of Congress."

Question put;—passed in the negative.

On the question to agree to the first part of Mr. Witherspoon's motion, e yeas and nays being required by Mr. Smith,

New Hampshire	Mr. Sullivan ... Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Livermore ... Aye.	
Massachusetts	Mr. Lovell ... Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Ward ... Aye.	
Rhode Island	Mr. Varnum ... Aye.	Aye.
Connecticut	Mr. Huntington ... Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Ellsworth ... Aye.	
	Mr. Sherman ... Aye.	
New Jersey	Mr. Witherspoon ... Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Houston ... Aye.	
Pennsylvania	Mr. Atlee ... Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Clymer ... Aye.	
Maryland	Mr. Jenifer ... Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Carroll ... Aye.	
Virginia	Mr. Jones ... No	No.
	Mr. Madison ... No.	
	Mr. Bland ... No.	
	Mr. M. Smith ... No.	
North Carolina	Mr. Sharpe ... Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Johnston ... Aye.	
South Carolina	Mr. Mathews ... Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Lee ... Aye.	
	Mr. Motte ... Aye.	

Georgia	Mr. Walton	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Few	Aye.	
	Mr. Howley	Aye.	

So it was resolved in the affirmative.

On the question to agree to the second clause, viz., "you are to make the most candid," etc. to the end, the yeas and nays being required by Mr. Ward,

New Hampshire	Mr. Sullivan	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Livermore	Aye.	
Massachusetts	Mr. Lovell	No.	No.
	Mr. Ward	No.	
Rhode Island	Mr. Varnum	Aye.	Aye.
Connecticut	Mr. Huntington	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Ellsworth	Aye.	
	Mr. Sherman	Aye.	
New Jersey	Mr. Witherspoon	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Houston	Aye.	
Pennsylvania	Mr. Atlee	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Clymer	Aye.	
Maryland	Mr. Jenifer	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Carroll	Aye.	
Virginia	Mr. Jones	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Madison	Aye.	
	Mr. Bland	Aye.	
	Mr. M. Smith	Aye.	
North Carolina	Mr. Sharpe	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Johnston	Aye.	
South Carolina	Mr. Mathews	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Bee	Aye.	
	Mr. Motte	Aye.	
Georgia	Mr. Walton	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Few	Aye.	
	Mr. Howley	Aye.	

So it was resolved in the affirmative.

A motion was then made by Mr. Carroll, seconded by Mr. Atlee, to reconsider the third of the additional secret instructions reported by the committee.

The question being put, was lost.

On motion of Mr. Witherspoon, seconded by Mr. Clymer:

"*Resolved*, That the first and second of the additional and secret instructions passed yesterday be reconsidered."

The question being then severally put to agree to the first and second of the additional and secret instructions, passed in the negative.

The instructions, as agreed to, are as follows:

You are hereby authorized and instructed to concur, in behalf of these United States, with his most Christian majesty in accepting the mediation proposed by the Emperor of Russia and the Emperor of Germany. But you are to accede to no treaty of peace which shall not be such as may, first, effectually secure the independence and sovereignty of the thirteen States according to the form and effect of the treaties subsisting between the said States and his most Christian majesty; and, second, in which the said treaties shall not be left in their full force and validity.

As to disputed boundaries and other particulars, we refer you to our former instructions of the 14 August, 1779, and 18 October, 780, from which you will easily perceive the desires and expectations f Congress, but we think it unsafe at this distance to tie you up by bsolute and peremptory directions upon any other subject than the wo essential articles above mentioned. You will therefore use your wn judgment and prudence in securing the interest of the United tates in such manner as circumstances may direct and as the state of ne belligerent and disposition of the mediating powers may require.

You are to make the most candid and confidential communications pon all subjects to the ministers of our generous ally, the King of rance, to undertake nothing in the negotiations for peace or truce ithout their knowledge and concurrence, and to make them sensible ow much we rely upon his majesty's influence for the effectual sup- ort in everything that may be necessary to the present security or ıture prosperity of the United States of America.

JUNE 9, 1781.

On motion of Mr. Witherspoon,

Resolved, That the following additional instructions be given:

"If a difficulty should arise in the course of the negotiation for peace rom the backwardness of Britain to make a formal acknowledgment f our independence, you are at liberty to agree to a truce, or to make uch other concessions as may not affect the substance of what we con- end for, and provided that Great Britain be not left in possession of ny part of the thirteen United States."

On the question to agree to this, the yeas and nays being required y Mr. M. Smith,

New Hampshire	Mr. Sullivan ..... Aye. Mr. Livermore ..... Aye.	Aye.
Massachusetts	Mr. Lovell ..... Aye. Mr. Ward ..... Aye.	Aye.
Rhode Island	Mr. Varnum ..... No.	No.
Connecticut	Mr. Huntington ..... Aye. Mr. Ellsworth ..... Aye. Mr. Sherman ..... Aye.	Aye.
New Jersey	Mr. Witherspoon ..... Aye. Mr. Houston ..... Aye.	Aye.
Pennsylvania	Mr. Joseph Montgomery .. Aye. Mr. Atlee ..... Aye. Mr. Clymer ..... Aye. Mr. T. Smith ..... Aye.	Aye.
Maryland	Mr. Jenifer ..... Aye. Mr. Carroll ..... Aye.	Aye.
Virginia	Mr. Jones ..... Aye. Mr. Madison ..... Aye. Mr. Bland ..... No. Mr. M. Smith ..... No.	0.
North Carolina	Mr. Sharpe ..... Aye. Mr. Johnston ..... Aye.	Aye.
South Carolina	Mr. Mathews ..... Aye. Mr. Bee ..... Aye. Mr. Motte ..... Aye.	Aye.

Georgia	Mr. Walton ..... Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Few ..... Aye.	
	Mr. Howley ..... Aye.	

So it was resolved in the affirmative.*

The committee having reported as their opinion that some person be joined with the honorable John Adams in negotiating a treaty o peace between the United States and Great Britain,

On the question, Shall any person or persons be joined? the yeas an nays being required by Mr. Mathews,

New Hampshire	Mr. Sullivan ..... No.	No.
	Mr. Livermore ..... No.	
Massachusetts	Mr. Lovell ..... No.	No.
	Mr. Ward ..... No.	
Rhode Island	Mr. Varnum ..... No.	No.
Connecticut	Mr. S. Huntington ..... No.	No.
	Mr. Ellsworth ..... No.	
	Mr. Sherman ..... No.	
New Jersey	Mr. Witherspoon ..... No.	No.
	Mr. Houston ..... No.	
Pennsylvania	Mr. Jos. Montgomery ..... No.	Aye.
	Mr. Atlee ..... Aye.	
	Mr. Clymer ..... Aye.	
	Mr. T. Smith ..... Aye.	
Maryland	Mr. Jenifer ..... Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Carroll ..... Aye.	
Virginia	Mr. Jones ..... No.	No.
	Mr. Madison ..... No.	
	Mr. Bland ..... No.	
	Mr. M. Smith ..... No.	
North Carolina	Mr. Sharpe ..... Aye.	0.
	Mr. Johnston ..... No.	
South Carolina	Mr. Mathews ..... Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Bee ..... Aye.	
	Mr. Motte ..... Aye.	
Georgia	Mr. Walton ..... Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Few ..... No.	
	Mr. Howley ..... Aye.	

So it passed in the negative.

Ordered, That the committee appointed to confer with the ministe of France communicate confidentially to him the substance of the fore going instructions, and that they prepare an answer to the letter fro his most Christian majesty and a letter to Doct. Franklin; that the also revise the instructions given to the minister plenipotentiary respect ing a treaty of commerce with Great Britain, and report thereon.

MONDAY, *June* 11, 1781.

The committee appointed to confer with the minister of France re port that they have communicated to him the substance of the instru tions to the minister plenipotentiary for negotiating a peace, and submi it as their opinion that the said instructions be reconsidered so far a to admit the following amendments:

* See, as to truce, Introduction, §§53, 86; also Congress to ministers, etc., June 1 1781, *infra*.

1. In the third clause of the instructions to strike out the words will therefore use your own judgment and prudence in securing" and lieu thereof insert "are therefore at liberty to secure."

2. To introduce the fourth clause by inserting at the beginning hereof the following words: "For this purpose."

3. After the words "concurrence and" to insert the following words: ultimately to govern yourself by their advice and opinion, endeavouring in your whole conduct."

The vote for reconsidering being taken and passed,

On the question to agree to the first amendment, the yeas and nays being required by Mr. Bland,

New Hampshire	Mr. Sullivan ... Aye. Mr. Livermore ... Aye.	Aye.
Massachusetts	Mr. Ward ... No.	No.
Rhode Island	Mr. Varnum ... No.	No.
Connecticut	Mr. S. Huntington ... Aye. Mr. Ellsworth ... Aye. Mr. Sherman ... Aye.	Aye.
New Jersey	Mr. Witherspoon ... Aye. Mr. Houston ... Aye.	Aye.
Pennsylvania	Mr. Jos. Montgomery ... Aye. Mr. Atlee ... Aye. Mr. Clymer ... Aye.	Aye.
Maryland	Mr. Jenifer ... Aye. Mr. Carroll ... Aye.	Aye.
Virginia	Mr. Jones ... Aye. Mr. Madison ... Aye. Mr. Bland ... No. Mr. M. Smith ... Aye.	Aye.
North Carolina	Mr. Sharpe ... Aye. Mr. Johnston ... Aye.	Aye.
South Carolina	Mr. Mathews ... Aye. Mr. Bee ... Aye. Mr. Motte ... Aye.	Aye.
Georgia	Mr. Walton ... Aye. Mr. Few ... Aye. Mr. Howley ... Aye.	Aye.

So it was resolved in the affirmative.

The second amendment passed without division. On the question to agree [to] the third amendment, the yeas and nays being required by Mr. Bland,

New Hampshire	Mr. Sullivan ... Aye. Mr. Livermore ... Aye.	Aye.
Massachusetts	Mr. Lovell ... No. Mr. Ward ... No.	No.
Rhode Island	Mr. Varnum ... No.	No.
Connecticut	Mr. S. Huntington ... No. Mr. Ellsworth ... No. Mr. Sherman ... No.	No.
New Jersey	Mr. Witherspoon ... Aye. Mr. Houston ... Aye.	Aye.
Pennsylvania	Mr. Joseph Montgomery ... No. Mr. Atlee ... Aye. Mr. Clymer ... Aye. Mr. T. Smith ... No.	0.

Maryland	Mr. Jenifer ..... Aye. Mr. Carroll ..... Aye.	Aye.
Virginia	Mr. Jones ..... Aye. Mr. Madison ..... Aye. Mr. Bland ..... No. Mr. M. Smith ..... Aye.	Aye.
North Carolina	Mr. Sharpe ..... Aye. Mr. Johnston ..... Aye.	Aye.
South Carolina	Mr. Mathews ..... Aye. Mr. Bee ..... Aye. Mr. Motte ..... Aye.	Aye.
Georgia	Mr. Walton ..... Aye Mr. Few ..... Aye Mr. Howley ..... Aye	Aye.

So it was resolved in the affirmative.

The committee further recommended a reconsideration of the que tion whether any person or persons be joined to Mr. Adams in nego ating a peace between these United States and Great Britain.

The question for reconsideration having passed in the affirmative,

Resolved, That two persons be joined to Mr. Adams in negotiating peace between these United States and Great Britain.

Resolved, That Wednesday next be assigned for electing the perso to be joined to Mr. Adams.

The following persons were put in nomination:

Mr. Jay, by Mr. Mathews.
Mr. John Laurens, by Mr. Howley.
Mr. Thomas Jefferson, by Mr. M. Smith.
Mr. Franklin, by Mr. Varnum.
Mr. Joseph Reed, by Mr. Witherspoon.
Mr. William Carmichael, by Mr. Jenifer.

WEDNESDAY, *June* 13, 1781.

Congress proceeded to an election, and the ballots being taken,

The Hon. John Jay was elected.

Ordered That the election of the other persons be postponed unt to-morrow.

JUNE 14, 1781.

On motion of Mr. Sharpe, seconded by Mr. McKean,

Resolved, That two more persons, making in the whole four, b joined to the honorable John Adams in negotiating a treaty of pea with Great Britain.

Mr. Henry Laurens was put in nomination by Mr. Bland.

Congress proceeded to the election, and the ballots being taken, th honorable Benjamin Franklin, the honorable Henry Laurens, and th honorable Thomas Jefferson were elected.

JUNE 15, 1781.

A motion was made by Mr. McKean, seconded by Mr. Partridge, t reconsider the third amendment proposed by the committee an

lopted on the 11th; and on the question to reconsider, the yeas and ays being required by Mr. Partridge,

New Hampshire	Mr. Livermore	No.	No.
Massachusetts	Mr. Lovell	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Partridge	Aye.	
	Mr. Osgood	Aye.	
Rhode Island	Mr. Varnum	Aye.	Aye.
Connecticut	Mr. S. Huntington	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Ellsworth	Aye.	
	Mr. Sherman	Aye.	
New Jersey	Mr. Witherspoon	No.	No.
	Mr. Houston	N o.	
Pennsylvania	Mr. Atlee	No.	No.
	Mr. Clymer	No.	
	Mr. T. Smith	Aye.	
Delaware	Mr. Rodney	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. McKean	Aye.	
Maryland	Mr. Jenifer	No.	No.
	Mr. Carroll	No.	
	Mr. Potts	No.	
Virginia	Mr. Jones	No.	No.
	Mr. Madison	No.	
	Mr. Bland	Aye.	
	Mr. M. Smith	No.	
North Carolina	Mr. Sharpe	No.	0.
	Mr. Johnston	Aye.	
South Carolina	Mr. Mathews	No.	No.
	Mr. Bee	No.	
	Mr. Motte	No.	
	Mr. Eveleigh	No.	
Georgia	Mr. Walton	No.	No.
	Mr. Few	No.	
	Mr. Howley	No.	

So it passed in the negative.*

Morris to Luzerne.†

PHILADELPHIA, *June* 8, 1781.

SIR: The honorable Congress having thought proper to invest me with he power, disposition, and management of the moneys granted by his ost Christian majesty to the United States for the purpose of assist- g them to carry on the present campaign with vigor, I have, with our concurrence, taken some arrangements for drawing it into the ses for which the grant has been made; and, in conformity with your romise, I pray you to write immediately to his majesty's ministers hat they cause the sum of five hundred thousand livres tournois to be eposited with Messrs. Le Couteulx & Co., bankers in Paris, for ac- ount of the United States of North America, and subject to my drafts r orders as superintendent of finance of the said United States.

This deposit, I hope, may, without inconvenience, be made in thirty ays after the receipt of your letter; and I shall proceed to draw on essrs. Le Couteulx & Co. in full confidence thereof until my bills on hem shall amount to the said sum of five hundred thousand livres

*[For additional information, see *infra*, June 29, 1781.]

†MSS. Dep. of State; 6 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 269.

tournois, when I will give you timely notice that another deposit may be made for the like purpose, and by this means I hope we shall occasion as little trouble to his majesty's minister of finance as the nature of this transaction will admit of.

With great respect and esteem, &c.,

ROBERT MORRIS.

Morris to Le Couteulx and Co.*

PHILADELPHIA, *June* 8, 1781.

GENTLEMEN: In a private letter I have already informed you of my appointment by the honorable Congress to the office of superintendent of the finances of the United States of North America, and in that character I now address you.

His most Christian majesty having been graciously pleased to grant an aid of money for the purpose of invigorating our operations during the present campaign, I find it convenient to make use of your house as bankers to receive from his majesty's ministers such sums as they may have occasion to deposit, in order that you may accept and pay my drafts as fast as they shall appear. His excellency the minister plenipotentiary of France at this place now writes to his court, at my request, desiring that five hundred thousand livres tournois may be placed in your hands thirty days after the receipt of his letter, the said sum to be subject to my drafts or orders, and I shall proceed to draw upon you as fast as purchasers offer for the bills; therefore, I beg you will be prepared to honor my bills drawn as superintendent of finance whenever they offer, for I would not, on any account, that there should be the least demur; and I am confident that his most Christian majesty's minister of finance will enable you punctually to make payment as they fall due. I shall communicate this matter to his excellency Benjamin Franklin, minister plenipotentiary from these States to the court of Versailles, who will join you in any application that may become necessary in this business, which, however, I expect will be conducted much to your satisfaction. And, as it may become important, I hope your attention to it can be relied on, and that you will render the charges as moderate as possible.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

ROBERT MORRIS.

---

* MSS. Dep. of State; 6 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 269.

Morris to Franklin.*

PHILADELPHIA, *June* 8, 1781.

DEAR SIR: In a private letter which I did myself the honor to write
n on the 6th instant, I announced the appointment I have received
m the honorable Congress to the office of superintendent of the
ances of the United States of North America, and I now beg leave
address you in my official character.

Congress have thought proper to commit to me the disposition and
nagement of the money granted to the United States by his most
ristian majesty in aid of our operations for the present campaign,
order that the same may be solely applied to that use; and for this
son I have found it necessary to keep the whole sum of this grant
arate and distinct from any other, so that its application may at
y time be clearly seen. Instead, therefore, of drawing upon your
cellency, who have many other bills running upon you, I have
ged it expedient to name Messrs. Le Couteulx & Co., bankers in
ris, to receive the money from his majesty's ministers, so that they
y be able to honor my bills with acceptance whenever they appear,
l punctually to acquit them as they fall due. I have written to
ssrs. Le Couteulx that you would join and support them in any
plication that may become needful to his majesty or his ministers,
ich I hope you will readily do.

And, on the other hand, your attention to the interests of this country
l lead you to inform yourself whether the house of Le Couteulx &
are as perfectly safe and rich as they ought to be to entitle them
his trust. They are represented to me as one of the safest and
st prudent banking houses in Europe, and his excellency the min-
r of France at this place now writes to have five hundred thousand
es tournois deposited with them on account of the United States
ject to my drafts or orders. Should their credit not entitle them
his trust you will please to interfere, and consult with M. Necker
t banker to employ in such case, directing those you do employ to
ept and pay my drafts. However, I imagine these gentlemen will
found sufficiently safe.

Should it be more agreeable to M. Necker that any other banker be
le use of, give me the name and write me the propriety of such
ration, and I shall acquiesce in such change immediately on the
ipt of your letter, for I have no partiality in public business. All
ish is to act with security and to the best advantage.

f you think it proper to inquire into the terms on which the bankers
l receive and pay this money and settle their commissions on the
t reasonable footing I shall be happy in your doing so. I do not,
wever, wish to give you any trouble that is not proper and neces-
y, being, with the highest respect, your excellency's most obedient
mble servant,

ROBERT MORRIS.

* MSS. Dep. of State; 6 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 267.

Vergennes to Franklin.*

[Translation.]

VERSAILLES, *June* 8, 1781.

SIR: I have received the letter you did me the honor to write me
the 4th instant. I do not know whether Mr. Laurens has purchas
the clothing in Holland on account of Congress; I only know (and y
were likewise informed of it at the same time) that this officer was
employ for his purchases in France part of the six millions which t
king has granted to Congress, and that the residue of this sum w
intended to be sent to America with a view of re-establishing the cre
of the United States.

If Mr. Laurens, instead of paying ready money in Holland, has co
tented himself with giving bills on you I have no concern in it, a
the king can furnish no means for your reimbursement.

As to the moneys arising from the loan opened in Holland, we ha
no pretensions to regulate the employment of them, as they belong
the United States. You must, therefore, sir, apply to Congress for t
power of disposing of them in discharge of the drafts drawn on y
from all quarters.

I have the honor of being, &c.,

DE VERGENNES.

J. Adams to M. Berenger, Secretary of the French Embassy at The Hagu

AMSTERDAM, *June* 8, 1781.

SIR: I have received the letter which you did me the honor to wri
me on the 5th of this month, informing me that you have received
letter from the Count de Vergennes, by which his excellency direc
you to tell me that the interests of the United States require my pr
ence at Paris, and that he should desire that I should go there as so
as my affairs in Holland will permit me.

I should be extremely obliged to you, sir, if you would confide to m
the nature of the business that requires me at Paris, that I might
able to form some judgment whether it is of so much importance a
so pressing as to make it necessary for me to go forthwith.

His excellency Dr. Franklin and Colonel Laurens have arrang
affairs in such a manner that the accounts of the *Indian* are to be pr
duced to me, and I am to draw bills to discharge them, so that it wou
retard the departure of that interesting vessel if I were to go no
and it is of some importance to the public that I should complete m
despatches to go to Congress by her. I am also unfortunately involv
in a good deal of business in accepting and discharging bills of exchan

---

* MSS. Dep. of State; 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 157.
† MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 387.

ourse of business which would be put into some confusion if I were go immediately; and the general affairs of Congress in this republic ght suffer somewhat by my absence. But notwithstanding all, if I re informed that it is anything respecting a general pacification, or invitation of this republic to accede to the alliance between France l the United States, or any other affair of sufficient weight to justify quitting this port immediately, I would do it. Otherwise it would, I humbly conceive, be more for the public interest that I should wait til some of the business that lies upon me here is despatched and the t put into a better order. Let me beg the favor of your sentiments, Whenever I go, I must beg the favor of you to furnish me with a ssport.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

Franklin to de Vergennes.*

PASSY, *June* 10, 1781.

SIR: I received the letter your excellency did me the honour of writing me on the 8th inst. in answer to mine of the 4th.

The state of Mr. Laurens' transaction in Holland, as I understood it, this: Capt. Gillon represented to him that he had bought clothing, ., for the troops of South Carolina to the value of £10,000 sterling, ich were actually shipped in the *Indienne;* that he now wanted ney to get his ship out, and therefore proposed to Mr. Laurens to e those goods of him for the United States. Mr. Laurens agreed to e such as would suit their wants, and to pay for the same by bills on me at six months' sight, and proposed to send in her some other icles that could be bought in Holland. His motives were that this e ship, if she could be got out, would be a safe conveyance, and that e would afterwards be useful to the Congress on our coasts. He in- med me that he had mentioned to your excellency Capt. Gillon's posal, and that you seemed to approve of it. I accordingly consented his ordering those drafts upon me; but this will not be any great dition to my difficulty, since in the term of 6 months I can possibly eive from Congress the power which you judge necessary for apply- any part of the loan opened in Holland to the discharge of those ls.

With regard to the drafts made by Congress on Mr. Jay in expecta- n of a friendly loan from the court of Spain, on Mr. Laurens and Mr. lams in Holland, from assurances given by some people of that ntry that a loan might be easily by them obtained there, and the ge drafts upon myself, exclusive of the loan-office interest bills, these together occasion an embarrassment, which it is my duty to lay be-

* MSS. Dep. of State.

fore your excellency, and to acquaint you with the consequences I ap
prehend may attend their not being duly discharged. Those bills wer
occasioned first by the sums necessary last year to assemble our arm
and put it in a condition to act vigorously with the king's sea and lan
forces arrived and expected to arrive from France against New Yor
and to defend the southern colonies. Our main army was according
put into such a condition as to face Mr. Clinton before New York a
summer; but the additional forces expected from France not arrivin
the project was not pursued, and the advantage hoped for from th
exertion and expense was not obtained, tho' the funds of Congre
were thereby equally exhausted. A second necessity for drawing tho
bills arose from the delay of five months in the sailing of M. de Cha
mont's ship, occasioned by the distraction of his affairs, whereby th
clothing for the army not arriving in time before winter, the Congre
were obliged to purchase the cloths taken by privateers from th
Quebec fleet, and this could only be done by payment for the same
bills. All these bills were drawn by solemn resolutions of Congres
and it seems to me evident that if no part of the aids lately resolv
on by his majesty can be applied to their discharge without an expre
order from Congress for that purpose, the public credit of the Unit
States, instead of being "reanimated," as his majesty graciously i
tended, will be destroyed, for the bills unpaid must according to th
usual course be returned under protest long before such order can
obtained, which protest will by our laws entitle the holders to a dama
of 20 per cent., whereby the public will incur a net loss of one-fifth
the whole sum drawn for, an effect that will be made use of by the
enemies to discredit their government among the people, and mu
weaken their hands much more in that respect than by the mere lo
of so much money.

On these considerations, and also from an opinion that a bill alread
drawn by order of Congress was as good and clear a declaration
their will with regard to the disposition of so much of any funds the
might have at their disposal in Europe as any future order of thei
could be, I ventured to accept and to promise payment of all the bil
above mentioned. What I have requested of your excellency in my la
letter, and what I now beg leave to repeat, is only that so much of th
intended aid may be retained as shall be necessary to pay those accep
ances as they become due. I had not the least apprehension that th
could meet with any difficulty; and I hope on reconsideration yo
excellency may still judge that it will be for the advantage of th
common cause if this request is granted.

I have already paid most of the bills drawn on Mr. Jay which th
money furnished to him by the court of Spain did not suffice to pa
I have also paid a part of those drawn on Mr. Laurens, Mr. Adams, an
myself. To do this I have been obliged to anticipate our funds, so tha
as our banker informs me, I shall by the end of this month owe hi

bout 400,000 livres, tho' he has already received from M. d'Harvelay or the quarter of August. I have acted imprudently in making these cceptances and entering into these engagements without first consult- ng your excellency and obtaining your explicit approbation; but I cted as I thought for the best; I imagined it a case of absolute ne- essity; and relying on assistance from the new aids intended us, and onsidering the fatal consequence of protests, I thought at the time hat I acted prudently and safely.

The supplies I shall want for the payment of these bills will be gradual. f I can not obtain them but by an order from Congress, I must not nly stop payment of those not yet become due, but I apprehend that shall be obliged to refuse acceptance of some of the interest bills, aving disabled myself from paying them by paying so many others. therefore beg your excellency would reconsider this important affair. am sorry to find myself under a necessity of giving you so much rouble. I wish rather to diminish your cares than to increase them; eing with the most perfect respect, etc.

B. FRANKLIN.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.*

AMSTERDAM, *June* 11, 1781.

SIR: The following petition is too curious in itself, and too much ttended to by the public at this time to be omitted:

o the Gentlemen the Burgomasters, Sheriffs, and Counsellors of the City of Antwerp:

The inhabitants of the city of Antwerp in general, and those who are there con- erned in commerce in particular, should think that they injured their own interests they neglected, at a time when all Europe talks of the advantages which the open- g of the Scheldt would produce, to address themselves to you, gentlemen, to make nown their desire that you would please to take the necessary measures for this urpose. While all nations fix at present their attention upon the liberty of naviga- on, shall we be the only people who, although having a greater interest in it than hers, should remain quiet, and suffer to pass away, unimproved, the moment which ppears to be now arrived to deliver ourselves from the yoke which the republic of olland imposed upon us in the days of their first celebration? No! It is time that e awake! From the treaty of Munster this city and its commerce are fallen into great decay, but we have still the means in our hands to revive them, because the habitants have ever continued to have an indirect portion in commerce. It was ey who, after the suppression of the Company of Ostend, have assisted in the estab- shment of the East India Companies of Sweden and Denmark; and it would not be fficult to prove that projects of all sorts have taken place in their speculations. Vhat could they not do, therefore, when it shall be free to them to make a direct nd unrestrained commerce? The simple hope which they have of it causes among hem a revival of the spirit of commerce. When we compare the situation of the ties of Amsterdam and Antwerp, we shall find that that of the latter has many dvantages over the former. The commerce of corn, which makes of Holland the ctory of Europe and all the trade of the north, offers itself to the city of Antwerp.

* MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 388, with verbal changes.

We should soon find there magazines provided with everything necessary to extend commerce and equal that of Amsterdam. This commerce alone would be sufficient to make the city of Antwerp flourish, and to make a revival of the bright days which preceded the peace of Munster.

But what afflicts us, gentlemen, is, that there are persons who would divide the interests of provinces, and give birth to a rivalry between the ports of Ostend and Antwerp, as if one port the more would be too much for the states of his majesty. If this could be a question, no man could doubt that the city of Antwerp is much better situated to make an extensive commerce than the city of Ostend. Experience alone is sufficient to demonstrate it. The commerce which Antwerp has made heretofore came there naturally of itself, although it had been formerly at Bruges, because the port of Antwerp was better and in all respects more advantageous. But these cities have nothing in common, and if the Scheldt was open, and remained open, Ostend would not suffer any damage from it. We have the advantage to have in our sovereign a prince whose whole application tends to render his subjects happy; nothing can contribute more to their prosperity than commerce. The fine arts, which have supported themselves at Antwerp in spite of the decay of commerce for near one hundred and forty years, would acquire here a new degree of perfection and lustre.

We hope, gentlemen, that your care and zeal for everything which can contribute to the prosperity of a city, which you have already lately delivered from beggary, will make you discover with particular satisfaction new means of procuring labor for the poor and needy, diminish thereby the expense of their maintenance, without reckoning all the other advantages, and especially the augmentation of our population, which would be the result of our demand.

This petition discloses objects of so much weight in those scales in which the political and commercial interests of the nations of Europe are now balancing, that it is worth while to transmit some observations which have been made upon it, which will lay open the whole subject with all its connexions. They were written in French by M. Cerisier.

It is to have a false idea of things to think and to say that Holland and Zealand, taking an unjust advantage of their victories and of the weakness of their enemies, have dictated, with arms in their hands, the outrageous and despotic conditions of holding their ports shut up. We have only to cast our eyes upon the geographical situation of Antwerp, and we have only to recollect the first events of the Belgic revolution, to acknowledge this error. The city of Antwerp for a long time made a part of the Belgic confederation; she entered into the union of Utrecht as she had entered into the pacification of Ghent she was even for several years the centre of the new republic; it was not until 1585 that she fell back under the yoke of the Spaniards. But the Duke of Parma, in retaking Antwerp, could not equally make himself master of all the forts situated below that city towards the mouth of the Scheldt. The confederates continued masters of these, and even retook some places which had been taken from them in the course of the war. Thus they remained masters of the lower navigation of this river, an advantage which they caused to be confirmed to them in the treaty of peace. In casting our eyes, on the other hand, on the memorable siege of Antwerp, it is to this city that it is necessary to impute the misfortune of having an useless port, since, by a more vigorous and wise defence, she would have remained in the union, with all the advantages which resulted from it.

Zealand and the city of Amsterdam have always held the slavery of the port of Antwerp of much importance. But it is very far from being true that this city, by recovering the liberty of her navigation, would be able to draw away any considerable part of their commerce. The maritime places of the United Provinces have had for several ages, and many years before the revolution, a great navigation and a flourishing commerce; this has been demonstrated by modern authors. (See the

Tableau de l'Histoire des Provinces Unies, et la Richesse de la Hollande.) It is an error nen to believe that they were raised upon the ruins of Ghent, Bruges, and Antwerp, although we cannot deny that they have received some augmentation from them.

But it is England which has drawn the greatest advantages from them. The cause evident; it is, that the same troubles which chased commerce from these cities gitated at the same time Holland, Zealand, Friesland, and the neighboring provnces. The factions of the Houcks and the Cabeliaux, the Schieringers and the Vetopers, the Litchembergs and the Gunterlings, the Hekeren and the Bronkhorst have early at the same time for many years torn almost the whole country, which forms t this day the republic of the United Provinces, in the times when Flanders was a rey to the most violent intestine dissensions, when Ghent and Bruges held the Emeror Maximilian in prison, and when the chastisements inflicted on these two cities rove out the industry and commerce which enriched them. The United Provinces ere the centre of the rebellion and the theatre of the most afflicting calamities hen the cruelties of the Spaniards chased commerce from the city of Antwerp. he most violent causes, in fact, are necessary to drive commerce from a country here she has fixed her residence. The powerful houses of commerce, the immense nds necessary to carry it on, the credit, the industry, do not transplant themselves asily from one country to another.

We ought not to impute to slavery the fall of the commerce of the Austrian Low ountries. We must ascend to that epocha when the fiscal and religious despotism f Spain carried into the Low Countries the yoke of civil servitude and the flames of ne Inquisition. Commerce cannot harmonize with slavery, with the tyrannical xaction of imposts, with persecutors, or with haugmen. It was principally to Lonon that industry and the merchants of Louvain, Ghent, Bruges, and Antwerp fled. lthough Holland and Zealand were at the same time a prey to similar misfortunes, nd even still more terrible, they found themselves in a condition to raise a powerful arine, to beat their ancient masters, and to seize upon their spoils in the Indies. It as upon their courage, upon their navigation, upon their establishments in the ndies, and not upon the mouth of the Scheldt, that they laid the foundations of commerce the richest and most extensive that ever was.

If all the Low Countries had remained attached to the confederation they would ll have partaken of the riches, the industry, the power, and the grandeur of the nited Provinces. The Austrian Low Countries were not able to recover their brilant commerce, because they had lost it. To repair this loss it would have been ecessary that Holland and England, filled with their manufactures, should have ad the complaisance to send them back all these manufactures with their riches, neir workmen, and their raw materials. It was only Louis the Fourteenth who ould in this respect take Philip the Second for a model. If the Flemish and the rabantians should have again a source of raw materials and of workmen, would it e easy to recall industry and naturalize it there after so long an exile? The little rogress of commerce in those countries has many other causes besides the subjugaon of one of its brooks. It is necessary to look for them in the multitude and normity of the duties imposed upon merchandizes which enter or go out of the ustrian domains—duties which are repeated from one province, and even from one ty, to another; it is necessary to look for them in the tyrannical and insolent inquision of officers with whom the frontiers are covered; in the fiscal and iniquitous ubjection to which packages and travellers are exposed—the former to a search hich exposes the goods to be spoiled, and the other to an indecent and odious inpection. They have forced women to strip themselves even to their shifts to disover, with a scandalous avidity, effects subject to these odious taxes.

A part of the commerce of Germany and several provinces of France with Holland, ould have no other market than the Low Countries if the imposts and the collection f them were not tyrannical. The merchants of St. Quentin, of Rheims, of Paris, ill all tell you that the lawns, wines, and modes which they send into the countries tuated upon the Baltic would be embarked at Ostend without those armies of inquis-

itors, like highwaymen, who drive away, by perpetual restraint, commerce, the friend of liberty. Add to this the delays and the dearness of land carriage, interrupted with barriers in the countries where there are no canals; all these obstacles do not only hurt the commerce of transportation, but also that of importation and exportation. The foreigner, finding so many difficulties in spreading his superfluities in those countries, is the less capable of taking off theirs.

Moreover, how many ameliorations may be made in the natural resources of that country? Before they allow themselves in uncertain speculations abroad, they should carry to the highest point industry at home. There are even reformations which are very difficult, and without which these countries will never hold the balance against countries in which the number, the celibacy, the riches, and the laziness of the clergy do not devour the industry of the people. Is the slavery of the Scheldt, then, the cause that Louvain is peopled only with students and professors? Malines filled with attorneys and judges? that Mons, Tournay, Ypres, Ghent, and Bruges are no longer more than carcasses? If there were a means of reviving these cities, would it not be by the enlargement and the safety of the port of Ostend?

Even if the ports of Ostend, of Nieuport, and Antwerp offered roads free, safe, and commodious, would business fly to them for refuge, and abandon the ports of Hamburg, Dantzick, Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Middleburg, Dunkirk, Rouen, Nantes, Rochelle, Bordeaux, the Elbe, the Somme, the Seine, the Loire, the Garonne, and the ports of the three kingdoms of Great Britain, where it enjoys all the advantages and facilities which it can desire? The English themselves, who dazzle at this day the Austrian Low Countries with the hope of a free and flourishing commerce, would not they be the first to oppose this revolution if it had any appearance of success? It is their jealousy of the prosperity of Amsterdam which makes them clamor against the subjection of the Scheldt. But they would clamor much louder if the liberty of the Scheldt should restore to the Low Countries the hope of recovering their ancient commerce. All states seek with emulation to augment the national industry. Russia, and even other northern states, are making efforts and sacrifices to procure for themselves manufactures. All countries, even Spain and Portugal, begin to perceive that these things are more useful than *autos de fé*. The Austrian Low Countries have them also; but could they augment them at the expense of other countries, especially at a time when so many states pique themselves in having a warlike marine to maintain their commerce and their national industry?

But it will be said is it not manifest that, the navigation of Antwerp being opened, commerce, by reascending the river, would diffuse her benign influence throughout all the extent of an agreeable and fertile territory, full of canals and great roads, &c.? I answer again, why would not the ports of Bruges, Ghent, Ostend, and Nieuport produce the same effect? It is even apparent that these ports would lose by the new outlet of Antwerp the little commerce which remained to them. In that case Brabant would only raise itself on the ruins or at the expense of Flanders. The liberty of this river would enrich, perhaps, the interior of the country, but it would certainly impoverish the coasts of the sea. They say it is unjust to hold the Scheldt shut up; but would it not, on the contrary, be the height of injustice to open again a navigation assured to the Hollanders by the natural consequence of a revolution universally ratified and by a long possession? What man, what state, would be authorized to appropriate a thing to itself because it was for his convenience? This rule, it is true, has in our days affected the dismemberment of Poland, the invasion of Silesia, and the present war of England against Holland. But in taking away the property of the Dutch, with what right can one find fault with the violence of Russia?

It will be said that the restraint of a river dug by nature for the use of the inhabitants who live upon the banks is contrary to natural right, against which no prescription ever runs. But do not the turnpikes, or fall-stops, with which these rivers are thick set, contravene also the rights of nature? The house of my neighbor intercepts the light, of which I have great occasion; have I the right for this reason to pull it down?

In one word, the mouth of the Scheldt is in the territory of the United Provinces. The republic, according to received principles, may interdict the navigation of it to foreigners, as well as to its own subjects. She excludes only the former, because she finds her advantage in it, as the English find theirs in their famous act of navigation, much more tyrannical than the subjection of the Scheldt. The Belgians will say the waters of this river wash and fertilize our country in passing through it. But have not the French still a better right to the same navigation, because this river takes its rise in France? The Swiss would have a good grace to wish to arrogate to themselves the free navigation of the whole course of the Rhone, the Po, the Danube, and the Rhine, because these rivers flow from the mountains of Helvetia. The subjection of the Scheldt was ratified in 1648 in the famous treaty of Munster or Westphalia, whereof all the powers of Europe are warranties, and which still passes for the basis of the political system of Europe and for a fundamental law of the empire. We have seen in 1778 the emperor himself obliged to renounce a succession supported upon authentic titles because the powers, warranties of the peace of Westphalia, sustained that this succession was contrary to that treaty. And yet it is wished that in full peace, without title, without pretence, the emperor should wrest from the Dutch a property the fruits of which will never indemnify them for the sacrifices they have made for this house.

They would have the emperor an ambitious prince, rolling the vastest projects in his head. But with what eye will the other powers view an usurpation which they ought to seek to prevent by all the motives of honor and of interest, even although it should be from the ambitious idea of acting their part in the affairs of Europe? How? Shall he expose himself in the present moment to spread the flames of a general war in Europe, and to lose perhaps the Low Countries, which would be from that moment surrounded by inimical powers? For what? To procure to the inhabitants of Antwerp the facility of conducting a few ships into the German ocean.

Holland is in the last degree of weakness, embarrassment, and disunion; she has fear. Oh! yes; but the King of Prussia, but the Electors of Saxony and Palatine, but the King of France would have fear also; fear would unite them, and when one has a great deal he begins to have less fear.

That which would make of Antwerp a new Sidon or a new Carthage, which would render this city the rival of Bordeaux, of Rouen, of Amsterdam, and of London, would be infinitely prejudicial to the French and the Russians. Either this business would be a part detached from that of the ports of the channel and of the Baltic Sea—and in that case France and Russia would not consent to build up a place of commerce which would flourish at their expense; they would oppose the opening of a port which would draw away the inhabitants from those which they are laboring to make flourish—or it would be composed of branches torn from that which is done at the Texel, upon the Muse, and the Thames, and in that case they will refuse their consent to this transplantation. If it is necessary that the commerce of the Dutch and the English should fall, Russia and France will choose to take advantage of its decay to transport it into their harbors.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

JOHN ADAMS.

Franklin to J. Adams.*

PASSY, *June* 11, 1781.

SIR: Mr. Grand has communicated to me a letter from your excellency to him relating to certain charges in your account, on which you seem to desire to have my opinion. As we are all new in these mat-

*MSS. Dep. of State; 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 158; 9 Sparks' Franklin, 44; 7 Bigelow's Franklin, 254.

ters, I consulted, when I was making up my account, one of the oldest foreign ministers here as to the custom in such cases. He informed me that it was not perfectly uniform with the ministers of all courts, but that in general, where a salary was given for service and expenses, the expenses understood were merely those necessary to the man, such as house-keeping, clothing, and coach, but that the rent of the hotel in which he dwelt, the payment of couriers, the postage of letters, the salary of clerks, the stationery for his bureau, with the feasts and illuminations made on public occasions, were esteemed the expenses of the prince or state that appointed him, being for the service or honor of his prince or nation; and either entirely or in great part expenses that as a private man he would have been under no necessity of incurring. These therefore were to be charged in his accounts. He remarked it was true that the minister's house-keeping, as well as his house, was usually and in some sort necessarily more expensive than those of a private person, but this he said was considered in his salary, to avoid trouble in accounts; but that where the prince or state has not purchased or built a house for their minister, which was sometimes the case, they always paid his house rent.

I have stated my own accounts according to this information, and I mention them, that if they seem to you reasonable we may be uniform in our charges, by your charging in the same manner; or if objections to any of them occur to you, that you would communicate them to me for the same reason.

Thus you see my opinion that the articles you mention of courtage, commission, and port de lettres are expenses that ought to be borne, not by you, but by the United States. Yet it seems to me more proper that you should pay them, and charge them with the other articles above mentioned, than that they should be paid by me, who, not knowing the circumstances, cannot judge (as you can) of the truth or justice of such an account when presented, and who besides have no orders to pay more on your account than your net salary.

With regard to that salary, though your receipts to Fitzeaux and Grand, shown to me, might be quite sufficient to prove they had paid you the sum therein mentioned, yet as there are vouchers for them, and which they have a right to retain, I imagine it will be clearest if you draw upon me agreeably to the order of Congress, and if this is quarterly, it will be the most convenient to me.

With great respect, I have the honor, &c.,

B. FRANKLIN.

Franklin to the President of Congress.*

PASSY, *June* 11, 1781.

SIR: I have lately done myself the honor of writing largely to your excellency by divers conveyances, to which I beg leave to refer. This is chiefly to cover the copy of a letter I have just received from the minister relative to the disposition of the late loans; by which will be seen the situation I am in with respect to my acceptances of the quantities of bills drawn by Congress on Mr. Jay, Mr. Laurens, Mr. Adams, and myself, which I entered into in the expectation both Colonel Laurens and myself entertained that a part of these loans might be applied to the payment of these bills, but which I am now told cannot be done without an express order from Congress.

I shall endeavor to change the sentiments of the court in this respect, but I am not sure of succeeding. I must therefore request that a resolution of Congress may immediately be sent, empowering me to apply as much of those loans as shall be necessary for the discharge of all such drafts of Congress, or for the repayment of such sums as I may in the mean time be obliged to borrow for the discharge of those drafts.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

B. FRANKLIN.

Franklin to Vergennes.†

PASSY, *June* 11, 1781.

SIR: I received the letter your excellency did me the honor of writing to me the 8th inst. relating to the pension of M. Toussard. I am persuaded that his not receiving the same regularly does not proceed from any change in the disposition of Congress towards that brave officer, nor from any neglect or delay in the office where such pensions are paid. But it is very possible that his friend in America whom he may have impowered to receive it has had no convenient opportunity of remitting it to him, or it may have miscarried by the way, several vessels from thence having been taken, and one lately lost, in which our consul was coming over. I will nevertheless write to the Congress concerning it, and I am confident that every regard will be paid to your excellency's interposition.

I have, etc.

---

*MSS. Dep. of State; 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 157; 9 Sparks' Franklin, 44.
†MSS. Dep. of State.

Morris' Circular Respecting the National Bank.*

PHILADELPHIA, *June* 11, 1781.

SIR: No doubt you have seen in the public papers the plan for establishing the national bank, the necessity of which everybody sees that allows himself the least time for reflection on the present state of public credit. All the public bodies in America have, more or less, lost the confidence of the world as to money matters by trying projects and applying expedients to stop a course of depreciation which original errors had fixed too deeply to admit of any radical cure.

It is in vain to think of carrying on war any longer by means of such a depreciating medium; and at the same time an efficient circulation of paper that can not depreciate is absolutely necessary to anticipate the revenues of America. A national bank is not only the most certain, but will prove the most useful and economical, mode of doing so. It is, therefore, of the utmost importance that this first essay confined as it is in point of capital, should be brought into action with the greatest expedition. I am sensible that plans of public utility, however promising and pleasing they may be on their first appearance, soon grow languid, unless it be the particular business of some man or set of men to urge them forward. This may be said to be my duty in the present instance; but as I can not be everywhere, I must apply for support to gentlemen of your character and zeal for the service of their country, requesting in the most earnest manner that you will urge your friends and fellow-citizens to become proprietors of this bank stock.

Every subscriber will find his own interest benefited in proportion to the capital he deposits, and I dare say few will find the other parts of their fortunes to yield them so large or so certain an income as the stock they may have in the bank; and at the same time they will have the satisfaction to be considered forever as the promoters of an institution that has been found beneficial to other countries, and inevitably must be so in the highest degree to this; an institution that most probably will continue as long as the United States, and that will become as useful to commerce and agriculture in the days of peace as it must be to government during the war.

The capital proposed is but small when the extent and riches of the United States are considered; but when put in motion the benefits flowing from it will be so perceptible that all difficulty about increasing the capital or securing its credit will vanish, and we shall only have to appeal to the interest of mankind, which in most cases will do more than their patriotism; but there have been, and will continue to be, many instances where interest is sacrificed to patriotism; and in that belief I ask you to devote some of your time to this infant plan, which, as it gathers strength, may in the end prove the means of saving the liberties,

* MSS. Dep. of State; 6 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 270.

ves, and property of the virtuous part of America. My good opinion f you is an excuse for giving you this interruption.

I am, sir, yours, &c., ROBERT MORRIS.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.*

AMSTERDAM, *June* 12, 1781.

SIR: The States of Holland and West Friesland are adjourned to the 7th. In their last session they consented to the augmentation of seven- een thousand six hundred and eighty-six land forces, according to the lan which the council of state, in concert with the stadtholder, had ormed on the 18th of April, and which had been carried on the 19th f the same month to the assembly of the States of the province. They ave also taken the resolution to lend to the East India Company the um of one million two hundred thousand florins, at three per cent. in- erest, to be reimbursed in thirty-three years in payments of thirty-six nousand florins. The affairs of the colony of Surinam are about to ngage the attention of government, according to a petition which the eputies of the merchants of Dort, Haerlem, Amsterdam, and Rotter- am presented on the 6th to the States of Holland and West Friesland, nd for which the merchants have demanded, in an audience which they ave had of the stadtholder, the support of his most serene highness. his petition was conceived in these terms:

ETITION FROM THE DEPUTIES OF DORT, HAERLEM, AMSTERDAM, AND ROTTERDAM TO HOLLAND AND WEST FRIESLAND.

The merchants, deputies of the cities of Dort, Haerlem, Amsterdam, and Rotterdam, present in the most respectful manner that the mortal stagnation of navigation and f commerce, which cannot preserve their well-being but by continual activity, has rced the petitioners not to disguise any longer the fatal effects, and in circumstances hen the naval force of the republic is not yet in a state to procure them a sufficient rotection, to seek for themselves a succor which, in the extreme danger in which the olonies which yet remain to the state, and even the state itself, are found at this ay, may serve apparently to advance in more than one manner the general interest f this republic; that the supplicants, both for themselves and speaking in favor and the name of several thousands of their fellow-citizens, have taken the part to pre- nt to their high mightinesses the States-General of the United Provinces the petition copy of which is here joined, and to which they respectfully refer, as follows:

PETITION.

That as your noble and grand mightinesses have always testified that the well-being f your fellow-citizens in general, and that of merchants in particular, ought to be upported in every manner, the petitioners assure themselves that the more the danger ecomes imminent, the more the zeal of your noble and grand mightinesses will ani- ate itself to prevent, under the Divine blessing, the total ruin of the essential sources f the existence of the country; so that this danger being at present so great, and be- oming from day to day more pressing, the petitioners dare to promise themselves, on

---

* MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 396.

the part of your noble and grand mightinesses, all the succor and assistance requisite, and to hope that they shall not invoke in vain their powerful support relative to the prayer before mentioned. It is for this that the petitioners address themselves to this sovereign assembly in the manner the most respectful, and in a confidence the most entire, in the inclination of your noble and grand mightinesses for the protection of the citizens of the republic, seriously praying that it may please your noble and grand mightinesses to authorise your deputies in the Assembly of the States-General to concur in directing, with all the earnestness possible, things in such a manner that there be given to the petition aforesaid a prompt and favorable answer, and that measures be taken to the end that the petitioners and those who are otherwise interested with them may enjoy without delay the effect of a definitive determination, &c.

To their high mightinesses the States-General of the United Provinces give respectfully to understand the undersigned proprietors and owners of vessels navigating to the colony of Surinam, owners of plantations situated there, merchants, and others interested in the commerce of the said colony:

That this colony, independently of the interests which the undersigned and a great number of others equally interested take in it, may be regarded as of the greatest importance for the republic itself, by reason of the very considerable revenues which for a long course of years it has procured, not only to the direction privileged by grant, but also to the republic itself, and which become every day more lucrative by the enormous expenses which the proprietors of plantations have made to cultivate new lands and to improve the culture of several territorial productions.

To this effect the petitioners refer to the estimate annexed, containing the quantity of productions which for some years have been transported from the colony into the ports of the country. That these productions, after having been transported from this country, some wrought up here and others as they were received, procure continually to the treasury of the republic very important sums, proceeding from different duties, which are directly or indirectly relative to them; that the necessity to go in search of all these productions of the colony, and that of transporting thither provisions and other effects, employs annually a large number of great ships, which are for the most part fine frigates, solidly built, the number of which amounted to more than four score, which all pay every voyage the duties of lest, which are considerable, and serve at the same time for the maintenance of a numerous body of navigators, which amount to about three thousand well experienced men; that moreover the importance of this colony does not fall short in point of utility of any other, both with relation to what has been alleged, and because in exchange for its productions we receive here the precious metals and the cash of other nations, which remain in the bosom of the United Provinces, while on the contrary it is necessary to export them to the East Indies, there to pay for territorial productions the manufactures of the Indies, and the payments which foreigners make to us to procure themselves merchandizes must equally return to the Indies for new purchases; that thus the navigation and the commerce with this colony serve not only to the amelioration of the finances of the republic and to the augmentation of the national cash, but they are still an abundant source of general prosperity for the inhabitants scattered in the seven provinces.

Many by means of the free property of their plantations draw from thence important revenues, and encouraged by success make them largely circulate, while a much larger number of our countrymen are the bearers of obligations, carrying large interests negociated upon mortgages, the preservation of which is of the greatest weight, considering that the sustenance of so many thousands of our fellow-citizens depends upon them. That, moreover, all which serves for house-keeping, all which is wanted for the culture of the land, the building and repairing of edifices, and even eatables, must be transported from hence into this colony. This commerce, therefore, can not fail to procure to a great number of manufacturers, mercers, and traders a continual outlet which even surpasses all belief, and which is by so much the more

eful, as this commerce consists for the most part in objects furnished by our terri-
ry either in raw materials or in things manufactured here. This article alone pro-
res the maintenance of an infinite number of artisans in the cities and of the
ltivators of the field, without mentioning the construction and repairs of a great
mber of vessels employed in this navigation, of their provisions, both for the voy-
e and the return, which gives a living to several thousands of men.

That thus the public prosperity and that of individuals, so intimately connected
gether, would both receive an irreparable blow if they were deprived of the
vantages which they draw from this abundant source. That this misfortune has
ready denounced itself and in the most sensible manner from the commencement of
is war, the further consequences of which are so alarming that they deserve to be
arded off or prevented by all means imaginable. That, nevertheless, the petitioners
their part can not otherwise obviate them than by putting the vessels they use
this navigation in a necessary state of defence and in equipping them sufficiently
r the war, which will render them strong enough to repel all the enemy's privateers
whatever size, and that they may be able to defend themselves even against the
nglish men-of-war, and thereby assist and relieve the military marine of the re-
blic.

But that the excessively increased prices of everything which concerns the equipment
vessels, the bounties and the pay, risen to near double, which must now be given
seamen, would render an equipment of this nature so expensive, that the charges
ould never be repaid by the freight. That, nevertheless, without an equipment of
ch vessels, we should risk too much; this consideration has even determined the
wners, whose vessels were loaded before the hostile attack of the English, to unload
em and suspend the voyages, to the great prejudice of the colony, of themselves,
d of their freighters. That, moreover, they still find great difficulties to expedite
eir ships; on the one hand, from the certainty that the passage to the colony, and
the West Indies themselves, is infested with the enemy's vessels of war and priva-
ers, who by surprise have already made themselves masters of a great number of
r merchant vessels, and have even invaded the defenceless possessions of the state,
ch as St. Eustatia, St. Martins, Essequebo, and Demerara; on the other hand, in
e uncertainty whether this excellent colony, in the neighborhood of which, as
ey have learned, the enemy's squadrons cruise without opposition, has not under-
ne the same fate; in which case their valuable vessels, with their rich cargoes,
ould fall into the power of an enemy who, from the heights of fortresses taken by
rprise, continue to display the Dutch flag, under shelter of which, and by means
a certain number of vessels of war, he seizes upon merchant ships destitute of
fence, who, confiding in the public faith, go in there without fear.

That, nevertheless, if by these considerations and others of the same nature the
vigation to this colony is longer suspended, the well-being of the republic cannot
oid the most sensible prejudice, and the colony must be considered as abandoned;
r inhabitants will see themselves even reduced to deliver themselves into the
nds of their enemies, to the ruin and total loss not only of the classes the most at
eir ease, but of all the inhabitants whatsoever of the United Provinces; so that
e ought not to delay a single moment, nor neglect any means of encouragement or
ecaution to preserve them; so much the rather, as it appears scarcely convenient
der this embarrassment to invoke the assistance of foreign nations to make the
nsportation and to go to the colony and to return; because that in that case we
ould lose this navigation, and we should lend our own hand to the entire declen-
n, not only of the aid furnished to the treasury of the republic by the activity of
is commerce and this navigation, but also to the interruption of the sales of so
ny manufacturers, mercers, and traders, and even to the entire privation of the
stenance of an immense number of workmen and artisans to whom this construc-
n of vessels and this navigation so extended, procured their daily gain, which
ey cannot forego without being reduced to the most deplorable situation. That

this repugnance to navigate on one's own account will be further followed by th desertion of a great number of sailors, who for want of finding employment here and tempted by the advantageous promises of the enemy, will go there in search o service, to the double detriment of the public interest of the republic. That th respectable fleet, composed of valuable vessels destined to this navigation, woul rot in our ports, and the officers who command them, many of whom have not bee thought unworthy to be called to the service of their country, would be obliged t abandon with their families this country, where all the other means of gaining a liveli hood failed more and more; and as they have solely applied themselves to navigation they would go in search of their subsistence into places where, by our interruption navigation makes new advances every day. That this method, indicated by neces sity, of recurring to foreign flags, by the more considerable expenses which aris from it, would so absorb the revenues, that not only no planter would be able, wit the little which should remain to him, to support his plantation, but, moreover, ther would remain no well-grounded hope for the great number of bearers of obligation to flatter themselves with obtaining any payment, still less the entire payment, o the interests promised them; since without having yet supported these additiona expenses, and notwithstanding the excessive prices at which the productions hav been sold, they have seen themselves forced to diminish considerably the interests and in some cases to suspend even the entire payment; without mentioning so man other political considerations relative to this object, which cannot escape the pene trating eye of the sovereign, so that without hope of a full protection, this singl means of obtaining something, in ever so small a degree, is even considered as ver precarious, and as augmenting more and more an inaction so fatal to a countr which, under the Divine blessing, owes its prosperity so envied to its application its valor, and the fortitude of its inhabitants. Time may pass away (and certainl the moments are too precious) before they may dare to flatter themselves with protection so efficacious as the danger of the crews, the valuable cargoes, and th pressing necessity of the colony require.

That to this effect the petitioners take the liberty to solicit your high mightinesse with profound respect, in case it is impossible to grant immediately a sufficient escor to go to the colony and return, that in that case, as upon other occasions, it has bee graciously granted by your high mightinesses for the support of trade the equipmen of vessels, societies, &c., to be so good, also, as to grant generously in favor of th equipments to make for this colony Berbicia and the interesting establishment o Curaçao an encouragement equivalent to the design of the considerable disburse ments which they will be obliged to make to put their vessels in a certain state o defence; and, moreover, for better order and direction, to cause to be escorted thei ships sailing in company by as many vessels of war as it will be possible to spare fo this expedition. In fine, that under the good pleasure of your high mightinesses and that these ships well armed may also serve to molest as much as possible th enemy, there may be granted them letters of marque and reprisals, under the cus tomary condition, to the end that they make use of them upon occasion by the brav officers which the subscribers dare boast that they will employ in their ships.

This petition has been referred to the respective deputies of the col leges of the admiralty, to make report on it as soon as possible. The deputies of the merchants having beforehand solicited, in the mos pressing manner, the prince stadtholder to support with his powerfu recommendation an affair of so great importance.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

JOHN ADAMS.

. Franklin to Durival.*

PASSY, *June* 12, 1781.

IR: I received the letter you did me the honor of writing to me the instant, and am perfectly of the same sentiments with you respect- the exactitude and clearness necessary to be preserved in all money isactions, in order to prevent confusion and misunderstanding when come to be examined by those who may succeed us. Hitherto re seems to have been no regular method adopted for our proceed- s. We at first gave, as you observe, simple receipts to M. de Har- y. Nothing more was then required of us. Our banker has some- es given his receipts. Afterwards his receipts have been changed others given by myself with my colleagues, or by me alone. Those in have been afterwards brought back to me to be exchanged for ers of a proposed new form; and the last form has a blank, in which be inserted the name of some person, we know not who, to whom money is payable. From the want of explicitness in our past pro- lings, tho' but of a few years' date, there has already arisen a d deal of misunderstanding and dispute between Mr. Deane and Lee relating to the aids received thro' the hands of M. de Beau- chais, and misunderstandings may hereafter arise between this rt and the Congress relating to the subsequent aids, if the inten- s and engagements of the parties are not clearly expressed and ascer- ed. To prevent this I shall very cheerfully enter with you into any hod that may be effectual to clear and ascertain what is past, and be per to render all our future transactions in money affairs perspicu- and indisputable.

or this purpose it may be well to review them from the beginning. 776, being then in Congress, I received a letter from Mr. Lee, ac- inting me that Mr. Beaumarchais had applied to him in London, rming him that 200,000 guineas had been put into his hands and at the disposition of the Congress; Mr. Lee added that it was eed between them that he, Mr. Beaumarchais, should remit the same rms, ammunition, &c., under the name of Hortalez & Co. Several goes were accordingly sent. Mr. Lee understood this to be a private from the Government of France, but Mr. Beaumarchais has since anded from the Congress payment of a gross sum as due to him, and received a considerable part, but has rendered no particular account. ave by order of Congress desired him to produce his account, that might know exactly what we owed and for what, and he has several es promised it but has not yet done it, and in his conversations ften mentions, as I am told, that we are greatly in his debt. These ounts in the air are unpleasant, and one is neither safe nor easy un- them. I wish, therefore, you could help me to obtain a settlement hem. It has been said that Mr. Deane, unknown to his colleagues,

* Franklin MSS., Dep. of State.

wrote to Congress in favour of Mr. Beaumarchais' demand, on whi Mr. Lee accuses him of having to the prejudice of his constituents neg tiated a gift into a debt. At present all that transaction is in darknes and we know not whether the whole, or a part, or no part of the su plies he furnished were at the expence of government, the reports have had being so inconsistent and contradictory; nor, if we are in de for them or any part of them, whether it is the king or M. de Bea marchais that is our creditor. We once understood that the wh was a gift, and wrote so to Congress, as you will see by the extract send you of our letter. Perhaps we were misinformed, and we wish be set right.

The first two millions granted to the Congress by his majesty also understood to be a gift, as you will see by the extract of anoth letter, written by us immediately after the transaction. As from t circumstances of the times nothing of this kind was mentioned in a writing from the ministry to us, and perhaps no minute was kept them of the intention of the grant, it has possibly slipt out of memor and thence may arise the present idea of the imperfection of those fi receipts, and the propriety of changing them for others promising reimbursement. This, however, will occasion no dispute; for if t Congress are authentically informed that we mistook the king's inte tion in that grant, and that it was really a loan and not a gift, I a persuaded they will cheerfully agree to reimburse it as soon as they a able. The information necessary for Congress will, I imagine, be be given in an official memoir or account, stating from the beginning t several aids furnished to the United States for which reimburseme was expected—those by Mr. Beaumarchais if the government was co cerned in them, those by the minister of foreign affairs, by the mini ter of war, by the minister of the marine, or any others authorized government. This account being presented to Congress and agre to by them will constitute the debt clearly; and without this or so equivalent proceeding to authorise me I do not at present see how can take upon me to alter the nature of the receipts that were given my colleagues jointly with me; for that would subject me to the sa censure from my enemies as Mr. Deane has experienced.

With great esteem, I have the honor to be, sir.

Congress to the King of France.*

JUNE 13, 1781.

The United States in Congress assembled to their great, faithful, and belov friend and ally, Louis the Sixteenth, King of France and Navarre.

GREAT, FAITHFUL, AND BELOVED FRIEND AND ALLY: We ha received your majesty's letter of the 10th of March. The measur adopted by your majesty in consequence of the representation made

* 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 734.

ituation of our finances, the repeated testimonies of your majesty's
erable determination to render the cause of the United States
phant, and also the affection which your majesty has been pleased
press for the United States in general and for each State in par-
ar, demand from us the strongest sentiments of gratitude.
e important communications made by your majesty's plenipoten-
have been considered by us with the greatest attention. The
t of our deliberations will be made known to your majesty by our
ster plenipotentiary at your court, and will evince the entire con-
ce we have in your majesty's friendship and perseverance in the
iples which have directed your conduct in maintaining the interest
e United States to this time.
e pray God that he will keep your majesty, our great, faithful, and
ed friend and ally, in His holy protection.
ne at Philadelphia the 13th day of June, in the year of our Lord
and in the fifth year of our Independence.
the United States in Congress assembled.
Your faithful friends and allies,

SAMUEL HUNTINGTON,
President,
CHARLES THOMPSON,
Secretary.

Washington to Luzerne.*

HEADQUARTERS, NEW WINDSOR,
June 13, 1781.

R: His excellency the Count de Rochambeau having requested me
rward the despatches herewith transmitted by the safest possible
eyance, I now do myself the honor to send them by a gentleman
e quartermaster-general's department.
ving been made acquainted by the Count de Rochambeau with the
ns of the Count de Grasse to come to this coast with his fleet, I
ot forbear expressing to your excellency my ardent wishes that a
of land forces might also attend this naval armament, as I am
ehensive such a decided superiority of men may not be drawn
her by us by the time the Count de Grasse will be here as to insure
uccess against the enemy's most important posts, as his continu-
in these seas may be limited to a short period, and as the addition
respectable corps of troops from the West Indies would, in all
n probability, terminate the matter very soon in our favor. If
should likewise be your sentiments, and if this plan should not
ere with the intentions and interests of his most Christian majesty
here, I entreat your excellency, by the first good conveyance, to
sent the propriety and necessity of the measure to the commanders
West Indies, that by one great decisive stroke the enemy may

* 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 737.

be expelled from the continent and the independence of America est lished at the approaching negociation.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

GEORGE WASHINGTON

Huntington, President of Congress—Commission to Accept the Mediat of the Empress of Russia and the Emperor of Germany.*

JUNE 15, 1781

The United States of America to all to whom these presents shall co send greeting:

Whereas his most Christian majesty, our great and beloved frie and ally, has informed us by his minister plenipotentiary, whom has appointed to reside near us, that their Imperial majesties Empress of Russia and the Emperor of Germany, actuated by se ments of humanity and a desire to put a stop to the calamities of w have offered their mediation to the belligerent powers, in order to p mote peace: Now know ye that we, desirous as far as depends upon to put a stop to the effusion of blood, and convince all the powers Europe that we wish for nothing more ardently than to terminate t war by a safe and honorable peace, relying on the justice of our cau and persuaded of the wisdom and equity of their Imperial majesti who have so generously interposed their good offices for promoting salutary a measure, have appointed and constituted, and by th presents do constitute and appoint, our trusty and well beloved Jo Adams, late delegate in Congress from the State of Massachusetts; a Benjamin Franklin, our minister at the court of France; John Jay, l President of Congress, and now our minister at the court of Madr Henry Laurens, formerly President of Congress, and commissioned a sent as our agent to the United Provinces of the Netherlands; a Thomas Jefferson, governor of the Commonwealth of Virginia, ministers plenipotentiary, giving and granting to them, or such of th as shall assemble, or in case of death, absence, indisposition, or oth impediment of the others, to any one of them, full power and author in our name and on our behalf, in concurrence with his most Christ majesty, to accept in due form the mediation of their Imperial majest the Empress of Russia and the Emperor of Germany.

In testimony whereof we have caused these presents to be signed our President and sealed with his seal.

Done at Philadelphia this fifteenth day of June, in the year of Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-one, and in the fifth y of our Independence.

By the United States in Congress assembled.

SAMUEL HUNTINGTON,
President.

---

* MSS. Dep. of State; 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 441. See 2 secret journals C gress, 446.

Commission to Treat of Peace.*

JUNE 15, 1781.

The United States of America in Congress assembled to all to whom these presents shall come, send greeting:

Whereas these United States, from a sincere desire of putting an end o the hostilities between his most Christian majesty and these United tates on the one part, and his Britannic majesty on the other, and of erminating the same by a peace founded on such solid and equitable rinciples as reasonably to promise a permanency of the blessings of anquillity, did heretofore appoint the honorable John Adams, late a ommissioner of the United States of America at the court at Verailles, late delegate in Congress from the State of Massachusetts, and hief justice of the said State, their minister plenipotentiary, with ll powers, general and special, to act in that quality, to confer, treat, gree, and conclude with the ambassadors or plenipotentiaries of his ost Christian majesty and of his Britannic majesty, and those of any ther princes or states whom it might concern, relating to the re-establshment of peace and friendship; and whereas the flames of war have nce that time been extended, and other nations and states are inolved therein:

Now know ye that we, still continuing earnestly desirous, as far as depends upon us, to put a stop to the effusion of blood, and to conince the powers of Europe that we wish for nothing more ardently han to terminate the war by a safe and honorable peace, have thought roper to renew the powers formerly given to the said John Adams, nd to join four other persons in commission with him; and having full onfidence in the integrity, prudence, and ability of the honorable enjamin Franklin, our minister plenipotentiary at the court of Verailles, and the honorable John Jay, late President of Congress, and hief justice of the State of New York, and our minister plenipotenary at the court of Madrid, and the honorable Henry Laurens, forerly President of Congress, and commissioned and sent as our agent o the United Provinces of the Low Countries, and the honorable homas Jefferson, governor of the Commonwealth of Virginia, have ominated, constituted, and appointed, and by these presents do nomiate, constitute, and appoint, the said Benjamin Franklin, John Jay, Henry Laurens, and Thomas Jefferson, in addition to the said John dams, giving and granting to them, the said John Adams, Benjamin ranklin, John Jay, Henry Laurens, and Thomas Jefferson, or the ajority of them, or of such of them as may assemble, or, in the case f the death, absence, indisposition, or other impediment of the others, o any one of them, full power and authority, general and special, conunctly and separately, and general and special command to repair to uch place as may be fixed upon for opening negociations for peace,

* MSS. Dep. of State; 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 439.

and there for us, and in our name, to confer, treat, agree, and conclude with the ambassadors, commissioners, and plenipotentiaries of the princes and states whom it may concern, vested with equal powers relating to the establishment of peace, and whatsoever shall be agreed and concluded for us, and in our name to sign, and thereupon make a treaty or treaties, and to transact everything that may be necessary for completing, securing, and strengthening the great work of pacification in as ample form and with the same effect as if we were personally present and acted therein, hereby promising in good faith that we will accept, ratify, fulfil, and execute whatever shall be agreed, concluded, and signed by our said ministers plenipotentiary, or a majority of them, or of such of them as may assemble, or, in case of the death, absence, indisposition, or other impediment of the others, by any one of them; and that we will never act, nor suffer any person to act, contrary to the same, in whole or in part.

In witness whereof we have caused these presents to be signed by our President and sealed with his seal.

Done at Philadelphia the fifteenth day of June, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-one, and in the fifth year of our Independence, by the United States in Congress assembled.

SAMUEL HUNTINGTON,
President.

Huntington, President of Congress—Instructions to the Commissioners for Peace.*

IN CONGRESS, *June* 15, 1781.

To the Hon. John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, John Jay, Henry Laurens, and Thomas Jefferson, ministers plenipotentiary in behalf of the United States to negotiate a treaty of peace:

GENTLEMEN: You are hereby authorized and instructed to concur, in behalf of these United States, with his most Christian majesty in accepting the mediation proposed by the Empress of Russia and the Emperor of Germany.

You are to accede to no treaty of peace which shall not be such as may, 1st, effectually secure the independence and sovereignty of the thirteen United States, according to the form and effect of the treaties subsisting between the said United States and his most Christian majesty; and, 2dly, in which the said treaties shall not be left in their full force and validity.

As to disputed boundaries and other particulars, we refer you to the instructions given to Mr. John Adams, dated 14th of August, 1779, and 18th of October, 1780, from which you will easily perceive the desires and expectations of Congress. But we think it unsafe, at this

* MSS. Dep. of State; 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 442.

stance, to tie you up by absolute and peremptory directions upon y other subject than the two essential articles above mentioned. ou are, therefore, at liberty to secure the interest of the United ates in such a manner as circumstances may direct, and as the ate of the belligerent and the disposition of the mediating powers ay require. For this purpose you are to make the most candid and nfidential communications upon all subjects to the ministers of our enerous ally, the King of France; to undertake nothing in the nego- ations for peace or truce without their knowledge and concurrence; nd ultimately to govern yourselves by their advice and opinion, ndeavoring in your whole conduct to make them sensible how much e rely upon his majesty's influence for effectual aid in everything that ay be necessary to the peace, security, and future prosperity of the nited States of America.

If a difficulty should arise in the course of the negociations for peace om the backwardness of Great Britain to acknowledge our independ- nce, you are at liberty to agree to a truce, or to make such other ncessions as may not affect the substance of what we contend for, nd provided that Great Britain be not left in possession of any part the United States.

SAMUEL HUNTINGTON,
*President.**

Morris to Washington.†

PHILADELPHIA, *June* 15, 1781.

DEAR SIR: I have been honored with your very kind and obliging tter of the 4th instant, and would sooner have replied, but I am kept ere in a kind of suspense by the very slow manner of proceeding in e assembly of this State.

I am financier-elect, but that is all; for had I taken the oath and my mmission my seat in the assembly must have been vacated, and I ink it of the utmost consequence to preserve my right of appearing ere until the tender and penal laws are totally repealed, for I consider ose laws as destructive of all credit, even amongst the private people dealings with one another, but to the public officers, after the expe- ence we have had, it is evident that the existence of such laws any nger must totally preclude them from every possibility of credit, and our circumstances the war can not be carried on without it.

I have already made such an impression on this subject that I feel etty sure those laws will be repealed in this State within these few ys, and I expect that the other legislatures will readily follow the ex- mple. I am also pressing our assembly to levy effective taxes in hard

---

* See resolutions of Congress, June 6–9, 1781. As to truce, see Franklin to Hart- , May 4, 1779; and see Introduction, §§ 53, 86.

† N. Y. Hist. Soc. (1878), 461.

money. There are stronger objections made to this than the other measure, and they are more pertinaciously insisted, but still they will either wholly or partially come into this also, and if once the ice is broken they will see such advantages flowing from those foundations as will readily induce them to follow up the plans that evidently prove in the operation how beneficial they are to the country. Insuperable obstacles have hitherto prevented me from bending my course towards your camp, and it seems yet uncertain when it may be in my power, for altho' I stipulated with Congress that they should not rest any part of the present campaign on me, yet they can not refrain, and already much of my time and attention are engaged in that way. Not having taken my commission prevents me from calling on the several departments for such returns as I should choose to have with me when I wait on your excellency, for my objects are to reduce our public expenditures as nearly as possible to what they ought to be, and to obtain revenues in our own country to meet those expenses as nearly as can be, and then to shew foreign nations engaged in the war that we must look to them for the balance, and I am very confident that when they shall see exertion on one hand and economy on the other they will be willing to assist us all they consistently can. The promise you so cheerfully made of granting all the support in your power increases my own confidence, and I will before long engage in the duties of my department with all the energy I am master of—that is, provided these tender and penal laws are done away.

I have the pleasure to hear that Mr. Lowry has sent 1,000 bbls. of flour to camp; from General Schuyler I have not yet heard.

I have the honor to be, your excellency's most devoted humble servant,

ROBT. MORRIS.

P. S.—I hope Mrs. Washington is perfectly recovered, and beg my best wishes and compliments. Mrs. Morris is at Trenton.

Lovell to Carmichael.*

PHILADELPHIA, *June* 15, 1781.

SIR: Your several letters have been read in Congress, and your industrious care to give frequent, early, and general information of those things in Europe which may have influence upon our national affairs has been not only highly pleasing in itself, but has acquired value lately from the loss of all packets from Mr. Adams since his date of October 24th.

I am, sir, your friend and humble servant,

JAMES LOVELL.

---

* MSS. Dep. of State; 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 55.

Lovell to Jay.*

PHILADELPHIA, *June* 15, 1781.

SIR: On the 4th I transmitted to you a resolve of May 24th respecting an interest of Messrs. Dumain and Lyon, with their petition annexed. You will herewith receive other copies of those papers by opportunities, which the party concerned will industriously find. I recommend the business afresh to your attention, those worthy men having already met with vexatious delays on this side of the water.

With much esteem, I am, sir, your friend,

JAMES LOVELL.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.†

AMSTERDAM, *June* 15, 1781.

SIR: The long-expected courier has at last arrived at The Hague from Petersburgh. The contents of his despatches are not public, but all hopes of assistance from the armed neutrality seem to be dissipated. The question now is, what is to be done next? Some are for alliances with the house of Bourbon and America, but a thousand fears arise. France, the emperor, and the republic have provinces so intermixed together in Brabant and Flanders, that it is supposed the emperor would be much alarmed at an alliance between France and Holland, lest they should soon agree to divide his provinces between them. The people in these provinces would, it is supposed, have no objection. They all speak the French language, are of the same religion, and the policy of France in governing conquered provinces according to their ancient usages and with great moderation has taken away all aversion to a change of masters.

Some people think that an alliance between France and Holland would occasion a general war. This I think would be a benefit to America, although philanthropy would wish to prevent the further effusion of human blood.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

JOHN ADAMS.

Report of a Conference with Luzerne, the French Minister.‡

IN CONGRESS, *June* 18, 1781.

The committee appointed to confer with the minister plenipotentiary of France report—

That on the second conference with the minister of France he com-

---

* MSS. Dep. of State; 4 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 306.

† MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 403, with verbal changes; 7 John Adams' Works, 427.

‡ MSS. Dep. of State; 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 737.

municated some parts of a despatch dated the 7th of August, 1780, the first part relating to losses suffered by French merchants, either trading with private houses in America, or engaged in transactions of commerce for Congress or the several States. He informed the committee that several papers which should have accompanied this despatch were not come to hand, so that he could not state what kind of compensation the merchants might expect. The minister, however, mentioned in the conference that, without waiting the arrival of those papers, which may have been lost, or may be delayed for a long time, some recommendation might be thought proper to be sent from Congress to the several States, in order to prevent forever the effect of the tender laws operating against foreign merchants; that this would be an encouragement to commerce, and remove the fears of foreign traders in their transactions with the citizens of the United States. The minister communicated that part of the Count de Vergennes' letter relating to the discussion which was between him and Mr. Adams, with respect to the depreciation of the paper money and the effect this had produced on the French trade; however, he did not enter fully into the matter, not being furnished with the proper papers.

The other objects of the communications of the minister of France were the measures taken by the court of Russia and the northern powers on account of the rights of neutrality and the conduct to be observed by the belligerent powers towards subjects of neutral powers; and he informed the committee that those northern courts had made formal declarations to the powers at war respecting the principles of neutrality, and that they had concluded a convention for the security of their navigation and of their fair trade. That this convention was particularly obnoxious to the court of London, as it was now obliged to respect neutral flags, which it had till then treated with the greatest severity, exercising against them every kind of depredation, according to its former practice. That France fully approved of that convention, the consequence of which was, that all the powers concerned, while they did justice to the principles of the king's council, considered the British more and more as the tyrants of the sea.

The king's council, therefore, thought it proper to transmit this intelligence to Congress, leaving it to their wisdom to adopt the principles of the neutral powers, laid down so long ago as the 26th of July, 1778, in an ordinance of the king, which the minister of France delivered several months ago, with other printed papers on the same subject, to the board of admiralty. The minister thought it the more important for the United States to conform their maritime laws to that system, as they would thereby conciliate to themselves the benevolence of the neutral powers. He observed that American privateers had presumed to stop neutral vessels loaded with English merchandise, which had given rise to unfavorable observations and complaints against the United States. He observed that Holland had taken a part in the

association of the northern courts; and that, therefore, she ought to be comprehended in the orders of Congress, if it should be thought proper in those orders to mention the names of particular powers. But if Congress adopted a conduct similar to that of France, they would extend their orders in favor of all neutral powers generally.

The minister then gave a short historical account of the negociations of Mr. Cumberland, observing that, the matter being now obsolete, it was sufficient to mention that this agent, having made proposals of peace to the King of Spain, the first question he was asked was, what were the intentions of the court of London respecting the United States? That he, having no instructions on this subject, or pretending to have none, had sent an express to London. That the express had not returned when this letter was written.

The minister informed the committee that the court of Versailles had neglected nothing to procure arms, ammunition, and clothing for Congress. That the good intentions of the court had not been well seconded by the American agents; that it was their fault if these articles had not been forwarded in time; that the ministers did not intend to accuse any one in particular, but were of opinion that Congress should inquire into the cause of the delay, in order to inflict such punishment as would prevent the like conduct in future.

The minister then communicated the substance of a despatch of the 9th of March, 1781; and, entering fully into the subject, he told us that so early as the beginning of the year 1780 he had informed Congress that a mediation might be opened in Europe. That the mediators might propose the *uti possidetis* as the basis of the negociation. That it was of the utmost importance to prevent the effect of a proposition so inconsistent with the independence of the United States. That the court of France wished to give them every assistance in their power; but he had observed, at the same time, that the political system of the kingdom being closely connected with that of other European powers, France might be involved in difficulties which would require the greatest attention and a considerable part of her resources. That he had informed Congress confidentially that the death of the sovereigns of some of the European states with whom the court of France had the most intimate connexion might oblige her to employ the greatest part of her resources to secure her against the dangers which might be occasioned by such an event. That since that communication was made to Congress both those cases had happened. That the empress queen was dead. That the court of Versailles flattered itself that this will not at this time give rise to any material change in the politics of the courts of Vienna and Berlin. That circumstances, however, are such that prudence dictates not to leave the frontier of France on Germany unprovided for defence. That the character the king bears of guarantee or protector of the liberties of the German Empire obliges him to be ready to assist effectually the members of that body whose safety may

be endangered, and of consequence occasions extraordinary expenses. That France is at the same time obliged to spare the land forces of the kingdom, and at the present crisis not to keep them at too great a distance. That this, however, is only a point of caution and prudence. That the court of France still hopes the issue will be peaceable and agreeable to her wishes, but has thought it proper to inform Congress of it.

That matters are different with respect to the Dutch. That they are now in a state of war with the English; but there is among them a party in favor of England; and, notwithstanding the accession of the two opposing provinces to the resolution of the States for making reprisals, a mediation has been entered into between London and The Hague, and the Empress of Russia acts as mediatrix. That it is evident the court of London, by opening this negociation, designs to draw the seven provinces to her side, and even goes so far as to expect that she may employ the resources of the Dutch against France either directly or indirectly. That the disposition of that republic is still such as friends would wish. But the strongest argument which the British party make use of to separate the seven provinces from France is that they are destitute of a naval force; that their seamen are captured by the British; that all their riches will likewise fall a sacrifice; and that their settlements in the East and West Indies are in the greatest danger. That under these circumstances it was become necessary for France to afford immediate protection to the Dutch in Europe, and to make without delay a diversion which may possibly save their East India possessions. That these measures had rendered it actually impossible to send to the United States the reinforcement which was announced.

The minister of France thinks that this confidential and friendly explanation of the situation of France will convince Congress that the king could not pursue a different line of conduct, and that the consequences of the measures he has taken must at last turn to their advantage. That, however, Count de Rochambeau and M. Barras will receive some reinforcements, and will inform the Chevalier de la Luzerne how considerable they are.

The minister told the committee that the friendship and benevolence of the king for the thirteen United States had engaged him to trust Congress with these details, observing at the same time that it would be proper to keep them secret.

In giving an account of the subsidy granted by the King of France, the minister concluded by observing that the Count de Vergennes writes that what remains of the six millions, after purchasing the supplies of arms and ammunition, would be at the disposal of Congress; or, if they should so direct, at the disposal of the commander-in-chief, or of their financier, if there should be one; and that the resolution Congress took on this subject should be made known to the ministry, that funds may be provided accordingly. In the course of the conference the chevalier mentioned the sums that had been procured for these

tates since the beginning of the year 1780. That in that year the ount de Vergennes had, on his own credit, procured for Dr. Franklin ree millions of livres. That in December Dr. Franklin wanted one illion more to honor the bills drawn by Congress, and that he re- ived the fourth million. That in the course of the present year the unt has procured for him on loan four millions of livres, which make ght millions borrowed on the guarantee of France since the afore- entioned period. And now the king makes a gratuitous donation of e subsidy of six millions, which, in the whole, make up the sum of urteen millions since the commencement of the year 1780.

The President of Congress to Franklin.*

IN CONGRESS, *June* 19, 1781.

SIR: Congress have received your letter of the 12th of March last, ith the papers enclosed. The prospect of conferences being soon ened in Europe, under the mediation of the imperial courts of Peters- rgh and Vienna, for accommodating the disputes between the bel- gerent powers, which must necessarily involve the essential interests these United States, has determined us to increase the number of r ministers for negociating a peace with Great Britain. We have, erefore, added yourself, Messrs. Jay, H. Laurens, and Thomas Jeffer- n to Mr. Adams, to repair to such place as shall be fixed on for trans- ting this important business.

A compliance with your request to retire from public employment ould be inconvenient at this particular juncture, as it is the desire of ongress to avail themselves of your abilities and experience at the proaching negociation. Should you find repose necessary after ren- ring the United States this further service, Congress, in consideration your age and bodily infirmities, will be disposed to gratify your clination.

You will present the letter to his most Christian majesty, and commu- cate to him the instructions to our ministers for negociating a peace, tended with such a memorial as your prudence shall suggest and the portance of the subject requires.

With great esteem, I am, &c.,

SAMUEL HUNTINGTON,
President of Congress.

Franklin to Conyngham.†

PASSY, *June* 20, 1781.

SIR: I received with great pleasure the news of your being safely rived at Dunkirk. Mrs. Conyngham is not yet come up to Paris. I

* MSS. Dep. of State; 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 159.
† MSS. Dep. of State.

believe she has continued at L'Orient ever since her arrival. I shall write to her to-day to acquaint her with your escape.

Now you are at Dunkirk, I wish you would settle the demand of a number of men who went out with you from thence and were taken in a prize and carried into England. They have long worried me to be their advance money and wages and prize money, in which I could do nothing, having no informations of what might be due to them. The minister here has applied to me in their behalf; and I know not what answer to make him till I hear from you.

I am, etc.

I enclose one of the memories.

Huntington, President of Congress, to J. Adams.*

PHILADELPHIA, *June* 20, 1781.

SIR: You will receive enclosed a letter addressed to his most Christian majesty, with a copy of the same for your information.

Also a commission constituting the four gentlemen therein named, in addition to yourself, our ministers for negotiating peace. Also another commission and duplicate, authorizing them to accept of the mediation of the Emperor of Germany and Empress of Russia, in one of which you will observe the emperor is first named, and in the other the empress. These are to be made use of as circumstances shall render expedient.†

I have also enclosed instructions (in cipher) for your government, in addition to those formerly given you for negotiating peace with Great Britain.

You will immediately communicate the receipt of these despatches to Dr. Franklin and Mr. Jay, to whom duplicates are also forwarded with similar directions.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

SAMUEL HUNTINGTON,
President.

P. S.—Since writing the foregoing, for want of another conveyance I have determined to send this by the same conveyance that carries the duplicates to Dr. Franklin. I have, therefore, taken out the letter to the King of France and copy mentioned in the foregoing.

S. H.

* 7 J. Adams' Works, 456.

† These papers are all found in the secret journals of Congress, vol. 2, pp. 434–449.

Morris to the President of Congress.*

PHILADELPHIA, *June* 21, 1781.

SIR: I find that the non-payment of the moneys due to the subscribers to the Pennsylvania Bank materially injures and impedes the subscription to the National Bank. At the same time, I am informed that Congress are unwilling to dispose of the bills lodged as a security, lest the minister of the United States at Madrid should be incommoded by it. I have the honor to observe to your excellency that if these bills shall be submitted to my disposal, I think I can pay the debts above mentioned, and cause the greater part of the money to be subscribed to the National Bank, thereby rescuing in some measure the public credit and forwarding the service, while, at the same time, I shall put the bills in such a train of negociation that at least a very considerable time must elapse before they can be presented, and probably they may not be presented at all.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

ROBERT MORRIS.†

J. Adams to the President of Congress.‡

AMSTERDAM, *June* 23, 1781.

SIR: The answer from Petersburgh, as it is given to the public, is as:

Her majesty the Empress of all the Russias declares, that as much as she has been satisfied with the zeal with which their high mightinesses have accepted her mediation, so much and more had her compassionate heart been affected with the difficulties formed by the court of London, in referring the reconciliation with the republic to a subsequent and general negociation of peace between all the belligerent powers, under the combined mediation of her Imperial majesty and his majesty the Roman Emperor. As soon as this negociation shall take place her majesty promises beforehand to the republic all the assistance which depends upon her, to the end that the republic may without delay return into the rank of neutral powers, and thereby enjoy entirely, and without restraint, all the rights and advantages which her accession to the engagements between her Imperial majesty and the kings her high allies might to assure to her.

In this expectation the intention of her Imperial majesty is, conjointly with their majesties, to persuade that court to that moderation and those pacific sentiments which their high mightinesses on their part have manifested. The empress flatters

---

* MSS. Dep. of State; 6 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 271.

JULY 4.

I met the directors of the Pennsylvania Bank, and a number of the subscribers to that bank called at my desire; and I proposed that they should transfer their subscriptions from the Pennsylvania to the National Bank, and deliver up to me the bills in exchange deposited by Congress with the directors as security; and I undertook to place the amount of what remained due to them from Congress in the hands of Messrs. Clymer & Nixon, in payment of such transferred subscriptions to the National Bank; which all that were present agreed to.—Diary.

‡ MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 403, with verbal changes.

herself that the times and the events which may unexpectedly happen will bring forth circumstances of such a nature as will put her in a situation to make appear in a manner the most efficacious her good will and her affection, of which she sincerely desires to be able to give proof to their high mightinesses.

This answer gives great scope to speculation and conjecture, but I shall trouble Congress with a very few remarks upon it.

(1) In the first place, and without insinuating her opinion concerning the justice or injustice of the war between Great Britain and the United Provinces, she imputes the ill-success of her mediation between them to the court of London, and not at all to the republic.

(2) She applauds the moderation and pacific sentiments of their high mightinesses, and implicitly censures the court of London for opposite dispositions.

Thus far the declaration is unfavorable to the English, and a pledge of her imperial honor at least not to take any part in their favor.

(3) It appears that the court of London has proposed a negociation for peace between all the belligerent powers under the mediation of the empress and the emperor. But as it is certain the court of London does not admit the United States of America to be one of the belligerent powers, and as no other power of Europe, except France, as yet admits it to be a power, it is very plain to me that the British ministry mean nothing but chicanery, to unman and disarm their enemies with delusive dreams of peace, or to intrigue them, or some of them, into a peace separately from America, and without deciding our question.

(4) The declaration says not that the empress has accepted this mediation, nor upon what terms she would accept it. Here we are left to conjecture. The Dutch ambassadors at St. Petersburgh wrote last winter to The Hague that the empress would not accept of this mediation with the emperor but upon two preliminary conditions, viz., That the court of London should acknowledge the independence of America, and accede to the principles of the late marine treaty concerning the rights of neutrals. To this she may have since added that Holland should previously be set at peace and become a neutral power, or she may have altered her sentiments. Here we can only conjecture.

(5) It appears that the Kings of Denmark and Sweden have joined, or are to join, the empress in a new effort with the court of London to persuade it to make peace with Holland. But how vigorous or decisive this effort is to be, or what will be their conduct if they should still be unsuccessful, is left only to conjecture.

(6) There are hints at future events and circumstances which her majesty foresees but the rest of the world do not, which may give her occasion to show her good will. Here is nothing declared, nothing promised, yet it leaves room to suppose that her majesty and her high allies may have insisted on conditions from the court of London which, accepted, may give peace to the republic, or, rejected, may oblige Russia, Sweden, and Denmark to join Holland in the war. But all this is

o faint, reserved, and mysterious, that no dependence whatever can be laced upon it. I am sorry to see the idea of a negociation for a general eace held up, because I am as well persuaded it is only an insidious anœuvre of the British ministry as I am that many powers of Europe, nd especially Holland, will be the dupe of it. I confess I should dread negociation for a general peace at this time, because I should expect ropositions for short truces, *uti possidetis*, and other conditions, which ould leave our trade more embarrassed, our union more precarious, nd our liberties at greater hazard than they can be in a continuance f the war, at the same time it would put us to as constant and almost s great an expense. Nevertheless, if proposals of peace or of conerences and negociations to that end should be proposed to me, which hey have not as yet from any quarter, it will be my duty to attend to hem with as much patience and delicacy, too, as if I believed them incere.

Americans must wean themselves from the hope of any signal assistnce from Europe. If all the negociations of Congress can keep up he reputation of the United States so far as to prevent any nation rom joining England, it will be much. But there are so many difficulties in doing this, and so many deadly blows are aimed at our repuation for honor, faith, integrity, union, fortitude, and power, even by ersons who ought to have the highest opinion of them and the tenderst regard for them, that I confess myself sometimes almost discouraged, and wish myself returning through all the dangers of the enemy o America, where I could not certainly do less, and possibly might do nore, for the public good.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

JOHN ADAMS.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.*

AMSTERDAM, *June* 23, 1781.

SIR: The deputies of the city of Zierikzee have presented to their oble mightinesses the lords the States of Zealand, on the 12th of this nonth, their advice concerning the report of the state of the 19th of April last relative to the building of vessels of war to be done by the ollege of the admiralty of this province in these words, viz.,

That the venerable regency, having seen by the memorial of the gentlemen the ommittees of the admiralty of this province annexed to the said report the serious ifficulties which appear to oppose themselves to the resolution of building a larger umber of vessels of war and frigates, has thought itself obliged to declare that it greatly afflicted at the dangerous situation in which the republic and this province re at present being involved in a ruinous war and almost entirely destitute of all onvenient means which could be employed for the safety and defence of the country;

* MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 406; 7 John Adams' Works, 427.

that this great distress might furnish to the venerable regency one of the best occasions to enlarge in reflections how by prompt directions and active foresight, in case that the re-establishment of our marine had really been taken to heart, the greatest obstacles alleged in the memorial in question might have been prevented in time; but that a repetition of what ought to have been executed in time would in no degree ameliorate the present situation of affairs; and so much the more, as it is indispensably necessary that the deliberations concerning the further building of ships should be at length terminated; the venerable regency then, for the present, would abstain from making even well-founded observations, which, nevertheless, they might allege both with regard to the contents of the memorial in question and to the means of advancing with greater vigor the construction, or to put the marine upon a more respectable footing by another way. They content themselves, then, with declaring simply that they are ready to concur in the completion of the aforesaid point of construction, either by conforming to the disposition of this report or in any other manner whatsoever that a general deliberation of all the members of the state may find the most convenient.

That, nevertheless, the venerable regency cannot abstain from remarking further here that at the beginning of this war they had always been persuaded that the other confederates, whose sentiments concerning the first causes of this war have continually influenced those of Zealand, had taken the precautions necessary to be able to oppose the enemy conveniently either by the national forces or by the efficacious assistance of their allies, but that the issue of affairs already shows visibly with how much lukewarmness and levity, notwithstanding the serious exhortations and informations repeatedly made by this province, we have conducted ourselves both with regard to the one and the other. The venerable regency now sees the republic at this moment deprived of all foreign succor, and abandoned to herself against a formidable enemy.

That as such a dangerous situation ought naturally to excite in all those who participate in the public government and really take to heart the true interests of their country a redoubled zeal to set immediately at work, and in proportion to the danger all the means of defence imaginable, and to employ them to protect, in the most effectual manner, their country, her commerce, and possessions, and to annoy the enemy, the venerable regency seeing, on the contrary, that the indolence, the inactivity, and even the continual indifference are only increasing more and more, and that public affairs are administered in a manner which cannot be reconciled with the danger to which the republic is exposed, judge in consequence that the lords the States of this province will not be able longer to see, without speaking out, a situation so perilous; but that they ought to examine seriously the true causes and reasons of all this, to the end that when we have attained the explanations which we have a right to require, we may take with the most serious zeal the resolutions proper to maintain the excellent prerogatives which we yet possess and to guard against such misfortunes.

That the venerable regency, having learnt with a great deal of satisfaction that similar observations have been made by other members of the body politic, hope that the deliberations concerning an object of this importance will be no longer delayed; but they trust that the affair, for which the advice of the gentlemen of Middleburg, carried on the 15th of May to the assembly of the States, has been sent back, will be discussed as soon as possible and without delay, the venerable regency declaring that they shall be always disposed to co-operate in taking every measure proper to obtain an end so salutary.

Thus we see that two cities of Zealand, Middleburg and Zierikzee, are co-operating with Amsterdam, Haerlem, Dort, Delft, &c., in order to arouse the republic to action. How many months or years may roll away before they succeed it is impossible for me to say, because it will

epend upon events of war, reports of peace, and the councils of other overeigns in Europe, as yet inscrutable, but it will depend upon noth-g more than the fate of Clinton and Cornwallis in America.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

JOHN ADAMS.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.*

AMSTERDAM, *June* 26, 1781.

SIR: The Rubicon is passed. A step has been taken at last by the gency of Amsterdam which must decide the fate of the republic. he city of Amsterdam, finding that their proposition of the 18th of st month was not sufficient to change the conduct of administration, ave ventured on another manœuvre. On the 8th of this month, as on as the States of Holland were separated, two burgomasters of msterdam, M. Temminck and M. Rendorp, accompanied with M. Vis-r, the pensionary of the city, demanded an audience of the prince adtholder, who granted it, at his house in the grove. In this audi-ace they made the prince, by word of mouth, a representation, which ey repeated in a memorial sent on the 14th to the counsellor pen-onary of the province, the substance of which is as follows. The gen-emen of Amsterdam said:

That their proposition of the 18th of May last, founded perhaps upon former ex-mples, did not result from any suspicions with regard to the good dispositions and tentions of his most serene highness, which they had no reason to distrust, although e regency of the city of Amsterdam had learned with the most profound grief that il-minded persons had endeavored to insinuate the contrary to his most serene ghness; but that their distrust fell solely upon him whose influence over the mind his most serene highness was held for the most immediate cause of the sloth and eakness in the administration of affairs, which, as they could not but be extremely ejudicial to the well-being of the public, they had a long time expected, but in ain; that the dangerous circumstances in which the republic found itself involved ould have, in the end, given rise to serious deliberations upon the means which we ght to employ in their order and with more vigor; but that these hopes had therto been fruitless, and that, as the question now in agitation was concerning e safety of their dear country, of her dear-bought liberty, of that of his most serene ghness and his house in one word, of everything which is dear to the inhabitants the republic, the regency of Amsterdam had judged that they ought not any nger to render themselves guilty by their silence of a neglect of their duty.

That, although with regret, they see themselves obliged to take this step, and to present to his highness, with all due respect, but at the same time with all that ankness and freedom which the importance of the affair requires, and to declare him openly that, according to the general opinion, the Field Marshal the Duke uis of Brunswick Wolfenbuttel is held for the primary cause of the miserable and fective state in which the country finds itself in regard to its defence, of all the gligence of duty which has taken place with respect to this subject, and of all the rverse measures which have been taken for a long time, with all the fatal conse-uences which have proceeded from them; and that they could assure his highness

---

* MSS. Dep. of State. 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 410.

that the hatred and aversion of the nation for the person and administration of the duke were risen to such a height, that there was reason to apprehend from them events the most melancholy and the most disagreeable for the public prosperity and the general tranquillity.

That there was no doubt that the same assertion had been made to his highness from other quarters; but that in case this had not been, it ought to be attributed solely to the fear of the effects of the resentment of the duke, while, at the same time, they dared to appeal in this respect, with the firmest confidence, to the testimony of all the members of government, gentlemen of honor and frankness, that his serene highness would interrogate upon this subject, after having assured them of the necessary liberty of speaking without reserve, and after having exhorted them to tell him the truth, according to their duty and their conscience.

That the regents of Amsterdam had learned more than once with grief that the counsellor pensionary of the province had complained, in presence of divers members of the regency of Holland, of the misunderstanding which took place between him, the counsellor pensionary, and the duke, as also of the influence which the duke has upon the spirit of his highness, and by which his efforts for the good of the country had often been rendered fruitless.

That this discord and this difference of views and sentiments between the principal counsellor of his serene highness and the first minister of this province might not only have consequences the most prejudicial, but that it furnished also a motive sufficient to make the strongest instances, to the end to remove the source of this distrust and discord, while that, without the previous re-establishment of confidence and unanimity, there remained no longer any means of saving the republic.

That nothing was more necessary for the well-being of the illustrious house of his highness to maintain his authority, to preserve to him the esteem and the attachment of the nation, and for his own reputation with the neighboring powers, since they could assure, and they ought to advertise, his highness that it is possible he may become one day the object of the indifference and distrust of the public, instead of being and continuing always the worthy object of the love and esteem of the people; and the regencies, as they made the sincerest wishes that his highness and his illustrious posterity might constantly enjoy them, considering that thereon depended, in a great measure, the conservation of the well being of their country and of the House of Orange.

That although they know very well that the members of the sovereignty have always a right, and that their duty requires them even to expose their sentiments to his highness and their co-regents, concerning the state and administration of public affairs, they should, however, have now voluntarily spared the present measure, if there had been only the smallest hope of amendment or alteration, but that from the aforesaid reasons they dared not longer flatter themselves, and that the necessity having arisen to the highest point, it appeared that there was no other part to take but to lay open in this manner to his highness the real situation of affairs, praying him most earnestly to take it into serious consideration, and no longer listen to the counsels and insinuations of a man upon whom the hatred of the great and the little was accumulated, and whom they regard as a stranger, not having a sufficient knowledge of our form of government, and not having a sincere affection for the republic.

That the regents of Amsterdam were very far from desiring to accuse this nobleman of that of which however he was too publicly charged, or to consider as well founded the suspicions of an excessive attachment to the court of London, of bad faith, and of corruption, that they assure themselves that a person of so illustrious a birth and so high rank is incapable of such baseness; but that they judge that the unfortunate ideas which have been unhappily conceived with regard to him, and which have caused a general distrust, have rendered him absolutely useless and hurtful to the service of the country and of his highness.

That thus it was convenient to dismiss him from the direction of affairs, from the

rson and court of his highness, as being a perpetual obstacle to the re-establishment that good harmony so highly necessary between his highness and the principal mbers of the state, while his continuance would but too much occasion the distrust ıceived of his counsels, to fall, whether with or without reason, upon the person d the administration of his highness himself.

That these representations did not proceed from a principle of personal hatred or vate rancor against the duke, who in former times has had reason to value himself the benevolence and real proofs of the affection of the regency of Amsterdam; t that they ought to protest before God and the world that the conservation of eir country and of the illustrious house of his highness, and the desire to prevent eir approaching ruin, had been the only motives of these representations.

That they had seen themselves obliged to them, both in quality of citizens of the ıntry and as an integral member of its sovereign assembly, to the end to make by s step one last effort, and to finish, yet perhaps in time, a means of saving, under e blessings of the Almighty, the vessel of the state from the most imminent dangers, l conduct it to a good port, or at least in every case to acquit themselves of their ty and to satisfy their consciences, and to place themselves in safety from all proach from the present age and from posterity.

To this representation the duke has made an answer to their high ghtinesses, in which he demands an inquiry and a vindication of his nor as dearer to him than his life. This answer will be transmitted soon as possible. The transaction will form a crisis, but what will the result of this or any other measure taken in this country I can t pretend to foretell.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

JOHN ADAMS.

Carmichael to Franklin.*

MADRID, *June* 26, 1781.

DEAR SIR: An express which Mr. Cabarus sends to Paris affords e an opportunity of sending you the latest Spanish gazettes and to ologize for not having yet sent the books you expressed a desire of ading. They have been long in readiness to send, but I have not t been able to find a person going directly to Paris who could con- niently charge himself with the delivery of them. They are too lky to send them by the couriers of the court, but as I am continually quest of some friendly voyager, I hope I shall not long be denied the easure of conveying them to you. I should have early written to ur excellency on the subject of the expedition of the Spaniards, which is expected will leave Cadiz some time this month, commanded by e Duke de Crillon, to whom I think I gave a letter of introduction you, but not choosing to trouble you with mere conjectures, I desired t mentioning it at all, and should not do it now if it was not to inform u that a young American in Mr. Jay's family has obtained his majesty's rmission to serve in the Duke de Crillon's family. His application serve was particularly agreeable, and he was received when many lunteers of rank who offered were refused.

*MSS. Dep. of State.

Our negotiation is in the same way as when I had last the honor to write to you. You are, I suppose, informed of the last instructions to Mr. Jay on this subject, although he has not as yet received what he thinks an authentic copy of them. This court certainly has had the perusal of the letters he received and I believe some others were stopped. A little after the vessel arrived which brought them the ministers appeared in good humor, but as yet we have received no effective proof of a change in their disposition. I once thought that this expedition was intended for our seas. But the court itself has taken pains to persuade the public it was really destined for America. It was resolved on about the time Mr. Jay received his letters. The minister at the same time appeared determined to despatch M. Gardoqui, who has now been at the court near twelve months avowedly with the intention of going to replace M. Miralles. It is certain that 8,000 men landed in September or October in S. Carolina would effectually do our business there and defeat the enemies' hopes of subjugating the southern provinces. A few weeks will discover the secret. The idea of what I mentioned above is too flattering to be true. I have heard with pain of the loss of the *Marquis de la Fayette*. It will be severely felt in America. We received no letters from that country by the last arrival at Bilboa. It is probable that Mr. Jay will be obliged to draw on you soon for the residue of the 25,000 dollars. I wrote to your grandson to know whether I might not draw immediately on you for my quarterly payment, agreeable to the advice you gave Mr. Jay, by the return of his courier in April. I beg you would signify your intentions on this subject, and accept my sincere thanks for the repeated instances I have had of your indulgence to your excellency's most obliged and most humble servt.,

W. CARMICHAEL.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.*

AMSTERDAM, *June* 26, 1781.

SIR: The emperor appears to be more intent at present upon taking a fair advantage of the present circumstances to introduce a flourishing commerce into the Austrian Flanders than upon making treaties with England or waging war in its favor. His imperial, royal, and apostolical majesty has condescended to take off and break the shackles which restrained the commerce and the communication of the port of Nieuport in the interior of the country, and to discharge, by his gracious decree, the commerce from the charges and impositions which were raised on the canals bordering upon the said port, under the denomination of Vate-Geld, Last-Geld, Myle-Geld, &c. The frequentation of the port of Nieuport presents also all the facilities which the merchants can require. Thus the city of Nieuport enjoys the most extensive privileges, both for storage and transportation, to foreigners.

*MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 408, with verbal changes.

We find there good magazines, merchants, factors, and commission-
s, who will all serve faithfully and with the greatest punctuality.
e communications, both to the interior parts of the country and to
eigners, are free and easy, both by land by means of the new cause-
y of Nieuport, which communicates with all the roads, and by water
means of the direct canals of Nieuport, to Bruges, to Ostend, to
res, to Dixmuide, to Furnes, and to Dunkirk, and from thence further
. One passes by the canal from Nieuport to Bruges nearly in the
ne space of time that we pass by the canal from Ostend to Bruges.
l these canals have daily barques ready, easy and convenient for
vellers, merchandizes, and effects. The fishery of the sea, both of
sh fish and of all sorts of herring and cod, is at Nieuport, in the most
urishing state, and enjoys there every privilege and exemption. The
tillery of gin in the Dutch way, established at Nieuport, makes ex-
lent gin, the transportation and expedition of which enjoys the great-
facili ties. And the government of his Imperial majesty in the Low
untries does not cease to grant all the privileges and facilities which
tend to the well-being of the inhabitants and of the commerce of
e city and port of Nieuport. I should rejoice at these measures for
e benefit which American commerce would receive from them, pro-
ded the emperor could oblige Americans to take their goods from
rmany and not from England; but immense quantities of British
nufactures will go to America from Nieuport, Ostend, and Bruges.
This is a subject which deserves the serious consideration of every
nerican. British manufactures are going in vast quantities to Amer-
from Holland, the Austrian Flanders, France, and Sweden, as well
by the way of New York and Charleston, &c. Whether it is possi-
e to check it, much less to put a stop to it, I know not; and whether
would be good policy to put an end to it, if that were practicable, is
de a question by many. If the Germans, the Dutch, the French,
d Spaniards, or any other nations, would learn a little commercial
licy, and give a credit to Americans, as the British merchants do,
d encourage in their own countries manufactures adapted to the
nts and tastes of our countrymen, it is certain that in such a case it
uld be our interest and duty to put an end to the trade in British
ods, because nothing would weaken and distress the enemy so much,
d therefore nothing would contribute more to bring the war to a con-
sion. At present manufactures flourish in England, and the duties
id at the custom-houses have been increasing these two or three
ars, merely owing to their recovering more and more of the Ameri-
n trade by neutral bottoms and by other clandestine channels.

Any American merchant by going over to London obtains a credit.
e language of the London merchants to the American merchants is,
Let us understand one another, and let the governments squabble."
t Americans ought to consider, if we can carry on the war forever our
ies can not, and without their assistance we should find it very diffi-
lt to do it.

I wish the taste for British manufactures may not cost us more blood than the difference between them and others is worth.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

JOHN ADAMS.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.*

AMSTERDAM, *June* 27, 1781.

SIR: Major Jackson has been some time here, in pursuance of instructions from Colonel Laurens, in order to despatch the purchase of the goods and the shipping of the goods and cash for the United States which are to go by the *South Carolina*.

But when all things appeared to be ready I received a letter from his excellency Dr. Franklin, informing me that he feared his funds would not admit of his accepting bills for more than fifteen thousand pounds sterling. The accounts of the *Indian* and the goods amounted to more than fifty thousand pounds, which showed that there had not been an understanding sufficiently precise and explicit between the doctor and the colonel. There was, however, no remedy but a journey to Passy, which Major Jackson undertook, despatched the whole business, and returned to Amsterdam in seven days, so that I hope there will now be no more delays.

Major Jackson has conducted through the whole of his residence here, as far as I have been able to observe, with great activity and accuracy in business and an exemplary zeal for the public service.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

JOHN ADAMS.

Franklin to Vergennes.†

PASSY, *June* 27, 1781.

SIR: Enclosed I send your excellency the copy of a letter I have just received from Mr. Hartley, in which he expresses a desire of making me a visit to talk about peace, if it may be done with the consent of the ministry here. I should be glad to see him as my friend and a friend to America, but unless he were authorized by his court to make propositions, which I imagine may not be the case, I do not see so clearly that good may arise from his visit, as that it may occasion much speculation, with conjectures and false reports, of which some may be attended with inconvenience. I have not as yet made him any answer, and will make him such as your excellency's prudence may advise; being with the highest esteem and respect, sir, your excellency's.

---

* MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 414.

† Franklin's MSS., Dep. of State.

Franklin to Jackson.*

PASSY, *June* 28, 1781.

SIR: Since my acceptance of your bills I have applied to the min-
try for more money to discharge the other engagements I entered into
r payment of the Congress bills drawn on Holland and Spain. I find
much difficulty, and even impossibility, of obtaining it at this time
at I am under the absolute necessity of stopping the cash that is in
olland or of ruining all the credit of the States in Europe, and even
America, by stopping payment.

This is, therefore, to order that in case the said cash has been de-
ered to you by Messrs. Fizeaux and Grand you would immediately
turn it into their hands, to remain there at my disposal. I am sorry
at this operation is necessary, but it must be done or the conse-
ences will be terrible.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

B. FRANKLIN.

Instructions to Peace Commissioners.†

JUNE 29, 1781.

A motion being made by Mr. Madison, seconded by Mr. M. Smith,
the words following:

"Additional instructions to the minister plenipotentiary for negotiat-
g a treaty of commerce with Great Britain:

"That the minister plenipotentiary for negotiating a treaty of com-
erce with Great Britain be instructed to enter into no such treaty
nless, in addition to the stipulations relative to the fisheries required
y Congress in their instructions to the said minister of the 13 Au-
ust, 1779, all the objects included in their ultimatum relative to a
eaty of peace as the same stood prior to their instructions on that
ubject of the 15 day of June instant be in such treaty of commerce
xplicitly acknowledged and stipulated to the United States."

On the question to agree to this, the yeas and nays being required
y Mr. M. Smith,

New Hampshire	Mr. Sullivan	No.	No.
	Mr. Livermore	No.	
Massachusetts	Mr. Lovell	No.	No.
	Mr. Partridge	No.	
	Mr. Osgood	No.	
Rhode Island	Mr. Varnum	Aye.	Aye.

* MSS. Dep. of State; 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 160; 9 Sparks' Franklin, 47; 7 Bige-
w's Franklin, 257.

† MSS. secret journals, Dep. of State; printed secret journals, with variations and
issions.

Connecticut	Mr. Huntington	Aye.
	Mr. Ellsworth	No.
	Mr. Sherman	Aye.
		Aye.
New Jersey	Mr. Witherspoon	No.
	Mr. Houston	Aye.
		0.
Pennsylvania	Mr. Montgomery	No.
	Mr. Clymer	No.
	Mr. T. Smith	Aye.
		No.
Maryland	Mr. Jenifer	No.
	Mr. Carroll	No.
	Mr. Potts	No.
		No.
Virginia	Mr. Jones	Aye.
	Mr. Madison	Aye.
	Mr. Bland	No.
	Mr. M. Smith	Aye.
		Aye.
North Carolina	Mr. Sharpe	Aye.
	Mr. Johnston	Aye.
		Aye.
South Carolina	Mr. Mathews	No.
	Mr. Bee	No.
	Mr. Motte	No.
	Mr. Eveleigh	No.
		No.
Georgia	Mr. Walton	No.
	Mr. Few	No.
		No.

So it passed in the negative.

Jackson to Franklin.*

AMSTERDAM, *June* 29, 1781.

SIR: I have the honor to inform your excellency that I got to Amsterdam on Tuesday morning. It has been thought advisable to wait a few days, that we may sail with a Dutch squadron of fourteen sail, destined as a convoy to the Baltic. The loss of the ship *Marquis de la Fayette*, which is confirmed by *Lloyd's List*, renders every precaution necessary and essential to prevent a further disappointment in supplies.

I hope your excellency will approve of the reasons for delaying our departure, which must be amply compensated by the benefit of a convoy through the North Sea. I beg leave to request that Colonel Laurens' servant may be informed, should he apply to your excellency, that, if he leaves Paris immediately and travels with despatch, he will reach this place in time to embark with us for America. Any commands which your excellency may please to honor me with, and which may be transmitted by him, will be faithfully attended to.

I beg you will present my best respects to your grandson.

I have the honor to be, with profound respect, &c.,

W. JACKSON.

---

* MSS. Dep. of State; 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 160.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.*

AMSTERDAM, *June* 29, 1781.

SIR: On the 21st of this month the Field Marshal Duke Louis of Brunswick presented to the States-General the following paper:

HIGH AND MIGHTY LORDS: It is not without the greatest reluctance that I see myself forced to interrupt the important deliberations of your high mightinesses, and to have recourse to you in an affair which indeed regards me personally, but the ample explanation of which, I assure myself, will prove that if I should neglect this step I should be essentially wanting to the dignity of character with which your high mightinesses have clothed me.

After having passed, in 1750, into the service of the state, it pleased your high mightinesses, by your resolution of the 13th of November of the same year, to create me Field Marshal of your troops. When, afterwards, the arrangements for the tuition of the stadtholder in his minority were resolved on by express resolutions of all the high confederates, and it was resolved that his highness should be represented in the administration of his military employments, your high mightinesses then condescended, by honoring me with their distinguished confidence, to confer upon me, by your resolution of the 13th of January, 1759, the title of the representative of the office stadtholder as captain-general during the time of his minority.

I shall say nothing of the resolutions which your high mightinesses and the respective provinces took on the 8th of March, 1766, the day of the majority of the prince, which, in the sequel, under different dates, relative to the manner in which I had answered to the confidence which you had condescended to put in me. These resolutions are too flattering to be recited here; they are, however, sure pledges that at this time at least, I had the good fortune to see my conduct and my services considered to the state approved by the high government. In fine, your high mightinesses continued to honor me with your confidence even after the time of the minority of the stadtholder. You took, on the same 8th of March, 1766, the resolution to cause me solicited by your envoy extraordinary at the court of Vienna the consent of her Imperial and Royal majesty, in whose service I was also engaged as Field Marshal, to continue me still in the same quality in the service of your high mightinesses. The pleasure of her majesty being obtained, I did not refuse this honor, but consented vested with the character of Field Marshal of the troops of the state in the service of your high mightinesses.

Having thus filled for more than thirty years, under the eyes of their high mightinesses, and in a manner which is sufficiently known to you, the employments which I had confided to me, could I have expected that they would one day render my person the object of the public hatred to such a degree that I could be exposed to the steps which they have taken upon my subject—a step the most dishonorable to the character with which your high mightinesses have condescended to invest me, and which puts me in the absolute necessity of addressing myself this day to you?

In effect, high and mighty lords, after having seen myself in public the object of accusations and calumnies the most atrocious (but which I have always despised as vain, and of which I shall never take notice while no one presents himself to support them), after that they have excited against me a general cry, as if my person could be no longer endured, it was necessary for me still further to suffer, that the gentlemen the deputies of the city of Amsterdam, and namely the two reigning burgomasters, Messrs. Temminck and Rendorp, accompanied with the Pensionary Vischer, should have addressed themselves to my lord the Prince of Orange, and, in presence of the counsellor pensionary of Holland should have read to him a certain memorial in the name and by the order of their constituents, who are therein throughout introduced as speaking in the name of the regency of Amsterdam, and in which I receive an affront the most sensible for an upright heart. It is true that the deputies whom

* MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 415.

I have just named took back with them this memorial, but since, changing their plan, they have thought fit to transmit it (on the 14th of the month, by the Burgomaster Rendorp, not, indeed, in the name of the regency of Amsterdam, but in that of the gentlemen the burgomasters) to the counsellor pensionary, praying him to transmit it to the prince, to whom they left the liberty to make such use of it as should seem to him convenient.

Informed in this way, and by the communication which his highness made to me of it, of the contents of this memorial, I there found so long a concatenation of expressions and reasonings, each more insulting than the other, against my person, which I should be afraid to abuse the attention of your high mightinesses by inserting them here; lest, however, I should represent them out of their order and the chain which connects them together, your high mightinesses will pardon me, I hope, if I transcribe from the memorial the periods which relate to me and by which I am attacked.

After having made several reflections which in no wise concern me, and which I ought consequently to leave to be answered by those who are attacked by them, but which tend to justify the proposition which the gentlemen the deputies of the city of Amsterdam made the 18th of May last in the assembly of the States of Holland in particular to join to his highness a privy council or committee, the gentlemen the burgomasters continue to address themselves to the prince literally in these terms:—

Here follows the substance of the representations of the burgomasters contained in my letter to Congress of the 26th of June, 1781.

In those pieces which I have just now literally related your high mightinesses will perceive, and probably not without indignation, that after a train of reflections, each more injurious than the other, in which there is no accusation against me as Field Marshal, and which, moreover, are only grounded upon pretended public sentiments and reports artfully circulated, that nevertheless the gentlemen the burgomasters have judged it necessary to insist that his highness would remove me from his person and court in a manner the most disgraceful, and condemn me without further examination as a criminal attainted and convicted to dishonorable exile.

I can not, then, but consider a proceeding accompanied with so many odious and humiliating expressions, which is not made by simple individuals, but a deputation of two reigning burgomasters, with the pensionary of one of the most considerable cities of Holland, in the name and by the order of the regency of that city (according to the terms of the memorial, although according to the letter whereof I have spoken of the burgomaster Rendorp it was only in the name of the gentlemen the burgomasters of that city), and that in a formal manner, after mature deliberation, and after having confirmed this action in the most injurious manner, by taking back the memorial, and causing it to be sent to his highness—I can not, I say, but consider this proceeding as wounding, in the most violent manner, my character and my person; and in this same writing, where they dare not specify any crime to my charge, and where they are obliged to acknowledge the falsity of the reports which have circulated against me, and of the suspicions of an excessive and illicit attachment to the English court, of bad faith and of corruption, they appear, notwithstanding, to give credit to these calumnies, and to be willing to cast upon me the blame of the evils of the times, to the end to exculpate those who are the true causes of it. I should think myself unworthy of bearing any longer the character that your high mightinesses have confided to me if I testified upon this article an indifference or an insensibility.

I dare also assure myself that your high mightinesses will consider my proceeding in the same point of light, and that they will agree with me that it is of the highest importance to know if he whom your high mightinesses have clothed with the dignity of Field Marshal, whom they have engaged and continued in their service in the manner above mentioned, is in fact the true cause of the deplorable state of the weakness of the republic, of all the negligence they suppose to have taken place, of

the false steps that they say have been taken, and of all the unhappy consences that have resulted from them. Your high mightinesses are to examine in the t exact manner things so interesting, and to see if this person is the source of the rust and disunion; for what reasons he would be totally unuseful and prejudicial he service of the state and of his highness; what are the proofs of his want of ction to the country; in one word, for what reason he should be hereafter unthy of the confidence of the prince who is placed at the head of this republic, to ose testimony I here take the liberty of appealing; finally, for what reason he h merited to be removed from the person of his highness and of his court as a petual obstacle to the good intelligence between his highness and the court.

nd as my honor is more dear to me than life, and as I am attacked in a part so sible, it is also for this reason, and in consideration of that which I owe to myself n, and to the relations which I have, as well with this state and to your high htinesses as to those which I still have with his Imperial and Royal majesty, to ch otherwise I should be too much wanting, that I see myself obliged to address self to your high mightinesses, and by them to all the confederates, to supplicate n respectfully, and to insist in the most express manner, that your high mightises would deign, after the most severe and scrupulous examination, to take such sures in protecting efficaciously the character which your high mightinesses have fided to me, that I may be justified in a proper manner from the blame that the ve-mentioned proceeding hath cast upon me, and that so sensible an affront as h been offered me by it may be suitably repaired; that to this end it may please r high mightinesses to direct things in such a manner that the four reigning gomasters of Amsterdam who have caused to be delivered in their name the said morial, according to the letter of Burgomaster Rendorp, be obliged, as well as Pensionary Vischer, to allege the reasons they have had of injuring me so grievly as they have done by the said proceeding and by the accusation therein conied, and to verify the whole in a suitable manner, which I can not but consider that which is there said as calumnies, and that they may be obliged, moreover, pecify more precisely the other heads of accusation that they pretend to allege to charge, and to bring the requisite judiciary proofs of them; and in case that they specify nothing, or that they can not prove sufficiently their allegations, that the hors of the infamous reports circulated against me may be sought out, to the end t they may be punished as calumniators, according to their deserts; finally, that r high mightinesses will then, conjointly with all the confederates, take such ification resolutions as will save my honor and my reputation in the nation and he eyes of all Europe; that thus I may be placed in a situation to support with per dignity the character which your high mightinesses have given me, and that ay obtain the satisfaction that your high mightinesses, according to their prond wisdom and known equity, shall judge equivalent to the affront offered to my racter and my relations.

have the honor to be, with the most sincere and respectful attachment, high and hty lords, your high mightinesses' most humble, most obedient, and faithful vant,

L. Duc de Brunsvic.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

John Adams.

Franklin to David Hartley.*

Passy, *June* 30, 1781.

received my dear friend's kind letter of the 15th inst., and immetely communicated your request of a passport to the Count de Vernes. His answer, which I have but just received, expresses an

---

2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 161; 9 Sparks' Franklin, 48; 7 Bigelow's Franklin, 257.

opinion that the circumstance of his granting a passport to you, as you mention the purpose of your coming to be the discoursing with me on the subject of peace, might, considering your character, occasion many inconvenient reports and speculations, but that he would make no difficulty of giving it if you assured me that you were authorized for such purpose by your ministry, which he does not think at all likely; otherwise he judges it best that I should not encourage your coming. Thus it seems I can not have at present the pleasure you were so kind as to propose for me. I can only join with you in earnest wishes for peace, a blessing which I shall hardly live to see.

With the greatest esteem and respect, I am ever, dear sir,

B. FRANKLIN.

Franklin to Jay.*

PASSY, *June* 30, 1781.

SIR: You acquaint me that bills have appeared drawn on you in March last, and ask very properly if this can be reconciled to the obvious dictates of prudence and policy. It can not; and if you are unable to pay them they must be protested, for it will not be in my power to help you, and I see that nothing will cure the Congress of this madness of drawing upon the pump at Aldgate but such a proof that its well has a bottom.

I have, etc.

Franklin to J. Adams.†

PASSY, *June* 30, 1781.

SIR: This is to request that you will accept no more bills with an expectation of my paying them till you have farther advice from me, for I find that Mr. Laurens, who went away without informing me what he had done, has made so full a disposition of the six millions granted at my request before his arrival, that unless the specie he sent to Holland is stop't there I shall not be in a condition to pay them.

I have, etc.

Luzerne to the President of Congress.‡

[Translation.]

PHILADELPHIA, *July* 1, 1781.

SIR: I am ready to go to the army of General Washington, and I shall have the honor of receiving your commissions this evening. My absence will probably be of short duration. I think it proper, however,

*MSS. Dep. of State. †MSS. Dep. of State.

‡ MSS. Dep. of State; 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 742.

nform you that M. de Marbois will perform, during this interval, the ies of chargé d'affaires of his majesty, and I entreat you, sir, to be ased to honor him with your confidence, in case you have any com- nications to make to, or receive from, the king's embassy.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

LUZERNE.

Jackson to Franklin.*

AMSTERDAM, *July* 2, 1781.

IR: I was yesterday honored with your excellency's letter of the h ultimo while at the Texel superintending some matters relating to ship. Equally concerned for the cause as surprised at the manner which Mr. Fizeaux was resolved to execute it, in case the money had n already shipped, I must beg leave to inform you fully of this busi- s, and to request your excellency's final determination thereon.

Colonel Laurens, as your excellency knows, was sent by Congress to court of Versailles with a special commission; the purport of his sion you are well acquainted with; it was to obtain certain supplies specie and military stores.

By the most unremitting assiduity he so far succeeded as to procure, ongst others, a sum of money to be shipped in Holland by the South rolina frigate, which was deemed by the court of France a safe and venient conveyance, as it would divide the risk which must have n incurred by placing the whole on board of one vessel. That sum s sent to this place by M. Necker and lodged in the house of Fizeaux Grand, to be by them delivered to me, agreeably to the following er, the original of which is now in my possession, having, very for- ately for me, recovered from them after they received your instruc- ns:

[Translation.]

PARIS, *May* 12, 1781.

ENTLEMEN: This letter will be delivered to you by Mr. William Jackson, captain nfantry in the service of the United States, to whom I request you to deliver the 655 dollars and the 720,000 livres in crowns which you have received on my ount by the way of Brussels. Mr. Jackson will give you a receipt for it, in which vill express that these two sums have been delivered to him pursuant to the ntion of Mr. John Laurens, an American officer now at Paris, whose orders he follow on this subject. You will be pleased to send me afterwards this receipt, n a statement of all the expenses due to you. I will have them reimbursed here M. Grand.

I am, gentlemen, &c.,

NECKER.

M. GRAND, FIZEAUX & CO., *Amsterdam.*

Messrs. Fizeaux & Grand have, in pursuance of your excellency's ections, refused to deliver it. This, sir, being a distinct transaction,

---

* 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 162.

executed altogether at the instance of the Hon. John Laurens, special minister at the court of Versailles from the United States and by him committed to my further care, I conceive myself indispensably bound to remonstrate to your excellency on the late order given by you to Messrs. Fizeaux & Grand, directing the detention of that money, and to inform you that if they are not repealed I must embark without it; and however I may lament the disappointment and distress in which this measure must involve Congress, whose arrangements are undoubtedly taken on the certainty of this supply being sent from Europe; however much I may regret Colonel Laurens' absence which induces it, I shall possess the pleasing reflection of having done my duty in demanding, conformably to the intentions of M. Necker and by his order, that money which the court of France had accorded to the United States by the application of Colonel Laurens in virtue of his special commission, and which was particularly and expressly destined to reanimate the credit of the Continental currency.

The ship waits for nothing else but this money. I shall attend your excellency's ultimate decision thereon, which I expect to receive by return of the express, who only waits your commands.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

W. JACKSON.

P. S.—M. Fizeaux informed me that he had resolved to arrest the ship had the money been on board. I need not inform your excellency that a like opportunity may not again offer to transport this essential supply, rendered still more so by the capture of the ship *Marquis de la Fayette.* W. J.

My fever, which was greatly increased by my late jaunt to Passy, will not admit of my waiting upon your excellency in person; and I am persuaded your justice will render it unnecessary after this representation. W. J.

Jackson to Franklin.*

AMSTERDAM, *July* 2, 1781.

SIR: Since the departure of my express I find myself obliged, in conformity to Colonel Laurens' instructions (from which, as his agent, I can not recede, unless compelled thereto by forcible means, and which, unless such are practised against me, I must carry into execution), to retain the money which he has confided to my care, and which the minister of finance's order makes deliverable to me specially; and to arrest it in the hands of M. Fizeaux should he continue to refuse the delivery of it but by your excellency's orders.

---

* 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 164.

I rely upon your excellency's attachment to the welfare of America prevent this painful operation, which must inevitably take place ould your determination decide otherwise; for, as this money is sub-t to no other control in Europe but the immediate order of the court France, I can not relinquish my charge of it but by their special der.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

W. JACKSON.

Jackson to Franklin.*

AMSTERDAM, *July* 2, 1781.

SIR: Your excellency will not wonder at the determination which I ve adopted to arrest the money now in M. Fizeaux's hands (and hich I have communicated to you by a second express this afternoon) hen you reflect that this money is absolutely committed to my charge r a special purpose, and that I stand accountable for the execution of is commission. Your excellency must likewise be sensible that you n not have the disposal of it, as it was obtained without either your owledge or concurrence by Colonel Laurens, appointed special minis-r for that purpose. These considerations, and the knowledge I have w much America must suffer from a disappointment in this supply out to be transported by so excellent a conveyance, must plead my cuse individually for this plain and candid avowal of circumstances d my determination thereon. I am further persuaded that the court France is not disposed, was there even a shadow of an excuse for alteration in the allotment of this money, to infringe their honor and jure the essential interests of America by detaining it. I must, erefore, again entreat your excellency's repeal of those orders to M. zeaux which now detain the ship and supplies so much required in merica.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

W. JACKSON.

Morris to Jay.†

PHILADELPHIA, *July* 4, 1781.

DEAR SIR: The derangement of our money affairs, the enormity of r public expenditures, the confusion in all our departments, the nguor of our general system, the complexity and consequent inefficacy our operations—these are some among the many reasons which have duced Congress to the appointment of a superintendent of finance. enclose you copies of their resolutions on that subject, with such other pers as will fully explain to you my appointment and powers.

---

*2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 164.

†4 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 306; 2 Corr. and Pub. Papers of John Jay, 40.

The use of this office must be found in a progress towards the accomplishment of these two capital objects, the raising a revenue with the greatest convenience to the people and the expenditure of it with the greatest economy to the public.

The various requisitions of Congress to the several States, none of them entirely complied with, create a considerable balance in favor of the United States, and the claiming this balance is delivered over to me as revenue; while, on the other hand, the dangerous practice of taking articles for the public service and giving certificates to the people has created a very general and a very heavy debt. The amount of this debt is swelled beyond all reasonable bounds, nor can the extent of it be at present estimated. These things need no explanation, but it may be proper to observe that, if the certificates were not in my way, there is still an infinite difference between the demand of a balance from the States and an effectual revenue. The latter can be obtained only in consequence of wise laws generally adopted, and as generally executed with vigor and decision. Were all that is necessary on these heads accomplished something further would still remain to be done, in order that the produce of taxes should be subject to the sole and absolute disposition of the United States or of their officers. To you, who are acquainted with republican governments, it is unnecessary to observe on the delays which will arise, the obstacles which will be raised, and the time which will be consumed, in placing the revenue of America on a proper footing. Yet this is absolutely necessary before credit can be established and the indispensable supplies obtained on terms of economy.

To reform our expenditure is an object of equal importance with the other, and it is in some degree within my power, as you will perceive it to have been subjected to my authority. But even here I find myself trammelled by the want of necessary funds. To contract, for instance, with any one, in order to obtain bread for our troops, requires the previous certainty of being able to make the stipulated payments. And so in every other case, I shall be unable to act with decision unless I have the command of money. On the other hand, the people will bear with great reluctance the necessary imposition of heavy burthens, while they can perceive any want of arrangement, method, or economy in the administration of their affairs.

If, for a moment, we suppose that this country, amid the confusions of a revolution and the rage of war, could be governed with all the regularity, wisdom, and prudence of ancient and peaceable nations, yet we must be convinced that no annual revenue she is able to raise could equal the annual expense in an offensive war against so powerful a nation as that which we now contend with. A great balance, therefore, must remain, and it must be provided for by loans or subsidies.

To expect loans within the United States presupposes an ability to lend, which does not exist in any considerable number of the inhabit-

ants. The personal property, not immediatety engaged either in commerce or the improvement of lands, was never very considerable. Little as it was, it has been greatly diminished by the pernicious effects of a depreciating medium. This expedient, which was adopted in the beginning from necessity and too pertinaciously adhered to in the sequel, has not only exhausted the funds of those who might have been willing to trust the United States, but it has so wounded our public credit, that even the will would be wanting if the ability existed, which, as I said before, it really does not.

While we have neither credit nor means at home, it is idle to expect much from individuals abroad. Our foreign credit must be nurtured with tenderness and attention before it can possess any great degree of force, and it must be fed by substantial revenue before we can call it into active exertion or derive beneficial effects from its application.

All reasonable expectation, therefore, is narrowed down to the friendly interposition of those sovereigns who are associates in the war. From Holland we can properly ask nothing; nor is she, I believe, in a capacity to grant it if we did ask. The active efforts of France require all the resources of that great nation, and of consequence the pecuniary aid which she affords us can but little advance the general cause, however it may relieve our immediate distress.

We must then turn our eyes to Spain, and we must ask either loans or subsidies to a very considerable amount. Small sums are not worth the acceptance. They have the air of obligation without affording relief. A small sum, therefore, is not an object to the United States, for they do not mean to beg gratuities, but to make rational requests.

As Congress have empowered you to remove the obstacles which have hitherto impeded your negociations, you will doubtless proceed with prudent despatch in forming the important treaties which are to be the basis of our national connexion. Your own integrity, and the dispositions which you certainly feel, as the true representative of your sovereign to gratify the wishes of his Catholic majesty, will give you just claim to the confidence and friendly support of his ministers. And, on the other hand, his majesty's known piety and justice will certainly induce him to facilitate a permanent union between the two countries, and to overturn that power whose ambition is known, felt, and detested throughout the habitable globe.

Having a perfect confidence in the wisdom of his majesty's ministers, I must request that you will submit to their consideration the reasons which operate in favor of the advances we expect. In doing this, it will immediately strike you and them that the enemy carries on the operations against us at an expense infinitely greater than that by which they are opposed. By enabling us, therefore, to increase our resistance and redouble our offensive efforts the British will be reduced to the necessity of increasing their forces in America or of submitting beneath a decided superiority. Either must be fatal to them. In the

first instance, they will be crushed by the weight of expense; and, in the second, they must, while they lose an actual force and part forever with the object in contest, feel the increased weight of the American arms and make head against those resources applied to a marine which are now consumed in land operations.

Money ought, therefore, to be supplied to us from the Havana, which will at the same time save the risk of transporting it to Europe, while, as I have already observed, it must, when employed among us, absolutely ruin the common enemy. For when once they are driven from the United States they must at a considerable expense defend, or at a great loss relinquish, the rest of their American possessions; and in either case the resources of this country will enable France and Spain to carry on operations for the subjection of the British islands.

With respect to our finance, I am further to observe, that the resolution of Congress of the 18th of March, 1780, have neither been so regularly adopted by the States as was hoped and expected, nor been productive of those consequences which were intended. It is unnecessary to travel into the causes or to explain the reasons of this event. The fact is clear. The new money is depreciated, and there is the strong evidence of experience to convince us that the issuing of paper at present must be ineffectual. Taxation has not yet been pursued to that extent which was necessary. Neither is it reasonable to expect that it should. Time has been required under all governments to accustom the people by degrees to bear heavy burthens. The people of America have so patiently endured the various calamities of the war, that there is good reason to expect they will not shrink at this late hour from the imposition of just and equal taxes. But many arrangements are necessary to this purpose, and therefore an immediate pecuniary assistance is the more necessary to us. Our debts, under which I comprise as well those of the individual States as those of the Union, are but trifling when we consider the exertions which have been made. The debt I have already mentioned on certificates is heavy, not from real amount, but because it is beyond what the supplies obtained were reasonably worth, and because it impedes taxation and impairs its effects. But the amount of other debts is so small, that a few years of peace would bring it within the bounds of a revenue very moderate when compared with the wealth of our country. You well know the rapid increase of that wealth, and how soon it would relieve us from the weight of debts which might be in the first instance very burthensome. There can, therefore, be no doubt that we shall be able to pay all those which it may be necessary to contract. But, as I have already observed, our great difficulty is the want of means in our people and of credit in our government.

It gives me, however, very great pleasure to inform you that the determined spirit of the country is by no means abated either by the continuance of the war, the ravages of our enemy, the expense of blood

and treasure we have sustained, or the artifices, falsehoods, and delusions of an insidious foe. These last become daily more and more contemptible in America, and it appears equally astonishing that they should longer attempt them here or boast the success of such attempts in Europe. Uniform experience has shown the futility of their efforts and the falsehood of their assertions. I know they take the advantage of every little success to vaunt the prowess of their troops and proclaim hopes of conquest which they do not feel. But those who know anything of our history or situation must have the utmost contempt for all these gasconades. It is impossible they should make impression upon any but weak minds, and I should hardly have thought of mentioning them, but I learn by letters from Spain that men who are uninformed have been led into misapprehensions from circumstances which were here considered as trivial and even favorable.

I could hardly have supposed that our enemies had still the folly to repeat, as I am told they do, that there is an English party in America. Bribes and deceit have induced some wicked and weak men to join them; but when we consider the sums they have expended, and the falsehoods they have used, our wonder is not that they have got so many, but that they have gained so few. The independence of America is considered here as established; so much so, that even those of equivocal character accustom themselves to cherish the idea; for the doubt is not now whether an acknowledgment of it will take place, but when that acknowledgment will be made. Our exertions also in the present moment are not so much directed to establish our liberties as to prevent the ravages of the enemy, abridge the duration and calamities of the war, and faithfully contribute to the reduction of a power whose ambition was equally dangerous and offensive to every other.

All reasonings on this subject must be deeply enforced, by paying attention to what has happened in the southern States. The progress of the enemy, while in appearance it menaced the conquest of that extensive region, tended only in effect to exhaust him by fruitless efforts, so that at length a handful of men have rescued the whole from his possession. The attack on Virginia (if the piratical incursions there can deserve that name) has been equally futile. The commanders may indeed have enriched themselves by plunder, and many worthy families have been distressed; but what is the consequence? Indignation and resentment have stimulated even the weak and indolent to action; the wavering are confirmed and the firm are exasperated, so that every hour and by every operation, they create enemies instead of gaining subjects.

Our armies, though not very numerous, are powerful. The regular troops are so much improved in discipline and the habits of a military life, that they are at least equal to any troops in the world. Our militia are becoming more and more warlike, so as to supply the wants of regular troops when the enemy (taking advantage of that convenience

which their ships afford them) transfer the scene of action from one place to another. The number of the British diminishes daily, and, of consequence, our superiority becomes daily more decisive. The greatest plenty of subsistence is to be had for our armies, and the prospects from the present harvest are beyond all former experience. I wish I could add that clothing and military stores were as abundant as those other requisites for war. This is not the case; our soldiers, indeed, are well armed, and in some degree they are clothed. We have also ammunition abundantly sufficient for the common operations of the field. But many of our militia are unarmed, and the sieges which will be necessary to expel the enemy must make a heavy deduction from our military stores.

The proposed siege of New York will soon be commenced, and would undoubtedly be successful if we could maintain a decided superiority at sea. This must depend on contingencies which are not in our power, nor perhaps in the power of any human being. I am not without hopes, even if we should not possess that superiority; but the expense will, from the want of it, be very considerably enhanced, and this is a circumstance which I can not but deplore, for I repeat it again, the want of money can alone prevent us from making the greatest exertions. What our exertions have already been our enemies themselves must acknowledge, and while, from insidious views, they assert that they could not make an impression on us with ninety thousand soldiers and seamen, we are certainly authorised to conclude from this confession that these States form a considerable balance in the scale against them.

I am now, therefore, again led to reiterate my request of a considerable sum of money from Spain; for I also again repeat that small sums are not worth our acceptance, and I may add they are unworthy the dignity of his Catholic majesty. There can be no doubt, nor will the Spanish ministry deny, that there is a considerable risk in transporting their money from the New World to the Old besides that when expended there it necessarily runs through the different channels of commerce to feed the wants and invigorate the forces of the enemy. There is, therefore, a double policy in expending a part of it here, where it can not only be brought with safety and despatch, but be employed to an immense advantage when compared with its effects in Europe. If it be asked, what advantages Spain will derive in particular during the war, and what recompense can be made her after the peace, I answer, that the weakening more the common enemy by a given sum is in itself a great advantage, and that to do this by sparing the blood of Spanish subjects is an advantage still greater. I add that, when relieved from the enemy, we may assist her in the reduction of the Floridas and Bahamas, and perhaps of Jamaica. We shall then also be in a situation to secure Nova Scotia, thereby depriving Great Britain of her principal resource for ship timber, and enable us to furnish that

sential article to the navy of Spain on cheaper and better terms than can be had elsewhere. On this last subject I have further to observe, at there is hardly anything in which the maritime power of Spain is much interested; for if we do not possess that country, it will be practicable to furnish those supplies of masts and spars which both rance and Spain may stand in need of; so that, of consequence, their sitive and absolute strength at sea will be the less, while that of the emy is positively and absolutely greater. The comparative inferiority, erefore, will be still more considerable. Nor is this all. A marine quires men as well as ships. The fisheries and collieries are two pil-rs which support the marine of Britain so far forth as seamen are quired. But it is evident that the fisheries could not long continue her hands if she were deprived of Nova Scotia. Here again we e also to consider that there is an immense difference between that tient resistance, whose opposition must at length weary the enemy to granting our independence, and those vigorous active operations hich may wrest from them their present possessions. Money is cessary for the latter, and I can say with confidence that money alone necessary.

But to return. The advantages which will flow to Spain at a peace om giving effectual aid to our finances now will be, in the first place, e common compensation of repayment should his Catholic majesty refer loans to subsidies. The having expelled the English from the ay of Mexico, and having, by that means, prevented the contraband mmerce so destructive to his revenue, will be another striking advan-ge, which can not have escaped the penetration of his ministers. But is is not all. The opening a port in East Florida, on the shores of the tlantic, under proper regulations and restrictions, would enable us to rry on a commerce very advantageous to Spain, because we could rnish all such supplies of provisions, &c., as their possessions might and in need of, and in return take at port cocoa, logwood, Nicaragua ood, and, indeed, any other commodities which his Catholic majesty ould find it for the advantage of his dominions to permit the expor-tion of. Our commerce with Spain is also in itself a very consider-le object. At this moment we take from thence wine, oil, fruit, silk, oth, &c. And after the conclusion of the war our remittances of heat, corn, fish, and naval stores will be of very great consequence the commerce of that country. Another article of commerce will be e building of ships, which can be had on cheaper and better terms re than elsewhere; and there can be no doubt but that the con-ruction of ships in this country is equal, if not superior, to that of any her. Even now ships might be built on his majesty's account, though no means so cheaply as in times of peace; besides that, as there is w no seasoned timber in the country, such ships would not be durable, d therefore it might, perhaps, be imprudent to get any more than are mediately necessary.

To all the other advantages which would arise to his Catholic majesty I may add (although that is not so properly within my department) the security which his dominions would derive from our guarantee. This is an advantage which must be the more evident from a consideration of what might have happened had this country continued in union with Great Britain, and had Great Britain pursued those schemes of universal empire which the virtue and fortitude of America first checked, and which it is the object of the present war to frustrate. Our enemies do, I know, allege that our weakness is unable to withstand them, and that our force is dangerous to Spain. The serious refutation of such absurd contradictions would involve an absurdity. It may not, however, be improper to observe that the attention of this country for a century past has been, and for a century to come most probably will be, entirely turned to agriculture and commerce. We must always, therefore, be useful neighbors, and never dangerous except to those who may have views of dominion. Spain can never be in this predicament, though the British may and will. Their solicitude, therefore, to inspire apprehensions of us is, and ought to be, the strongest argument against entertaining them. But, if this evident reasoning did not exist, still the conduct of Congress with regard to his Catholic majesty has been so just, and even generous, not only in being willing to secure his rights, but to gratify him by foregoing their own, that there is not room for the shadow of suspicion. This conduct, I should suppose, would alone have weight sufficient to procure what it is my object to request, if the other very cogent and conclusive reasons for it did not apply. And, after all, if it be considered how much greater is the interest of Spain in the vigorous continuance of the present war than that of any other of the associates, I can not permit myself one moment to doubt of your success. I am the more sanguine from the character of the Catholic king and of his ministers for wisdom, candor, and integrity. These qualities will, I am sure, meet such corresponding dispositions in the United States, that the most thorough harmony and coalition must inevitably take place. This is an object of the greatest importance to both countries. Mutual benefits and the reciprocation of good offices will endear a connexion between them; and their interests require that this connexion should be of the closest kind.

In every point of view, therefore, that we can consider the subject, the advance I have mentioned must appear alike beneficial. If the governor of Cuba, or any other person, were duly authorised, stipulations might even now be entered into for furnishing all necessary supplies of provisions to the fleets and armies of his Catholic majesty, which would certainly facilitate their operations. The advance of money also by Spain would enable the fleets and troops of France to subsist cheaper than at present, because it would tend to raise the exchange here, which is now too low.

Your own good sense will suggest to you many other most forcible

guments, as well as the proper time and manner of applying them. is necessary to mention that the sum of five million dollars may, perps, be sufficient for our present emergencies; but if a greater sum can obtained, we shall thereby become more extensively useful. Whatever the grant may be, it will be proper that it be sent hither in some panish ships of war from the Havana, or advanced to us there; in hich latter case we will devise the means of bringing it away. Whether ask for subsidies or loans, as well as the terms on which either are be obtained, these, sir, are objects which you are fully competent to termine upon. I have only to wish that your applications may meet th that success which I am confident you will not fail to merit. As e means of facilitating your views, I shall apply to the minister of s most Christian majesty here to write on the same subject to the ench ambassador at Madrid. The generous conduct of France gives st ground of reliance on her friendly assistance; and you are too well nvinced of this not to act in the most perfect harmony with the serents of that court, especially on an occasion so important as the prest. I need not stimulate your activity by observing how precious is ery moment of time in those affairs on which the fate of empires dends; nor need I suggest the importance of a treaty, and particularly subsidiary treaty, with Spain in that moment when the judgment of urope is to be passed on the fate of America. For, however impracable it may be to subdue us, it is undoubtedly of moment to hasten e approach of that period when the acknowledgment of our indendence shall give the blessings of peace to so many contending nations. spare the present lavish effusion of blood and treasure is a serious ject with those who feel, as you do, the emotions of benevolence; and am confident that the patriotism which has inspired your conduct will ompt you to obtain a peace honorable for your country and advangeous to her friends. The only probable method to effect these things a thorough union of forces and resources, to reduce the pride and wer of that aspiring nation whose ambition embroils the universe.

With all possible respect, I have the honor to be, &c.,

ROBERT MORRIS.

---

* MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 420.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.*

AMSTERDAM, *July* 5, 1781.*

SIR: The following is an extract from the registry of the resolutions of their high mightinesses the States-General of the United Provinces of the Low Countries:

THURSDAY, *June* 28, 1781.

His serene highness the Prince of Orange and Nassau having appeared in the assembly, made to their high mightinesses the following proposition:

"HIGH AND MIGHTY LORDS: I have judged necessary to propose to your high mightinesses to examine with the greatest care if, since the present troubles have arisen, proper attention has been paid to the placing the marine of the state in that situation that it had been able to act efficaciously against an enemy, particularly one so strongly armed by sea as the kingdom of Great Britain is, or if any negligence or supineness hath had place in that respect, and in that case to what it ought to be attributed; and to the end to receive the necessary information on that head to write to the respective colleges of admiralty, that they may make report and declare how many vessels they had in 1776 and how many were then equipped and with how many men, what they have done since the English have begun to molest the ships of the inhabitants of this country employed in the West India trade under pretext of the disputes arisen with their Colonies in North America, and by consequence from the end of 1776 and the beginning of 1777, to place themselves as much as was possible and in their power in a state to protect the commerce of this country, and what they have done since the troubles have begun in Europe, and that it was to be feared that the republic would have a share in them, for to put it as much as depended on them in a state of not only protecting her commerce, but also to be able to assist in defending the country and in attacking the enemy; if they have been active to effect that which hath been resolved by your high mightinesses for this object, or if there has been a negligence in this respect; and in that case, for what reason they have not executed these resolutions; if it has been possible for them to furnish the ships put in commission and equip them, to the end that it may appear from whence it arises that the republic finds itself in so deplorable a state of defence by sea, which is certainly the point most interesting in this war, and upon which all the inhabitants of this country have an eye. Although on this occasion I make only mention of the defence by sea, I esteem it necessary to represent to your high mightinesses that I am very far from avowing by that that the land forces of this state are sufficient to assure us that the country is in a respectable state of defence by land.

"I do not think myself under the necessity of justifying my conduct, and that your high mightinesses are ignorant of the efforts I have made since my majority to place everything which regards this republic in a respectable posture of defence; nevertheless I have thought it in my power to represent to your high mightinesses that I have on more than one occasion given it as my opinion that this republic ought to be placed not only by land but also by sea in a proper state of defence, to the end to be able to maintain its liberty and independence, and not to be obliged to take measures contrary to the true interests of the country, but conformable to those of a power from whose menaces it has at length more to fear because it is not in a state to resist it.

---

* Mr. Adams arrived at Paris on the 6th of July, and consequently could not have written this letter in Amsterdam on the 5th, although it is thus dated in the original. He was absent during the whole month of July, and yet several letters, as will be seen, are dated at Amsterdam in that time. These letters contain chiefly intelligence which was probably collected by his secretary under different dates during Mr. Adams' absence, and forwarded by him on his return without altering the dates. This will account for the circumstance of letters being dated throughout the month of July both at Amsterdam and Paris.—SPARKS.

is for that reason that even in the beginning of 1771 I have given to understand
he deputies of the province of Holland and West Friesland had proposed in the
bly of your high mightinesses, by the express orders of the gentlemen the
s their constituents, to cause to be formed a petition for the construction of
y-four vessels of war; that I have not neglected to insist upon all occasions, as
pon the re-establishment of the marine as upon the augmentation of the land
, and to press particularly more than once the conclusion of the petition for the
ruction of vessels.

is for the same reason that in the beginning of the year 1775, upon occasion of
xertions made by the gentlemen the commissaries of your high mightinesses for
Fairs of war, with some members of the council of state, to conciliate the differ-
ntiments of the respective confederates in regard to the plan of augmentation
e land forces, proposed by the council of state the 19th of July, 1773, I have
a conciliatory proposition to this purport, viz: 'that the sum for the depart-
of war should be fixed at six hundred thousand florins for the marine, and to
amends for that that the sum of one million five hundred thousand florins de-
ed in 1773 for an augmentation to be made of the land forces should be reduced
ne hundred thousand florins,' which proposition was embraced at that time by
entlemen the states of Guelderland, Friesland, Overyssel, and Groningen, but
had no further operation.

shall not allege here the entreaties that I have annually made with the council
te by the general petition; but shall communicate only to your high mighti-
s the proposition that I have made to the assembly of the gentlemen the States of
nd and West Friesland the 10th of March, 1779, which is of the same tenor with
tter I wrote the same day to the gentlemen the States of Guelderland, Zealand,
ht, Friesland, Overyssel, and Groningen, a copy of which I have the honor to
to your high mightinesses. I can not disguise that in my opinion it was to have
wished that what I then proposed had been more attended to, since I dare
e myself that if the republic had found it good at that time to have caused to
ned fifty or sixty vessels well equipped, and provided with every necessary,
eof not less than twenty or thirty should have been of the line, and to have
ented the land forces to fifty or sixty thousand men of foot, it would not have
itself in its present unhappy circumstances, but it would have been respected
independent state by all the powers; it would have been able to maintain the
n of neutrality which it had embraced; and it would have seen itself in a
to promise itself with reason, under the Divine benediction, that in giving great
nt to the party to which it should be joined, it would not have been to be
d that any power whatsoever would have attacked it, but that it would have
managed by each, and that her friendship being sought by all, and not giving
y one of them just causes of complaint, it would have obtained the esteem and
dence of all the powers, which would have produced the best effects for the
interests of this state, certainly and in every case if it had been attacked by an
t war, to which a state is always exposed, it would have seen itself in a state
ke an opposition with hopes of success, and of obliging the enemy to seek the
lship of this state upon honorable terms for the republic."

he following is the letter from his serene highness to the lords States of Guelderland, Zealand, Utrecht, Friesland, Overyssel, Groningen, dated March 10, 1779:

BLE AND MIGHTY LORDS, INTIMATE AND GOOD FRIENDS: We think our-
s obliged to communicate to your noble mightinesses our sentiments respecting
f the most important objects of your deliberations, viz.: We are very far from
ng that it would be expedient that this republic should renounce the lawful
s which appertain to its inhabitants in virtue of solemn treaties; we think, on
ontrary, that they ought to be maintained by all the means that Providence

hath placed in the hands of this republic, but that it belongs only to your noble mightinesses, and to the noble mighty lords the States of the other provinces, to decide when it is time that their high mightinesses ought to take the resolution of granting an unlimited protection to their commercial inhabitants, and that their high mightinesses not having engaged themselves by any treaty whatsoever with any foreign power to protect all branches of commerce without distinction, no one hath a right to exact from them that, in granting protection, they ought to grant it to all vessels without distinction, without leaving to their prudence to decide if they are in a condition to protect all the branches of commerce, and if they can do it in the present moment without hazarding important interests and exposing themselves to the greatest danger.

We think, then, that in this case it will be proper to pay no regard to anything else than the true interests of the republic, and it is for this reason that, before a final resolution is taken to convoy vessels loaded with wood, it would be necessary to examine the state of the republic both by land and sea. In our opinion, nothing will be more expedient for this republic than an exact and punctual neutrality, without prejudicing the treaties which it has with foreign powers; but we think that to maintain and support it efficaciously, and not only for so long a time as it may please one of the belligerent powers to require of the republic, in a violent and threatening manner, that it takes a part, that it will be proper that the republic be put in an armed state; that to this end it will be necessary to equip at least fifty or sixty vessels, not less than twenty or thirty of them of the line, and to augment the land forces to fifty or sixty thousand men, and that the frontier places should be put in a proper state of defence, and the magazines provided with the requisite munitions of war. In which case we are of opinion that the republic would be respected by all the powers, and could do, without obstacle, what is permitted it by the treaties, or would not be prevented from doing and acting what it should judge proper to its true interests.

For these reasons we judge that the fidelity we owe to our country requires us to offer this consideration to the enlightened minds of your noble mightinesses, and to give your noble mightinesses the deliberation of it, to take a resolution, to the end that by the construction of a considerable number of vessels, and particularly of the line, the marine may be reinforced, and that by the augmentation of the monthly pay or premiums, or by such other arrangements as your noble mightinesses and the lords the States of the other provinces shall judge proper, it may be effected that the sailors necessary to equip them be procured, and that at the same time your noble mightinesses grant the sums for the necessary augmentation, to the end to carry the land forces to the number of fifty or sixty thousand men and for the petitions respecting the fortifications and magazines.

When your noble mightinesses and the lords the states of the other provinces shall have done that, and this reinforcement both by sea and land shall have been carried into execution, we think that this is the epoch when the republic may with advantage, and as an independent state, take the resolution of maintaining the rights which appertain to their inhabitants according to the treaties, and particularly that of marine in 1674. But before the republic is put in a respectable state of defence, we should fear that a resolution to take under convoy all vessels indiscriminately, according to the letter of the said treaty, and particularly vessels loaded with ship timber, might have very bad consequences for the true interests of this state, and expose the honor of its flag to an affront. And it is for this reason we are of opinion that it would be proper that it should be resolved by an ulterior resolution that the vessels loaded with masts, knees, beams, and other kinds of wood necessary to the construction of ships of war should not be taken under convoy before an equipment of fifty or sixty vessels (not less than twenty or thirty of them of the line) is ready, and before having augmented the land forces to fifty or sixty thousand men of foot; but that in the mean time, to the end to protect as much as possible the general com-

erce of this country, without exposing the important interests of the state, the cessary convoys as they were announced, shall be granted to all other vessels not aded with contraband effects, to the end that all the branches of commerce may ot be suspended and left without protection during the time of the deliberation on the protection of one branch only. We expect that when the republic shall put into this armed state all the powers will leave her to exercise the right which longs to her of keeping an exact neutrality, and of observing also on their part erything which the treaties it hath made may require, &c.

Which having been deliberated, their high mightinesses have thanked s serene highness for the said proposition:

They regard it as a new mark of his assiduous zeal and solicitude for the interests the state in declaring that their high mightinesses acknowledged with gratitude l the efforts that his serene highness hath employed since his majority, and in rticular since the commencement of the war between the two neighboring king- ms, to put the republic in a proper state of defence both by sea and land, and uld have wished that these efforts might have had the desired effect in every respect; d besides it has been found good and resolved that, conformably to the proposition his serene highness, it shall be notified to the respective colleges of the admiralty n sending to them a copy of the said proposition) that they make report and render account how many vessels they had in 1776, in what condition they were, and how any of them were equipped, with the number of men; afterwards, what they have ne since the English have begun to molest the ships of the inhabitants of this untry trading to the West Indies, under pretext of disputes arisen with their Col- nies in North America, and thus from the end of the year 1776 and at the beginning 1777 to put themselves in a condition as much as was possible and in their power protect the commerce of this country, and what they have done since the troubles ave begun in Europe, and that it was to be feared that the republic would become party to put themselves in a condition for what depended upon them to protect t only their commerce, but also to be able to aid in defending the country and tacking the enemy; if they have been active to carry into effect what your high ightinesses have resolved upon this subject, and if any negligence hath had place this regard and in this case for what reasons they have not executed those resolu- ons; if they have been in a possibility of supporting and equipping the vessels put commission, to the end that it may appear to what we ought to attribute the esent situation.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

JOHN ADAMS.

Franklin to Jackson.*

PASSY, *July* 5, 1781, *at 6 in the morning.*

SIR: I have this instant received your letter of the 2d, urging the elivery of the money. I must be short in my reply, as your express aits.

Colonel Laurens indeed obtained a promise of ten millions, to be raised y a loan in Holland. I understood while he was here that that loan as in train, and that the million and a half to be sent with you was a art of it. I since learn that nothing has yet been obtained in Holland, hat the success is not yet certain, and that the money in question is a

*MSS. Dep. of State; 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 165; 9 Sparks' Franklin, 49; 7 Bige- w's Franklin, 258.

part of the six millions I had obtained before his arrival, upon the strength of which I accepted the bills drawn on his father and on Mr. Jay, and without which acceptances the Congress' credit in America would have been ruined, and a loss incurred of twenty per cent. upon the protests. I can not obtain more money here at present, and those bills, being accepted, must be paid, as well as those I accepted on your earnest request for the great unexpected purchase you made in Holland.

Colonel Laurens has carried two millions and a half of that six millions with him, which will serve till the loan in Holland produces a further supply. In the mean time, I can not suffer the credit of our country to be destroyed if by detaining this money it may be saved. And if I were to consent to its going, our banker would be obliged to arrest great part of it as belonging to the States, he being in advance for them, which would occasion much disagreeable noise and very ill consequences to our credit in Europe.

I find by Mr. Viemerange's account, just received, that Mr. Laurens' orders have more than absorbed all the money he did not take with him. I applaud the zeal you have both shown in the affair, but I see that nobody cares how much I am distressed, provided they can carry their own points. I must, therefore, take what care I can of mine; theirs and mine being equally intended for the service of the public. I am sorry to learn that the vessel is detained for this express. I understood by your last that she waited for convoy. I heartily wish you a good voyage, and am, with great esteem, &c.,

B. FRANKLIN.

Franklin to Jackson.*

PASSY, *July* 5, 1781, at 10 A. M.

SIR: I received your letter of the 2d instant by your first express this morning at six, answered it, and sent him away immediately. I have just now received your second express of the same date, in which you threaten me with a proceeding that I apprehend exceedingly imprudent, as it can answer no good end to you, must occasion much scandal, and be thereby very prejudicial to the affairs of the Congress.

But I can not, therefore, consent to suffer their bills to the amount of more than a million accepted and expected to go back protested for want of this money. I have nothing to change in the answer above mentioned. You will, however, follow your own judgment, as I must follow mine, and you will take upon yourself the consequences.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

B. FRANKLIN.

---

* MSS. Dep. of State; 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 166; 9 Sparks' Franklin, 49; 7 Bigelow's Franklin, 260.

Franklin to Jackson.*

PASSY, *July* 6, 1781.

SIR: I received and answered two of your expresses yesterday morn-
ng, and in the evening I received a third letter from you, all dated
he 2d instant.

In this last you tell me "that I must be sensible I can not have the
isposal of the money, as it was obtained, without either my knowl-
dge or concurrence, by Colonel Laurens, appointed special minister
or that purpose." I do not desire to diminish the merit of Colonel
aurens. I believe he would have been glad if it had been in his
ower to have procured ten times the sum, and that no application or
ndustry on his part for that purpose would have been wanting. But
can not let this injurious assertion of yours pass without expressing
y surprise that you, who were always with that gentleman, should
e so totally ignorant of that transaction. The six millions, of which
e took with him two and a half, of which one and a half were sent to
Iolland, and of which more than the remainder is ordered in stores
rom hence, was a *free gift* from the king's goodness (not a *loan* to be
epaid with interest), and was obtained by *my application* long before
olonel Laurens' arrival.

I had also given in a list of the stores to be provided, though on his
oming I cheerfully gave up the further prosecution of that business
nto his hands, as he was better acquainted with the particular wants
f the army than I could be, and it was one of the purposes of his
ppointment.

Thus no part of the affair was done without my "*knowledge and con-
urrence*," except the sending a million and a half of the specie to
Iolland. This was, indeed, a secret to me. I had heard of that sum
eing ready there to embark, but I always till lately understood it to
e a part of the Dutch loan, which I am about to mention, or I should
ertainly have opposed that operation. What Colonel Laurens really
btained, and a great service I hope it will prove, was a loan upon
nterest of ten millions, to be borrowed on the credit of this court in
Iolland. I have not heard that this loan has yet produced anything,
nd therefore I do not know that a single livre exists, or has existed,
Europe of his procuring for the States. On the contrary, he and
ou have drawn from me considerable sums as necessary for your
xpenses, and he left me near forty thousand livres to pay for the
lliance, and, moreover, engaged me in a debt in Holland which I
nderstood might amount to about fifteen thousand pounds sterling,
nd which you contrived to make fifty thousand pounds.

When I mentioned to him the difficulty I should find to pay the drafts,
e said, you have the remainder of the six millions. He gave me no

* MSS. Dep. of State; 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 166; 9 Sparks' Franklin, 51; Bigelow's Franklin, 260.

account of the dispositions he had made, and it is but lately I have learnt that there is no remainder. To gratify you, and to get that ship out, which could not have stirred without me, I have engaged for the vast sum above mentioned, which I am sure I shall be much distressed to pay, and therefore have not deserved at your hands the affront you are advised to menace me with.

And since I find you make it a point of reflection upon me that I want to apply money to the payment of my engagements for the Congress which was obtained by Colonel Laurens for other purposes, I must request that you will, upon this better information, take occasion to correct that error, if you have communicated it to any other person.

By the letters you showed me, that had passed between Mr. Adams and you, I perceived he had imbibed an opinion that Colonel Laurens had, as he expressed it, done more for the United States, in the short time of his being in Europe, than all the rest of their diplomatic corps put together. I should never have disputed this, because I had rather lend a little credit to a friend than take any from him, especially when I am persuaded he will make a good use of it; but when his friends will make such supposititious credit a matter of reproach to me, it is not right to continue silent.

As to the safety of the excellent conveyance you mention, I must own I have some doubts about it, and I fear I shall hear of the arrival of that ship in England before she sees America.* Be that as it may, I am clear that no use can possibly be made of the money in America for supporting the credit of the States equal in any degree to the effect it must have for the same purpose when applied to the payment of their [bills here, which must otherwise go back protested. And I am sure it will be exceedingly prejudicial to their credit if, by the rash proceeding you threaten, this situation of their affairs becomes the subject of public talk and discussion in Europe.

I am, &c.,

B. FRANKLIN.

P. S.—I request you would read again and consider well my first letter to you on this subject. The reasons therein contained subsist still in their full force.] †

---

*Mr. Jackson afterwards had reason to be entirely satisfied with the course pursued by Dr. Franklin on this occasion. He sailed from Amsterdam with Commodore Gillon, who, after cruising four weeks in the North Sea and near the English channel, put into Coruña. From that port Mr. Jackson wrote to Dr. Franklin as follows:

"I am sorry to inform you that the event has verified your prediction in every particular. Mr. Gillon has violated his contract with Colonel Laurens in every instance. I beg leave to present you my most sincere and cordial thanks, as well for myself as my country, for your disposition of the money which was to have been embarked on board this vessel, the event having fatally confirmed your opinion of this man. I conceive my country indebted to your prudence for the preservation of her property, as I do myself for my freedom at this instant; for I am assured, had not your precau-

† Passage in brackets not in letter book.

Franklin to Vergennes.*

PASSY, *July* 6, 1781.

SIR: I have at length received from M. de Viemerange the estimates of the furniture made and to be made by order of Mr. Laurens, and find that it exceeds two millions.

This, with the two millions and half sent from Brest and the million and half in Holland, absorbs the whole of the six millions granted by his majesty's bounty to the United States.

The loan proposed in Holland not having yet produced anything, I am left without the means of paying the Congress bills which I accepted in expectation of being assisted from that loan.

Mr. Grand tells me that we shall not be able to continue paying after the 10th instant.

To prevent this fatal catastrophe I beg your excellency would consider whether the best and easiest method will not be to retain the money in Holland (which is not yet put on board the ship) till an equal sum can be raised there by the loan.

I do not conceive any use that money can possibly be applied to in America will support the credit of the States in any degree equal to the payment of their bills here.

I have no opinion of Capt. Gillon's conduct or of the safety of the conveyance by any ship under his care.

I therefore request earnestly an order for the stoppage of that 1,500,000 livres for the present, and that it may be applied to the payment of our accepted bills.

Or, if this can not be obtained, that credit may be given for the stores furnished by M. Viemerange and Messrs. Sabbalier & Company till

---

tion prevented the embarkation, I should at this hour have been a prisoner; I need not say where."—Coruña, September 26, 1781.

It would seem that there were personal differences between Commodore Gillon, Mr. Jackson, and some of the other passengers. Gillon complained of Mr. Jackson's conduct in letters to Dr. Franklin and Mr. Adams, from which it is obvious that the above expressions of discontent on the part of Mr. Jackson are to be received with considerable modification, as dictated more by feeling than by a calm and impartial view of the case. Commodore Gillon said that he had been detained long on the coast by contrary winds, and came to Coruña for a supply of provisions, as he had not enough remaining, in consequence of this detention, to enable him to cross the Atlantic. There were five hundred and fifty men on board. Three hundred of these were marines, who were called *Volontaires de Luxembourg*, and whom he had engaged by the king's permission in France for the State of South Carolina. They were to serve three years. Dr. Waterhouse, who was a passenger on board the vessel, had a favorable opinion of the commodore, as appears by a letter he wrote from Coruña to Mr. Adams. He thought the difficulties were chiefly to be ascribed to Mr. Jackson and one or two other passengers, who took offence without a just cause, and he has since written in relation to this affair: "I had, and always shall have, a high degree of respect for Commodore Gillon as an able and honorable man."—Note to 7 Bigelow's Franklin, 263.

* Franklin MSS., Dep. of State.

they can be paid from the loan in Holland, and that the sum those stores amount to may be advanced to us gradually as our bills may become due.

It is with the utmost reluctance I give your excellency this trouble; but if we can not go on with our payments we are *ruined*.

With great and sincere respect, I am, sir, your excellency's.

Franklin to Vergennes. *

PASSY, *July* 6, 1781.

It seems to have been insinuated, either through mistake or ill will to the United States:

1. That their merchants have combined to depreciate the bills drawn on France.

2. That their trade with England is as great as before the war.

I have known two instances wherein bills of exchange on England have fallen more than 15 per cent. lower than the present price of bills on France.

The first was in 1739, when an expedition being projected against Carthagena, the government of England ordered 3,000 men to be raised in America, and transports with provisions to be furnished, for the amount of which expense bills were ordered to be drawn on the treasury at London. This adventitious quantity of bills coming into market and being more than the common course of the commerce required, occasioned the lowering of their price 42½ per cent. below the rate before accustomed.

The like happened a few days after, when, in a prospect of short crops of corn in Europe, orders were received in America to purchase and send over vast quantities, and to draw bills and sell them in the country in order to raise money for the purchase. This sudden addition to the quantity of bills produced a fall of forty per cent. in their price. And this must always happen in some proportion when the quantity of any article *in commerce* exceeds the present demand.

And when it is considered that the merchants of America are numerous, and dispersed through 13 different provinces, at great distances from each other, such a combination will appear as improbable as that the farmers in France should combine to raise the price of wheat.

With regard to the English commerce, there is none, certainly, but what is contraband, and there can be no temptation to such contraband, but for particular commodities that are cheaper there than in France. The quantity, therefore, can not be great. Such contraband is found difficult to prevent in all countries. It is carried on at this

---

* 7 Bigelow's Franklin, 264.

In a memorandum, Dr. Franklin says: "The following paper was delivered to M. de Rayneval, to be by him communicated to Count de Vergennes, in order to correct some wrong ideas of that minister."

time between France and England. But there are many commodities much cheaper in France, such as wines, silks, oils, modes, etc., which will be of great consumption in America; and when correspondences are once settled, and the people there become acquainted with the manufactures of France, the demand for them will increase; these manufactures will of course be improved in goodness and cheapness, and the trade continue to augment accordingly.

It is difficult to change suddenly the whole current of connections, correspondences, and confidences that subsist between merchants, and carry them all into a new channel; but time and a continuance of friendship will make great alterations.

B. FRANKLIN.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.*

AMSTERDAM, *July* 7, 1781.

SIR: The following resolution was passed at The Hague the 2d of this month by their high mightinesses the States-General respecting the Duke of Brunswick:

Heard the report of Messrs. de Lynden, de Hemmen, and other deputies of their high mightinesses for marine affairs, who, in consequence and conformity to a commissorial resolution of their high mightinesses of the 21st of last month, have examined a letter of the Duke of Brunswick, dated at The Hague the same day, and containing serious complaints upon the proposition that the gentlemen the deputies of the city of Amsterdam have made to his highness, after that many calumnies and atrocious accusations had been circulated against him in public, upon which, having deliberated, it hath been found good and resolved,

That, saving the deliberations of the lords the States of the respective provinces upon the complaints relative to the proceedings of the gentlemen the deputies of Amsterdam, their high mightinesses, not being able to see with indifference that my lord the Duke of Brunswick, in quality of field marshal of this state, be publicly accused in so enormous a manner, it may from this time be declared, and it is declared by the present, that it is not manifest to their high mightinesses that there are any reasons which could furnish any ground for such accusations and suspicions of bad faith and of corruption as have been alleged to the charge of my lord the duke, and that have been circulated abroad in anonymous writings, defamatory libels, and dishonorable reports; that, on the contrary, their high mightinesses regard them as false and injurious calumnies, spread with design to disgrace and wound the honor and reputation of my lord the duke, whilst that their high mightinesses hold the said lord the duke entirely innocent and exempt from the blame with which the libels and reports alleged endeavor to disgrace him.

That, in consequence, the gentlemen the States of the respective provinces should be required by writing, and that it should be submitted to their consideration, if they could not find it good each in their provinces, conformably to the placards of the country, to make the necessary regulations to restrain the authors, printers, and distributors of such like defamatory libels and malicious and calumnious writings, by which the said lord the duke is so sensibly attacked and wounded in his honor and reputation.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

JOHN ADAMS.

---

* MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 428.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.*

AMSTERDAM, *July* 7, 1781.

SIR: Under the head of St. Petersburgh is the following article:

On the 8th of June the minister of the court of Versailles had a conference with the Count Osterman, vice chancellor of the empire, and remitted to him a memorial containing representations upon the continued proceedings of the English against the commerce and navigation of neuters; upon the little activity of these last to prevent these arbitrary proceedings, and supporting thereby the principles of their declarations made to the belligerent powers and the convention of neutrality which has been agreed upon between them; upon the prejudice which ought naturally to result from it to the whole world, and upon the desire which the king his master has that it should be remedied by the vigorous co-operation of her Imperial majesty, seeing that without that the said association of neutrality would turn only to the advantage of the enemies of France, and that the king, who to this moment has confined himself exactly to the principle of the above-mentioned declaration and convention of neutrality, would see himself, although with regret, in the indispensable necessity of changing in like manner the system which he had hitherto followed with respect to the commerce and navigation of neuters, and of measuring and regulating it upon the conduct which the English shall allow themselves, and which was so patiently borne by the neuters—objects in regard to which his majesty has nevertheless judged it his duty to suspend his final resolution until he can concert upon this subject with her Imperial majesty.

Mr. Dana left Amsterdam this day and is gone to Utrecht, and from thence he will proceed on his journey to Petersburgh without delay. Mr. Jennings does not accompany him.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

JOHN ADAMS.

J. Adams to Vergennes.†

VERSAILLES, *July* 7, 1781.

SIR: I have the honor to inform your excellency that upon an intimation from you, signified to me by M. Berenger and afterwards by the Duc de la Vauguyon, that the interest of the United States required me here, I arrived last night in Paris, and am come to-day to Versailles to pay my respects to your excellency and receive your further communications. As your excellency was in council when I had the honor to call at your office, and as it is very possible that some other day may be more agreeable, I have the honor to request you to appoint the time which will be most convenient for me to wait on you.

I have the honor to be, with great respect, sir, your most obedient and most humble servant,

JOHN ADAMS.

The foregoing letter I sent by my servant, who waited until the count descended from council, when he delivered it into his hand. He

---

* MSS. Dep. of State: 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 429.

† MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 426; 7 J. Adams' Works, 431.

broke the seal, read the letter, and said he was very sorry he could not see Mr. Adams, but he was obliged to go into the country immediately after dinner; that Mr. Adams *seroit dans le cas de voir M. de Rayneval*, who lived at such a sign in such a street. After dinner I called on M. Rayneval, who said: M. le Duc de la Vauguyon has informed me that there is a question of a pacification, under the mediation of the Emperor of Germany and the Empress of Russia, and that it was necessary that I should have some consultations at leisure with the Count de Vergennes, that we might understand each other's views; that he would see the count to-morrow morning and write me when he would meet me; that they had not changed their principles nor their system; that the treaties were the foundation of all negociation. I said that I lodged at the hotel de Valois, where I did formerly; that I should be ready to wait on the count when it would be agreeable to him, and to confer with him upon everything relative to any proposition which the English might have made. He said the English had not made any propositions; but it was necessary to consider certain points and make certain preparatory arrangements; to know whether we were British subjects, or in what light we were to be considered, &c. Smiling, I said I was not a British subject; that I had renounced that character many years ago forever, and that I should rather be a fugitive in China or Malabar than ever reassume that character.

On the 9th was brought me by one of the Count de Vergennes' ordinary commissaries the following billet:

M. DE RAYNEVAL TO JOHN ADAMS.

[Translation.]

VERSAILLES, *July* 9, 1781.

SIR: I have had the honor to inform you that the Count de Vergennes desired to have an interview with you, and it will give him pleasure if you can meet him on Wednesday next, at nine o'clock in the morning.

Meantime, I have the honor to be, &c.,

GERARD DE RAYNEVAL.

TO M. DE RAYNEVAL.

PARIS, *July* 9, 1781.

SIR: I have this moment the honor of your billet of this day's date, and will do myself the honor to wait on his excellency the Count de Vergennes at his office on Wednesday next, at nine of the clock in the morning, according to his desire.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

JOHN ADAMS.

Accordingly, on Wednesday I went to Versailles and met the count at his office, with M. de Rayneval, at nine o'clock, who communicated to me the following articles proposed by the two imperial courts. That Spain had prepared her answers; that of France was nearly ready; but did not know that England had yet answered. (Here follows record of mediators' proceedings.)

Morris to Jay.*

PHILADELPHIA, *July* 7, 1781.

DEAR SIR: This will accompany my former letter of the 4th instant, which you will perceive to be so written as that it may be shown, if necessary, to the Spanish minister. You will make such use of it as prudence may dictate. I would gladly now give you details of our situation and plans for reforming it; but I have not yet sufficiently obtained the one nor matured the other. Whenever I am in capacity to apprize you fully of these things you shall hear from me at large on the subject. At present I can only inform you that a sum of hard money will, from particular circumstances, afford us relief and turn to our advantage far beyond what might be supposed from the amount. Although I have stated the demand at five millions, yet I beg you will take as much as you can obtain, though it be far short of that sum. But at the same time I repeat, that a very small one is not worth the acceptance. Knowing our wants to be great, you will judge properly as to what we can accept consistently with our dignity.

I enclose you a cypher, and with the duplicate of my letters I will send you another. Should both arrive safe, you will be so kind as to hand one to Mr. Carmichael, letting me know which you keep and write by.

I have the honor to be your excellency's most obedient and humble servant,

ROBERT MORRIS.

Jay to Franklin.†

MADRID, *July* 9, 1781.

DEAR SIR: Many weeks have elapsed since I have been favored with any letters from you. I have received a letter from Col. Laurens, dated at sea, and covering the one herewith enclosed for you. A vessel has arrived at Bilboa in twenty-four days from Salem. I received by her some family letters, which came from Bilbao under cover to a gentleman here. She brought for me a large packet, which was put into the post-office and ought to have come to hand a week ago. I have inquired for it, but in vain. This is not an uncommon case, and shows how necessary it is that Congress should take some other means for conveying intelligence to and from their ministers than European post-offices. Be pleased to make my compliments to your grandson, and remind him that he is three letters in my debt.

You will also find herewith enclosed a copy of a letter I have received from Silas Talbot, a prisoner at Plymouth, requesting aid. This gentleman gives a true description of himself. He has on several occasions

---

*4 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 316.

†MSS. Dep. of State; 9 Sparks' Franklin, 57; 2 Jay's Life, 83; 2 Corr. and Pub. Papers of John Jay, 51.

acted like a very brave and enterprising officer, and the journals of Congress contain ample evidence of it. I sincerely lament his situation, and regret that my own does not put it in my power to afford him relief. The far greater part of the money which the public demands require here I draw from you. The amount of the bills drawn upon me by Congress far exceeds that of the funds prepared for their payment, and the debts already incurred on account of distressed American seamen still remain unpaid. It would not be delicate in me to advance money to Col. Talbot and then request the favor of you to replace it, especially as his situation places him more immediately under your care than mine. All that I can therefore do with propriety is to make you acquainted with his case. He has served his country zealously and has right to her care; gratitude as well policy dictates it.

I fear too little attention has been paid to our captive seamen. I often hear of many entering into the enemy's service for want of bread, and for ill treatment not retaliated; even those who have the good fortune and address to escape are frequently obliged, in seeking opportunities to return home, to wander about from place to place, friendless, penniless, ignorant of the language of the strangers through whose land they pass, making known their wants only by the voice of distress, and subsisting on the wretched husks cast to them by the frugal hand of charity. Nor is this all; although their misfortunes on finding American vessels bound home ought to recommend them to their brethren, yet it too often happens that masters of American vessels inhumanly refuse (unless paid passage money) to carry home those unfortunate people, though offering to do duty without wages as sailors during the voyage.

I am, dear sir, with sincere esteem and regard, your obliged and affectionate servant,

JOHN JAY.

Marbois to the President of Congress.*

[Translation.]

PHILADELPHIA, *July* 9, 1781.

SIR: The undersigned, chargé d'affaires of France, has the honor of informing Congress that the Count de Barras, commander of his majesty's squadron stationed on the coasts of the thirteen States, labors at this moment under an urgent necessity of completing his crews. The diseases which have prevailed on board of this squadron, the battle in which it has been engaged, a long absence from the ports of the kingdom, and the manœuvres employed by many individuals to excite the French sailors to desertion, are causes which have diminished in a considerable degree the number of those who are employed on board of this

* 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 742.

squadron. The undersigned is instructed to communicate these circumstances to Congress. The French commander thinks that if he may be authorised by the legislatures of the New England States to impress French sailors, and to remove them from the different vessels in which they may be found, he will very soon be enabled to remedy the diminution of numbers which he has experienced.

MARBOIS.

Morris to Jay.*

OFFICE OF FINANCE, *July* 9, 1781.

DEAR SIR: Observing by your correspondence with Congress that you are put to a good deal of expense by American seamen arriving from captivity at Cadiz, where they also grow very troublesome, I offer the following proposal to your consideration: Authorise Mr. Harrison, or whoever may be your agent at Cadiz, to enter into contracts with such Americans as present themselves for the bounty of their country to proceed from Cadiz, in such ship or vessel as he may provide for the purpose, for such port within the United States as he may appoint, at the monthly wages of six or eight Spanish dollars, to be paid as soon after their arrival in America as the cargo of the vessel shall be landed. After they sign such contract, he is to supply their wants sparingly, until he collects a sufficient number to man a suitable vessel, which he may procure either by charter or purchase, whichever may be in his power and shall appear most eligible at the time. If he charter, it should be on such terms that the owners risk their vessel, putting in their own master, and, if they choose it, part of the seamen. The vessel to be loaded with salt for account and risk of the United States; freight so much per bushel or so much per ton to America and back. But in that case let it be always a condition that the vessel may be ordered from the first place she arrives to any one other port in America; because it may happen that she will arrive where there can not be got a cargo to load her back, or where the salt would be of no use.

If your funds will admit of it, and vessels can be furnished cheap, this would be the more eligible mode of doing the business, because I could then either send the vessels back or sell, as might suit best. In case of purchase, they should be fast sailers, with good sails and rigging well found and fitted, and if armed, so much the better. Honest, active industrious, and faithful masters must be provided for these vessels and they must all come addressed to my order directed for this port with liberty, however, to get into any safe port they can. The master to give me immediate notice of his arrival, when I shall give proper orders, or probably have them previously ready. An account of the moneys advanced to each person on board these vessels, as well as the

---

* 4 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 317.

ost and outfit of the ship and cost of the cargo, must be sent me by ach vessel, in order that proper deductions may be made from the eople and proper credits be given for the costs. You will observe I m duly empowered by Congress to export and import for account and isk of the United States; and I think this plan so likely to benefit the ublic, that I very freely give my sanction to it, provided you can find he money. Your agent must give me regular advice of every expedi- ion, and inform you also whenever he commences them. When a ship s provided and a master appointed, all the men should sign articles for he voyage in the common form.

I am, dear sir, &c.,

ROBERT MORRIS.

Morris to the President of Congress.*

PHILADELPHIA, *July* 9, 1781.

SIR: The exhausted state of our finances and the very great advan- ages which would result from a considerable loan or subsidy in our resent condition are too well known to your excellency and Congress o need any argument or explanation. It is a melancholy truth that o very considerable sums can be borrowed within the States, as well rom the want of ability in the people to lend as from the want of redit in the government. From the best information I can obtain ur credit abroad is at a very low ebb, so that but little advantage an be derived from an application to rich individuals. As to any equest which might be made to sovereign powers, I am to observe that he affairs of the United Provinces of the Netherlands are in such a tate that *they* will want all the monies they may be able to obtain for he purpose of their own immediate defence. The exertions of France equire such great expenditures, and her pecuniary advances to us lready are so considerable, that any farther demands of that sort can ot easily be made. I confess I have little hopes from any other power han Spain, and perhaps there is no great reason for hopes even there. rom a perusal of the several papers relative to the negotiations with pain and those for a peace, it seems as if the great difficulty in the rmer arises from a contest about the navigation of the Mississippi, hile in the last resolutions relating to the latter, this navigation, ogether with many other important objects, seems to have been eventu- lly submitted to the disposition of his most Christian majesty. I am o observe to your excellency that I have requested the honorable Mr. ay to make pressing applications for money to the court of Spain, and hat I think it probable he may succeed in obtaining it, especially if n alliance is once formed with that court. But it is more than possi- le that after great points are discussed, some lesser matters relating

* Franklin MSS., Dep. of State.

to them may interfere, so as to postpone an event which, from the reasons already suggested, appears to be desirable. If it should appear prudent (*sic*) to Congress to submit these things in any degree to the discretion of their minister it might save time, which is very precious. I would by no means press a matter of this kind, though my duty to the United States compels me to mention it, and I hope I shall on that principle be excused for this application.

Whilst Mr. Jay is employed in obtaining a loan or subsidy from the court of Spain, it may probably be of some advantage to try the court of Portugal also. That kingdom has heretofore felt and acknowledged the benefits it derived from our commerce, which may hereafter be more extensive, unfettered with British restraints, and consequently of greater advantage. Having already written to Mr. Jay respecting the moneys to be obtained from Spain, I propose to address him on the subject of Portugal by a vessel that sails for Cadiz next Tuesday; and if Mr. Carmichael can be spared from Madrid to make a trip in his private capacity to Lisbon, it is probable he will soon discover what may be expected from that quarter, and Mr. Jay can then act accordingly. Should Congress disapprove of this measure, they will please to signify their will and I shall desist, observing that our minister at Madrid and his secretary are distressed for the safety of the despatches to and from them; and as I think it of importance that my present letters, with cyphers, should go free from inspection to their hands, I intend to send a special messenger with them, who of course will carry any other despatches Congress may think proper to charge him with.

I have the honor to be, with due respect, your excellency's most obedient humble servant,

ROBT. MORRIS,
S. G. of Finances.

P. S.—I will endeavor to have this vessel detained at Chester until Thursday morning.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.*

AMSTERDAM, *July* 10, 1781.

SIR: On Wednesday, the 4th of July, M. de Lynden Blitterswyk presiding in the assembly, hath related and acquainted their high mightinesses that the Duke of Brunswick had been with him that morning and given him to understand, "That he had been informed of the resolution that their high mightinesses had taken the 2d of July upon the letter that he had the honor of remitting to them the 21st of June last; that he was extremely sensible of the marks of confidence and affection that their high mightinesses had been pleased to give him on this occasion, and that in an affair to the subject of which he had not

*MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 430.

rectly carried his complaints to their high mightinesses; that he was evertheless not less persuaded that the intention of their high mightesses could not be by that to let the affair rest provisionally, much less hat thereby they should have satisfied the respectful demand and equisition contained in his said letter, by which he had required an xact and vigorous examination, and demanded for that purpose of their gh mightinesses such steps as had been more amply mentioned in the aid letter; and that then only he had required such a justificatory solution and satisfaction as had been afterwards demanded by that tter; that he ought to insist upon that so much the more, as by that rovisional resolution, as taken without previous inquiry, one could by o means think him cleared from the blame and affront which had been ffered him, for which reason he had conceived that he could and ought implore the resolution of all the high confederates themselves, as e still continued to implore it with earnestness;" praying M. de Lynen, as president of the assembly of their high mightinesses, to be leased to acquaint them therewith.

Which having been deliberated, it hath been resolved and concluded, To pray by the present the gentlemen the deputies of the respective rovinces to be pleased to acquaint the gentlemen the States their prinpals with the above, to the end that in the deliberations upon the tter of the Duke of Brunswick such reflections may be made upon the bove as they shall judge proper.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

JOHN ADAMS.

Franklin to Jackson.*

PASSY, *July* 10, 1781.

SIR: Last night I received your fourth letter on the same subject. ou are anxious to carry the money with you because it will re-animate he credit of America.

My situation and long acquaintance with affairs relating to the public redit enable me, I think, to judge better than you can do, who are a ovice in them, what employment of it will most conduce to that end; nd I imagine the retaining it to pay the Congress drafts has infinitely he advantage.

You repeat that the ship is detained by my refusal; you forget your aving written to me expressly that she waited for convoy.

You remind me of the great expense the detention of the ship occaons. Who has given orders to stop her? It was not me; I had no uthority to do it. Have you? And do you imagine, if you have taken uch authority upon you, that the Congress ought to bear the expense ccasioned by your imprudence, and that the blame of detaining the

*Franklin MSS. Dep. of State; 7 Bigelow's Franklin, 266.

necessary stores the ship contains will be excused by your fond desire of carrying the money?

The noise you have rashly made about this matter, contrary to the advice of Mr. Adams, which you asked and received, and which was to comply with my requisition, has already done great mischief to our credit in Holland. Messrs. Fizeaux have declared they will advance to him no more money on his bills upon me to assist in paying the Congress drafts on him. Your commodore, too, complains, in a letter I have seen, that he finds it difficult to get money for my acceptances of your drafts in order to clear his ship, though before this proceeding of yours bills on me were, as Mr. Adams assures me, in as good credit on the exchange of Amsterdam as those of any banker in Europe.

I suppose the difficulty mentioned by the commodore is the true reason of the ship's stay, if in fact the convoy is gone without her. Credit is a delicate tender thing, capable of being blasted with a breath. The public talk you have occasioned about my stopping the money and the conjectures of the reasons or necessity of doing it have created doubts and suspicions of most pernicious consequence. It is a matter that should have passed in silence.

You repeat as a reason for your conduct that the money was obtained by the great exertions of Col. Laurens. Who obtained the grant is a matter of no importance, though the use I propose to make of it is of the greatest. But the fact is not as you state it. I obtained it before he came, and if he were here I am sure I could convince him of the necessity of leaving it, especially after I should have informed him that you had made in Holland the enormous purchase of £40,000 sterling's worth of goods over and above the £10,000 worth which I had agreed should be purchased by him for my credit; and that you had induced me to engage for the payment of your purchase by showing me a paper said to contain his orders to you for making it which I then took to be his handwriting, though I afterwards found it to be yours, and not signed by him. It would be an additional reason with him when I should remind him that he himself, to induce me to come into the proposal of Commodore Gillon and the rest of the Holland transaction to which I was averse, assured me he had mentioned it to the minister, and that it was approved of; that, on the contrary, I find the minister remembers nothing of it, very much dislikes it, and absolutely refuses to furnish any money to discharge that account.

You finish your letter by telling me that "the daily enhancement of expense to the United States from these difficulties is worthy the attention of those whose *duty* it is to economise the public money and to whom the common weal is intrusted, without deranging the special department of another." The ship's lying there with 5 or 600 men on board is undoubtedly a great daily expense, but it is you that occasion it; and these superior airs you give yourself, young gentleman, of reproof to me and reminding me of my duty do

not become you, whose "special department" and employ in public affairs, of which you are so vain, is but of yesterday, and would never have existed but by my concurrence, and would have ended in disgrace if I had not supported your enormous purchases by accepting your drafts.

The charging me with want of economy is particularly improper in you, when the only instance you know of it is my having indiscreetly complyed with your demand in advancing you 120 louis for the expense of your journey to Paris, and when the only instance I know of your economizing money is your sending me three expresses one after another on the same day all the way from Holland to Paris, each with a letter saying the same thing, to the same no purpose.

This dispute is as useless as it is unpleasant. It can only create ill blood. Pray let us end it.

I have the honor to be,

Franklin to the President of Congress.*

PASSY, *July* 11, 1781.

SIR: The number of Congress bills that have been drawn on the ministers in Spain and Holland, which I am by my acceptances bound to pay, as well as those drawn upon myself, the extreme importance of supporting the credit of Congress, which would be disgraced in a political as well as a pecuniary light through all the courts of Europe, if these bills should go back protested; and the unexpected delays arising with regard to the intended loan in Holland—all those considerations have compelled me to stop the one million five hundred thousand livres which were to have been sent by way of Amsterdam. As soon as more money can be furnished to me by this court I shall take care to replace that sum, and forward with it as great an addition as possible. I am now soliciting supplies of clothing, arms, ammunition, &c., to replace what has been unfortunately lost in the *Marquis de la Fayette*, and hope to succeed.

Captain Jackson, who is truly zealous for the service, has been exceedingly solicitous and earnest with me to induce me to permit the money to go in this ship; but, for the reasons above mentioned, I find it absolutely necessary to retain it for the present, which I doubt not will be approved by Congress.

With great respect, I have the honor to be, &c.,

B. FRANKLIN.

---

*MSS. Dep. of State; 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 168; 7 Bigelow's Franklin, 269.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.*

PARIS, *July* 11, 1781.

SIR: I have only time by Major Jackson to inform Congress that upon information from the Count de Vergennes that questions concerning peace under the mediation of the two imperial courts were in agitation that required my presence, I undertook the journey, and arrived here last Friday night, the 6th of the month, and have twice waited on the Count de Vergennes at Versailles, who this day communicated to me the enclosed propositions.

These propositions are made to all the belligerent powers by the courts of Petersburgh and Vienna, in consequence of some wild propositions made to them by the court of London, "that they would undertake the office of mediators, upon condition that the league, as they call it, between France and their rebel subjects in America should be dissolved, and these left to make their terms with Great Britain after having returned to their allegiance and obedience."

France and Spain have prepared their answers to these propositions of the empress and emperor, and I am desired to give my answer to the articles enclosed. It is not in my power at this time to enclose to Congress my answer, because I have not made it, nor written it; but Congress must see that nothing can come of this manœuvre, at least for a long time. Thus much I may say, that I have no objection to the proposition of treating with the English separately in the manner proposed upon a peace and a treaty of commerce with them consistent with our engagements with France and Spain; but that the armistice never can be agreed to by me. The objections against it are as numerous as they are momentous and decisive. I may say further, that as there is no judge upon earth of a sovereign power but the nation that composes it, I can never agree to the mediation of any powers, however respectable, until they have acknowledged our sovereignty, so far at least as to admit a minister plenipotentiary from the United States as the representative of a free and independent power. After this we might discuss questions of peace or truce with Great Britain without her acknowledging our sovereignty, but not before.

I fancy, however, that Congress will be applied to for their sentiments, and I shall be ever ready and happy to obey their instructions, because I have a full confidence that nothing will be decided by them but what will be consistent with their character and dignity. Peace will only be retarded by relaxations and concessions, whereas firmness, patience, and perseverance will ensure us a good and lasting one in the end. The English are obliged to keep up the talk of peace to lull their enemies and to sustain their credit. But I hope the people of

*MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 431, with verbal changes; 7 J. Adams' Works, 433.

America will not be deceived. Nothing will obtain them real peace but skillful and successful war.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

JOHN ADAMS.

ARTICLES TO SERVE AS A BASIS TO THE NEGOCIATION FOR THE RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF PEACE.

[Translation.]

ARTICLE I. The re-establishment of peace in America shall be negociated between Great Britain and the American Colonies, but without the intervention of any of the other belligerent parties, nor even with that of the two imperial courts, unless their mediation should be formally asked and granted upon this object.

ARTICLE II. This separate peace can not, however, be signed but conjointly and at the same time with that of those powers whose interests shall have been negociated by the mediating courts for this reason, although each peace may be separately treated; yet they can not be concluded without each other. Care shall be taken to inform the mediators with certainty of the measures and state of that which regards Great Britain and the Colonies, to the end that the mediation may be able to regulate the measures intrusted to it by the state of the negociation relating to the Colonies, and both of the pacifications which shall have been concluded at the same time, although separately, shall be solemnly guarantied by the mediating courts and every other neutral power whose guarantee the belligerent parties may think proper to claim.

ARTICLE III. To render the negociations for peace independent of the events of war, always uncertain, which may put a stop to, or at least retard, their progress, there shall be a general armistice between all parties during the term of a year, reckoning from —— of the month of ——— of the present year, or of —— years, reckoning from —— of the month of ——— of the year 1782, should it happen that peace should not be re-established in the first period, and whilst the duration of either of these periods continue everything shall remain in the state in which they shall be found at signing the present preliminary articles.

Marbois to the Secretary of Congress.*

[Translation.]

PHILADELPHIA, *July* 11, 1781.

SIR: I have received, in the absence of the Chevalier de la Luzerne, the letter which you took the trouble to write to inform that minister of the king that the honorable Thomas McKean had been chosen President of Congress in the place of the honorable Samuel Huntington. I shall communicate this change to his majesty's minister on his return to Philadelphia, and also to the minister having the direction of foreign affairs in France. We are very sorry to see that Mr. Huntington is obliged, by ill health, to resign an office in the exercise of which he has given frequent proofs of his wisdom, and of his attachment to the thirteen States and to the alliance. But the choice by Congress of the honorable Mr. McKean leaves nothing to be wished for, and I can assure

*5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 743,

you, sir, that his majesty's minister will be eager to show to him the same confidence which he has shown to his predecessor, and that we shall use all exertions to merit his in return.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

MARBOIS.

Revocation of Adams' Commission to Negotiate Commercial Treaty.*

CONGRESS, *July* 12, 1781.

A motion was made by Mr. Madison, seconded by Mr. Mathews,

That the commission and instructions for negotiating a treaty of commerce between these United States and Great Britain given to the honorable John Adams on the 29 day of September, 1779, be, and they are hereby, revoked.

On the question to agree to this, the yeas and nays being required by Mr. Partridge,

New Hampshire	Mr. Livermore	No.	No.
Massachusetts	Mr. Partridge	No.	No.
	Mr. Osgood	No.	
Rhode Island	Mr. Varnum	Aye.	Aye.
Connecticut	Mr. Ellsworth	No.	No.
	Mr. Sherman	No.	
Pennsylvania	Mr. Montgomery	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Clymer	Aye.	
	Mr. T. Smith	Aye.	
Delaware	Mr. Rodney	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. McKean	Aye.	
Maryland	Mr. Jenifer	No.	Aye.
	Mr. Carroll	Aye.	
	Mr. Potts	Aye.	
Virginia	Mr. Jones	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Madison	Aye.	
	Mr. Bland	Aye.	
North Carolina	Mr. Sharpe	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Johnston	Aye.	
South Carolina	Mr. Mathews	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Bee	Aye.	
	Mr. Motte	Aye.	
	Mr. Eveleigh	Aye.	
Georgia	Mr. Walton	Aye.	Aye.
	Mr. Few	Aye.	
	Mr. Howley	Aye.	

So it was resolved in the affirmative.

Morris to Jay.†

PHILADELPHIA, *July* 13, 1781.

DEAR SIR: I enclose you in this packet the plan of a national bank, which I have been induced to adopt for the following reasons: The issuing of a large paper medium converted the coin of the country into

---

* MSS. Dep. of State; printed secret journals.

† 4 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 318.

a commodity, so that much of it was exported and the remainder concealed. The depreciation of our paper has so lessened our currency that there is not a sufficiency for commerce and taxation, without creating by the latter such distress in the former as must injure every order of men in the community. It is necessary, therefore, to fill up the deficiency in such proportion as it may be called, and with such medium as may preserve its value.

I have already in my letter of the 4th instant stated the want of ability in the people to lend and of credit in the government to borrow. An additional reason, therefore, for establishing a bank is that the small sums advanced by the holders of bank stock may be multiplied in the usual manner by means of their credit, so as to increase the resource which government can draw from it, and at the same time, by placing the collected mass of private credit between the lenders and borrowers, supply at once the want of ability in the one and of credit in the other.

An additional reason for this institution is, to supply the place of all our other paper, which it is my design to absorb as soon as possible, and thereby to relieve the people from those doubts and anxieties which have weakened our efforts, relaxed our industry, and impaired our wealth. But this must not be done without the substitution of other paper for reasons which I have already assigned, and because that our commerce would suffer for the want of that facility in money transactions which paper alone can give.

Finally, one very strong motive, which has impelled my conduct on this occasion, is to unite the several States more closely together in one general money connexion, and indissolubly to attach many powerful individuals to the cause of our country by the strong principle of self-love and the immediate sense of private interest. It may not be, perhaps, improper to show and explain this plan to the Spanish ministry. They will then perceive how, by an advance of money, they may in this instance increase our resources and our efforts in a degree much superior to the immediate sum, and they may be assured that on a variety of other occasions similar benefits will result from it. I take this opportunity, however, to observe to you, that I do not mean this or any other communication should be absolutely made. It is, on the contrary, my unalterable opinion that a prudent minister on the spot should be left to act with large discretionary power, being always furnished with such details as will enable him to judge with propriety and act with decision.

It will undoubtedly strike your observation that the sum of four hundred thousand dollars is very small, considering the object which it is my design to effect. I acknowledge that it is so, and when I tell you that I was very apprehensive that we should be unable to fill a larger subscription, and when I add, that it is far from certain we shall get all of this moderate sum, you will see still more clearly the force of

those observations which I have already made. But it is weakness to be deterred by difficulties from a proper pursuit. I am, therefore, determined that the bank shall be well supported until it can support itself, and then it will support us. I mean that the stock, instead of four hundred thousand dollars, shall be four hundred thousand pounds, and perhaps more. How soon it will rise to that amount it is impossible to foresee. But this we may venture to assert, that if a considerable sum of specie can be speedily thrown into it, the period when its force and utility will be felt and known is not far off.

After I had determined to make the application to the court of Madrid which is contained in my letters, it was my next object to obtain for you such support as might materially favor your operations. For this purpose I have written to Dr. Franklin, and have told him that you would receive by this conveyance and forward to him copies of those resolutions and letters which may be necessary to explain my appointment and powers. I lay this task on your secretaries, because the want of clerks in my office and the many things to be done, together with the short time allowed me by the departure of the vessel, prevent me from having duplicates made out. I have written to the doctor to apply to the court of Versailles to further your negociations with their influence. I am confident his application will not be unsuccessful; but how you may derive most benefit from the co-operation of the French court you best can tell. Major Franks, therefore, is instructed to take your orders for Passy and return thence to Philadelphia; so that you will have an opportunity of communicating fully with the doctor on any subject you think proper. You may write to me by any opportunity if this should arrive safe, because our cypher will prevent you from being exposed to interested or impertinent curiosity.

To obtain for you still further assistance, I have applied (in the absence of M. de la Luzerne, who is gone to camp) to M. de Marbois for letters to their ambassador at the court of Madrid. I have stated my views, my hopes, and wishes with that candor which is proper on such occasions, and which I wish to preserve on all occasions. M. de Marbois has, in consequence, written a letter on the subject, in which he informs the ambassador of our conversation, states the disorders of our finances, and makes polite mention of my operations, my designs, and abilities, as well as the confidence reposed in me by Congress and by the people at large. He details the proposed plans, and particularly that of the bank, and shows forcibly the advantages which would result from a considerable advance of money by Spain. He assigns also very proper reasons to show why it ought to be considerable, if it be made at all. The great interest of France in this business, as well as the open and candid manner which has marked all transactions I have hitherto had with the minister of that nation, induces me to believe that this letter is more than a compliment, and that as it is intended, so it will operate to produce the desired effect.

That nothing in my power might be wanting to the success of a business which you must be convinced I have very much at heart, I have also applied to Don Francisco Rendon, who at present acts here for Spain; and I have every reason to believe that he will write to the Spanish court such a letter as I wish. But after all, much, my dear sir, must depend on your prudence, your activity, and your intentions to incline, to stimulate, to lead the ministry into our views, to remove the obstacles, surmount the difficulties, and crush the procrastinations which retard the completion of an object so essential to your country. I am happy to add that I have the utmost confidence in your abilities, your industry, and integrity.

There is a possibility that money may be obtained from Portugal, and though I confess there is not a very solid ground to build on, and though it must be owned that appearances are against us, yet I think it best not too much to trust to appearances, either favorable or unfavorable, and to leave nothing unattempted which may be useful. It was for reasons of this sort that my letter of the 9th instant, which I enclose you a copy of, was written to Congress. In consequence of it, on the 11th they passed a resolution, of which I also enclose you a copy, and have only to add that you will act entirely according to your own discretion on this occasion. I can not pretend to know the situation of the court of Lisbon, and therefore I will not attempt to measure out a line of conduct to be pursued there. You are, for every reason, more competent to this business than I am, and therefore I submit it to your management entirely.

You will observe that a material part of my letter of the 9th remains unnoticed by Congress. The committee had not yesterday reported upon it. Should anything be done previous to the departure of this vessel you shall know it. But you are so well acquainted with the delays incident to public assemblies, that you will not be surprised if you hear nothing further on the subject.

It is unnecessary for me to make any other mention of Major Franks, except to inform you that, after a critical examination into his conduct by a court of inquiry, he was honorably acquitted of all improper connexion with his late general.* For the rest, you are perfectly acquainted with him, and will therefore take that notice of him which he deserves.

I am, dear sir, your most obedient and humble servant,

ROBERT MORRIS.

PLAN OF A BANK REFERRED TO IN THE PRECEDING LETTER.

1. That a subscription be opened for four hundred thousand dollars, in shares of four hundred dollars each, to be paid in gold or silver.

2. That the subscription be paid into the hands of George Clymer and John Nixon, or their agents.

*Major Franks was aid to General Arnold at the time his treachery was discovered, but he was honorably acquitted from all suspicion of having any knowledge of Arnold's designs.—SPARKS.

3. That any subscriber of less than five shares pay the whole sum on the day of his subscription.

4. That every subscriber of five shares or upwards pay one-half the sum on the day of his subscription, and the other half within three months of that day.

5. That every holder of a share shall be entitled to vote by himself, his agent, or proxy properly appointed, at all elections for directors, and that he have as many votes as he holds shares. And that every subscriber may sell and transfer his share or shares at his pleasure, the transfer being made in the bank book, in presence and with the approbation of the proprietor, or his lawful attorney, the purchaser then to become entitled to the right of voting, &c.

6. That there be twelve directors chosen from among those entitled to vote, who at this first meeting shall choose one as president.

7. That there be a meeting of the directors quarterly, for the purpose of regulating the affairs of the bank; any seven of the directors to make a board, and that the board have power to adjourn from time to time.

8. That the board of directors determine the manner of doing business and the rules and forms to be pursued, appoint the various officers which they may find necessary, and dispose of the money and credit of the bank for the interest and benefit of the proprietors, and make from time to time such dividends out of the profits as they may think proper.

9. That the board be empowered from time to time to open new subscriptions, for the purpose of increasing the capital of the bank, on such terms and conditions as they shall think proper.

10. That the board shall, at every quarterly meeting, choose two directors to inspect and control the business of the bank for the ensuing three months.

11. That the inspectors so chosen shall, on the evening of every day, Sundays excepted, deliver to the superintendent of the finances of America a state of the cash account and of the notes issued and received.

12. That the bank notes, payable on demand, shall by law be made receivable in the duties and taxes of every State in the Union, and from the respective States, by the treasury of the United States, as specie.

13. That the superintendent of the finances of America shall have a right at all times to examine into the affairs of the bank, and for that purpose shall have access to all the books and papers.

14. That any director or officer of the bank who shall convert any of the property, money, or credits thereof to his own use, or shall any other way be guilty of fraud or embezzlement, shall forfeit all his share or stock to the company.

15. That laws shall be passed making it felony, without benefit of clergy, to commit such fraud or embezzlement.

16. That the subscribers shall be incorporated under the name of the President, Directors, and Company of the Bank of North America.

17. That none of the directors shall be entitled to any pecuniary advantage for his attendance on the duties of his office of director, or as president, or inspector, unless an alteration in this respect shall hereafter be made by the consent of a majority of the stockholders at a general election.

18. That as soon as the subscription shall be filled, Mr. George Clymer and Mr. John Nixon shall publish a list of the names and sums respectively subscribed, with the places of abode of the subscribers, and appoint a day for the choice of directors, to whom, when chosen, they shall deliver over the money by them received.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE ABOVE PLAN.

ARTICLE 1. The objects and use of a bank are too obvious to need illustration. But it may not be amiss to take notice that the first moment of its getting into action the credit arising from its funds can be made use of by the Government of the United States in anticipation of taxes, in consequence of special agreements to be made be-

tween their superintendent of finance and the directors for that purpose; and as the capital and credit of the bank increase, so may this mode of anticipation be increased to answer all the purposes of government. It is, however, evident at the first view that four hundred thousand dollars are not sufficient for those purposes, nor those of private commerce, because no considerable circulation of paper can be founded on so narrow a basis; yet it is dangerous to attempt more. It is not possible to determine what is the highest sum that could speedily be obtained by subscription. To ask more than could be obtained would have a fatal effect; to ask less is a partial evil. It is, however, an evil which admits of a remedy, as is provided in the plan.

ARTICLE 2. Before the corporation is formed, and much more so before the subscription is opened, by which the company is to be determined, no authority can be bestowed under the corporation. At the same time it must be remembered that, in circumstances like ours, the loss of time involves in it the loss of many advantages. It becomes necessary, therefore, to appoint individuals to manage the subscription and receive the money. Mr. Clymer and Mr. Nixon having been formerly directors of the Bank of Pennsylvania, and being thereby generally known in that line, their names naturally present themselves for this purpose.

ARTICLES 3 and 4. The difference as to payments of large and small is so common an incitement to subscribers on such occasions as to speak for itself.

ARTICLE 5. The subscribers, it is expected, will consist of citizens of every State in the Union, and possibly foreigners may subscribe or purchase bank stock; therefore the necessity and propriety of enabling them to vote by proxy; and this being a moneyed institution, it is just that every share be entitled to a vote.

ARTICLE 6. As the stockholders will mostly be absent from the place where the bank is kept, the number of twelve seems quite sufficient for the direction, as they will generally be chosen from the residents, and there ought to be room left for rotation among these.

ARTICLES 7 and 8. This plan, if adopted, will be considered as the constitution of the bank, and therefore necessary to establish in it the powers of government by by-laws, rules, and regulations, and making dividends out of the profits. It is meant that they should annually pay a dividend of five or six per cent. to the proprietors of the stock, and then settling the accounts of the bank, declare publicly, if necessary to give credit and confidence, what capital remains after such dividend. It will be observed that such dividends are confined to be made out of the profits; consequently the capitals can never be touched.

ARTICLE 9. When the directors, by paying a dividend out of the profits, establish the credit of the bank firmly in the minds of the stockholders, and by declaring the capital stock at the same time to be increased, give it equal confidence in the general opinion, there is little doubt but they may open new subscriptions for increasing the capital with certainty of success.

ARTICLES 10, 11, and 12. As credit is the soul of all operations of this kind, every precaution should be taken to support it. In the course of things, much of the private property of America may be dependent on the condition of affairs at the bank. Care, therefore, should be taken to prevent fraud and mismanagement. If the transactions were opened to public inspection, it would be impossible to do the business amidst the continued interruption; besides that, in this way the national enemies would be apprized of our resources and operations. It is necessary, therefore, by instituting a check, to guard against the ill consequences which lie in the way, as the public will have much connexion with the bank, and at times deposit considerable sums of money in it, and always be availing themselves of its credit. The check should be in the hands of that officer who is appointed to manage the moneyed interests of America.

ARTICLES 13 and 14. The penalties on fraud and embezzlement are derived from the same source and are supported by the same reasoning.

ARTICLES 15 and 16. The necessity of incorporating the bank is obvious, and the propriety of rendering the office of a director honorable, rather than lucrative, arises

from this circumstance, over and above the difference between motives of fame and interest, that at present any adequate salaries would absorb the profits, and in future the care of their own interests as stockholders will be an additional inducement to the first characters to accept the direction, for it is not doubted but every subscriber will increase his capital in the bank so soon as he finds not only the national advantages it will produce, but sees clearly his private interest advanced beyond his most sanguine expectations.

Morris to Franklin.*

PHILADELPHIA, *July* 13, 1781.

SIR: The unanimous appointment to the superintendency of our finances with which Congress have honored me, and my conviction of the necessity that some *one* person should endeavor to introduce method and economy into the administration of affairs, have induced me, though with reluctance, to accept that office. Mr. Jay will receive by this conveyance and forward to you copies of those resolutions and letters which may be necessary to explain my appointment and powers.

I wish I could as readily effect, as I most ardently desire, the accomplishment of all proper arrangements. Thoroughly convinced that no country is truly independent until, with her own credit and resources, she is able to defend herself and correct her enemies, it shall be my constant endeavor to establish our credit and draw out our resources in such manner that we may be little burdensome and essentially useful to our friends.

I am sure I need not mention to *you* the importance of collecting a revenue with ease and expending it with economy. As little need I detail the time, the authority, the ability, the favorable circumstances that must combine for these purposes. But I think that I may assert that the situation of a country just emerging from dependence and struggling for existence is peculiarly unfavorable; and I may add that this country, by relying too much on paper, is in a condition of peculiar disorder and debility. To rescue and restore her is an object equal to my warmest wishes, though probably beyond the stretch of my abilities.

Success will greatly depend on the pecuniary aid we may obtain from abroad, because money is necessary to introduce economy, while, at the same time, economy is necessary to obtain money; besides that, a greater plenty of solid circulating medium is required to support those operations which must give stability to our credit, fruitfulness to our revenue, and activity to our operations. Among those things which, after the experience and example of other ages and nations, I have been induced to adopt, is that of a national bank, the plan of which I enclose. I mean to render this a principal pillar of American credit, so as to obtain the money of individuals for the benefit of the Union, and thereby bind those individuals more strongly to the general cause by

---

* MSS. Dep. of State; 6 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 272.

the ties of private interest. To the efficacy of this plan, as well as to the establishment of a mint, which would also be of use, a considerable sum of money is necessary, and, indeed, it is indispensably so for many other purposes.

Be not alarmed, sir, from what I have said, with the apprehension that I am about to direct solicitations to the court of Versailles, which, after the repeated favors they have conferred, must be peculiarly disagreeable. On the contrary, as I am convinced that the moneys of France will all be usefully employed in the vigorous prosecution of the war by her own fleets and armies, I lament every sum which is diverted from them. Our necessities have indeed called for her aid, and perhaps they may continue to do so. Those calls have hitherto been favorably attended to, and the pressure of our necessities has been generously alleviated; nor do I at all doubt that future exigencies will excite the same dispositions in our favor, and that those dispositions will be followed with corresponding effects. But I again repeat my wish at once to render America independent of and useful to her friends.

With these views, I have directed Mr. Jay to ask a considerable sum from the court of Madrid, to be advanced us at the Havana and brought thence by us, if it can not conveniently be landed here from Spanish men-of-war.* I say *a considerable sum*, because, as I have declared to him, I do not wish to labor under the weight of obligation without deriving from it any real benefit; and because I consider the advance of small sums rather as a temporary palliation than a radical remedy. Our disorders are such that the former can be of no use, and it would be better to desist in a desultory defence than to put on the delusive appearances of a vigor that we do not feel; for this lulls the people into a dangerous security, and softens those hopes of the enemy which give duration and extent to the war. It is the disorder of our finances which have prevented us from a powerful co-operation with our allies, and which have enabled the enemy to linger on our coasts with the dregs of a force once formidable; and it is from this cause that they have been permitted to extend the theatre and multiply the victims of their ambition.

America alone will not derive benefit from the advances which Spain may make to her. All the associates in the war will feel the *consequential* advantages. The expense of the American war now hangs a heavy weight about the neck of Britain and enfeebles her on that element which she called her own. An increase of that expense, or the loss of her posts here, must necessarily follow from additional efforts on our part, and either of these must be a consequential benefit to those who are opposed to her. France will derive a small *immediate* benefit from it, as she will thereby get more money here for her bills of exchange than she can at present procure. But it is not so much from any

* See Morris to Jay; July 4, 1781, *supra*.

advantage which may be expected to that kingdom, or from any motive of *interest*, as from the generosity and magnanimity of the prince, tha we hope for support. I will not doubt a moment that, at your instance his majesty will make pressing representations in support of Mr. Jay' application, and I hope that the authority of so great a sovereign an the arguments of his able ministry will shed auspicious influence on ou negociations at Madrid.

From the best returns I have been able to collect, and which are i some measure imperfect from the confusions and disasters of the south ern States I find that there are about seven millions two hundred thou sand dollars due on certificates, which bear an interest of six per cent payable in France, at the rate of five livres for every dollar. Man causes have conspired to depreciate the certificates, notwithstandin the interest is so well secured and has been punctually paid. Thi depreciation is so great, that they are daily offered for sale at a ver considerable discount, which is attended with two pernicious conse quences; one, that a considerable expense is unnecessarily incurred and the other, that the public credit is unnecessarily impaired. If had the means, therefore, I would remove this evil by purchasing i the certificates; and to procure the means I am to pray that you woul state this matter fully to the ministers of his most Christian majesty The interest being guarantied by the court of France, they now pa for this purpose two millions one hundred and sixty thousand livre annually; a sum which in less than ten years would pay a debt o fifteen millions of livres at five per cent. interest. With fifteen million of livres, however, prudently managed, the whole of these certifi cates might be paid. I am sure it is unnecessary to dwell on th advantages which would result from making such a loan for this pur pose, and I trust that if this matter is stated to M. Necker, tha enlightened minister will co-operate in the plan to the utmost of hi ability. I again repeat, that I do not wish to lay any burdens o France; but this proposal is calculated to relieve us both; and in an case the expense to France will be the same. Should it be adopted, must request the earliest notice that my operations may commence and in any case I hope that secrecy will be observed for the most evi dent reasons.

I am sorry to inform you that we have as yet no satisfactory news o the ship *Lafayette;* but, on the contrary, her long delay occasions th most alarming apprehensions. If, as but too probable, that ship is lost you will more easily conceive than I can describe what will be the situa tion of our troops next winter.

I could wish as soon as possible to have a state of all the publi accounts transmitted, to the end that moneys due to the United State may be paid, and measures taken to provide for such sums as the stand indebted in to others. Your excellency will, I dare say, sen them as soon as may be convenient; and I hope the public affairs wil

hereafter be conducted in such a manner as to give you much less of that unnecessary trouble which you have hitherto experienced, and which could not but have harassed you exceedingly, and perhaps taken up time which would otherwise have been devoted to more important objects.

I shall probably have frequent occasion to address you, and shall always be happy to hear from you; but the mischiefs which arise from having letters intercepted are great and alarming. I have, therefore, enclosed you a cypher, and in the duplicate of my letters I shall enclose another. If both arrive, you will use one, and in case of your absence, leave the other with such person as may supply your place. Let me know, however, which cypher you use.

The bearer of this letter, Major Franks, formerly an aid-de-camp to General Arnold, and honorably acquitted of all connexion with him after a full and impartial inquiry, will be able to give you our public news more particularly than I could relate them. He sails hence for Cadiz, and on his arrival will proceed to Madrid, where, having delivered my letters to Mr. Jay, he will take his orders for you. He will then wait your orders, and I hope will soon after meet a safe opportunity of coming to America.

With the most perfect esteem and regard, I have the honor to be, &c.,

ROBERT MORRIS.

J. Adams to Vergennes.*

PARIS, *July* 13, 1781.

SIR: I have the honor to enclose to your excellency some remarks upon the articles to serve as a basis of the negociation for the re-establishment of peace which you did me the honor to communicate to me.

As I am unacquainted whether you desired my sentiments upon these articles merely for your own government, or with a design to communicate them to the imperial courts, I should be glad of your excellency's advice concerning them. If your excellency is of opinion there is anything exceptionable or which ought to be altered, I should be glad to correct it; or if I have not perceived the points or questions upon which you desired my opinion, I shall be ready to give any further answers.

I have the honor to be, &c., JOHN ADAMS.

ANSWER OF THE MINISTER PLENIPOTENTIARY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA TO THE ARTICLES TO SERVE AS A BASIS TO THE NEGOCIATION FOR THE RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF PEACE.

ARTICLE I. The United States of America have no objection, provided their allies have none, to a treaty with Great Britain concerning the re-establishment of peace in America or to another concerning the re-establishment of commerce between the

* MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 433.

two nations consistent with their obligations to France and Spain, without the intervention of any of the other belligerent parties, and even without that of the two imperial courts at least, unless their mediation should be formally demanded and granted upon this object, according to the first article communicated to me.

ARTICLE II. The United States have nothing to say, provided their allies have not, against the second article.

ARTICLE III. To the armistice and the *statu quo*, in the third article, the United States have very great objections, which indeed are so numerous and decisive, and at the same time so obvious, as to make it unnecessary to state them in detail.

The idea of a truce is not suggested in these articles, but as it is mentioned in some observations shown me by his excellency the Count de Vergennes, it may be necessary for me to add that the United States are so deeply impressed with an apprehension that any truce whatsoever would not fail to be productive of another long and bloody war at the termination of it, and that a short truce would be in many ways highly dangerous to them, that it would be with great reluctance that they should enter into any discussion at all upon such a subject.

Two express conditions would be indispensable preliminaries to their taking into consideration the subject of a truce at all. The first is, that their allies agree that the treaties now subsisting remain in full force during and after the truce until the final acknowledgment of their independence by Great Britain. The second is, the antecedent removal of the British land and naval armaments from every part of the United States. Upon these two express conditions as preliminaries, if a truce should be proposed for so long a period or for an indefinite period, requiring so long notice previous to a renewal of hostilities as to evince that it is on the part of Great Britain a virtual relinquishment of the object of the war and an expedient only to avoid the mortification of an express acknowledgment of the independence and sovereignty of the United States, they, with the concurrence of their allies, might accede to it.

It is requisite, however, to add, first, that the United States can not consider themselves bound by this declaration, unless it should be agreed to before the opening of another campaign. Secondly, that it is not in the power of the crown of Great Britain, by the constitution of that kingdom, to establish any truce, or even armistice, with the United States which would not be illusory without the intervention of an act of Parliament, repealing or suspending all their statutes which have any relation to the United States or any of them. Without this, every officer of the navy would be bound by the laws, according to the maxims of their constitution, to seize every American vessel that he should find whose papers and destination should not be found conformable to those statutes, and every French, Spanish, Dutch, or other foreign vessel which he should find going to, or coming from America, notwithstanding any convention which is in the power of the crown to make.

After all, the greatest difficulty does not lie in anything as yet mentioned. The great question is, in what character are the United States to be considered? They know themselves to be a free, sovereign, and independent State, of right and in fact.

They are considered and acknowledged as such by France. They can not be represented in a congress of ministers from the several powers of Europe, whether their representative is called ambassador, minister, or agent, without an acknowledgment of their independence, of which the very admission of a representative from them is an avowal. Great Britain can not agree with their representative upon a truce, or even an armistice, without admitting their freedom and independence.

As there is upon earth no judge of a sovereign state but the nation that composes it, the United States can never consent that their independence shall be discussed or called in question by any sovereign or sovereigns, however respectable, nor can their interests be made a question in any congress in which their character is not acknowledged and their minister admitted. If, therefore, the two imperial courts would acknowledge and lay down as a preliminary the sovereignty of the United States, and admit their minister to a congress, after this a treaty might be com-

nenced between the minister of Great Britain and the minister of the United States elative to a truce, or peace and commerce, in the manner proposed, without any express knowledgment of their sovereignty by Great Britain until the treaty should e concluded.

The sovereigns of Europe have a right to negociate concerning their own interests, nd to deliberate concerning the question whether it is consistent with their dignity nd interests to acknowledge expressly the sovereignty of the United States, and to ake treaties with them by their ministers in a congress or otherwise, and America ould make no objection to it; but neither the United States nor France can ever onsent that the existence of their sovereignty shall be made a question in such congress; because, let that congress determine as it might, their sovereignty, with submission only to Divine Providence, never can and never will be given up.

As the British court, in first suggesting the idea of a congress to the imperial ourts, insisted upon the annihilation of the league, as they were pleased to call it, etween France and their rebel subjects, as they were pleased again to phrase it, and pon the return of these to their allegiance and obedience, as preliminaries to any ongress or mediation, there is too much reason to fear that the British ministry ave no serious intentions or sincere dispositions for peace, and that they mean nothg but amusement; because the support of the sovereignty of the United States was he primary object of the war on the part of France and America; the destruction of , that of Great Britain. If, therefore, the treaty between France and America were nnulled and the Americans returned to the domination and monopoly of Great ritain, there would be no need of troubling all Europe with a congress to make eace. All points between France, Spain, and Great Britain might be easily adjusted mong themselves. Surely the affairs of Great Britain are in no part of the world so riumphant, nor those of any of their enemies so adverse, as to give this ministry any rious hopes that France and America will renounce the object of the war. There nst, therefore, be some other view.

It is not difficult to penetrate the design of the British ministry upon this any more han upon many former occasions. They think that a distrust of them, and a jealousy hat they would not adhere with good faith to the propositions of reconciliation which hey have made from time to time, were, in the minds of the Americans, the true cause hy these propositions were not accepted. They now think that, by prevailing on he two imperial courts and other courts to warranty to the Americans any similar rms they may propose to them, they shall remove this obstacle, and by this means, though they know that no public authority in America will agree to such terms, hey think they shall be able to represent things in such a light as to induce many esertions from the American army and many apostates from the American independence and alliance. In this way they would pursue their long-practised arts of eduction, deception, and division. In these again, as in so many former attempts, they ould find themselves disappointed, and would make very few deserters or apostates. ut it is to be hoped that the powers of Europe will not give to those superficial artices, with which that ministry have so long destroyed the repose of the United States nd of the British dominions at home and abroad and disturbed the tranquillity of urope, so much attention as to enable them to continue much longer such evils to ankind.

JOHN ADAMS.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.*

PARIS, *July* 14, 1781.

SIR: I have the honor to enclose copy of a letter to the Comte de Vergennes and copy of articles and an answer.

Peace is so desirable an object, that humanity as well as policy demands of every nation to harken with patience and sincerity to every proposition which has a tendency to it even only in appearance. I can not, however, see any symptoms of a sincere disposition to it in the English. They are endeavoring to administer soporifics to their enemies: but they will not succeed. Peace, however, will never be made by the English while they make any figure in the United States.

I have the honor, &c.,

JOHN ADAMS.

Morris to Franklin.†

PHILADELPHIA, *July* 14, 1781.

DEAR SIR: If Major Franks had departed yesterday, as was expected, he would have left the enclosed cypher behind. It was supposed to have been with the plans of the intended bank, but was left out by accident. I wish you would, when leisure and opportunity will permit, converse with some of the eminent bankers in Paris on this plan, and ask whether a correspondence and connexion with the directors will be agreeable, and whether they would establish a credit for this bank, and to what amount, to be replaced again by remittances in other bills within such time as they may limit. Or, if they decline giving such credit, then the terms on which they will receive remittances and pay drafts of the bank.

An American bank must deal largely in bills of exchange. It will thereby rule the price of bills, so as to keep it pretty steady, by passing most of the bills drawn on the continent through their channel, so as to leave a certain moderate profit. And the use of a credit in Europe will be to have paid for their honor such bills as may be protested on account of the drawers; by which means the bank will secure the damages of twenty per cent., and pay only interest for advance and commission for negociating. Occasion may also offer when the bank, by drawing on Europe, shall get a high price for bills, and in a few months replace them much cheaper.

I do not wish to give you trouble on this occasion; but, if opportunities offer, you can mention the subject, and if any of the bankers will write me proposals, I will lay them before the directors. You will tell them that although the very moderate sum of four hundred thou-

* MSS. Dep. of State.

† MSS. Dep. of State; 6 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 276.

and dollars is proposed as the first capital, I intend to increase it radually to ten times that sum. The only difficulty is to get it into ction now that people have but little money and less confidence. I hould be glad to see your name in the list of subscribers to an institu-on that I believe will be permanent.

I ever am, dear sir, yours, &c.,

ROBERT MORRIS.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.*

PARIS, *July* 15, 1781.

SIR: I have the honor to enclose copy of a letter to the Count de ergennes and of certain articles and their answers. The British ourt proposed to the imperial courts a congress upon two preliminary onditions—the rupture of the treaty with France and the return of merica to their obedience. The two imperial courts have since pro-osed the enclosed articles. Spain and France have prepared their nswers. England has not answered yet, and no ministers are yet com-issioned or appointed by any power. If she accepts the terms, I hould not scruple to accept them, too, excepting the armistice and *statu uo*. I mean I should not insist upon a previous explicit acknowledg-ent of the sovereignty of the United States before I went to Vienna. see nothing inconsistent with the character or dignity of the United tates in their minister going to Vienna at the same time when minis-ers from the other powers are there and entering into treaty with a ritish minister without any explicit acknowledgment of our inde-endence before the conclusion of the treaty. The very existence of uch a congress would be of use to our reputation.

But I can not yet believe that Britain will waive her preliminaries. he will still insist upon the dissolution of the treaty and upon the eturn of the Americans under her government. This, however, will o no honor to her moderation or pacific sentiments in the opinion of he powers of Europe.

Something may grow out of these negociations in time, but it will robably be several years before anything can be done. Americans an only quicken these negociations by decisive strokes. No depreda-ons upon their trade, no conquests of their possessions in the East or Vest Indies will have any effect upon the English to induce them to ake peace while they see they have an army in the United States, nd can flatter themselves with the hope of conquering or regaining merica; because they think that with America under their govern-ent they can easily regain whatever they may lose now in any part of he world; whereas the total expulsion of their forces in the United tates would extinguish their hopes, and persuade them to peace

*MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 237, with verbal changes; 7 J. dams' Works, 440.

sooner than the loss of everything else. The belligerent powers and the neutral powers may flatter themselves with the hopes of a restoration of peace, but they will all be disappointed while the English have a soldier in America. It is amazing to me that France and Spain do not see it, and direct their forces accordingly.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

JOHN ADAMS.

J. Adams to Vergennes.*

PARIS, *July* 16, 1781.

SIR: Since my letter of the 13th, upon further reflection, I have thought it necessary to explain myself a little more particularly in some points to your excellency. If I comprehend the facts, the British court first proposed to the imperial courts a congress and a mediation upon two conditions: 1st. The dissolution of the treaties between France and the United States. 2d. The return of the Americans under the British Government.

In consequence of this proposal from the court of St. James, the two imperial courts have made the proposition of the articles which were shown to me to the courts of France, Spain, and England, neither of which has yet given its answer. Their Imperial majesties have omitted the two conditions which the British court insisted on as preliminaries, and mean to admit a representative of the United States to the congress to negociate separately with the British minister without ascertaining the title or character of the American representative until the two pacifications shall be accomplished.

I am in my own mind apprehensive, though I devoutly wish I may be mistaken, that the British court, in their answer to the articles, will adhere to their two preliminaries. It is very convenient for the English to hold up the idea of peace; it serves them to relieve their credit at certain times when it is in distress; it serves to disconcert the projects of the neutral powers to their disadvantage; it enables their friends in the United Provinces to keep the Dutch nation in that state of division, sloth, and inactivity from which they derive so much plunder with so much safety. But I can not persuade myself that the English will soberly think of peace while they have any military force in the United States and can preserve a gleam of hope of conquering or regaining America. While this hope remains, no depredations on their commerce, no loss of dominions in the East or West Indies, will induce them to make peace; because they think that with America reunited to them they could easily regain whatever they may now lose. This opinion of theirs may be extravagant and enthusiastical, and they would not find it so easy to recover their losses; but they certainly entertain it, and while it remains I fear they will not make peace.

---

* MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 438; 7 J. Adams' Works 441.

Yet it seems they have negociated themselves into a delicate situation. If they should obstinately adhere to their two preliminaries, against the advice of the two imperial courts, this might seriously affect their reputation, if they have any, for moderation and for pacific dispositions, not only in those courts, but in all the courts and countries of Europe, and they would not easily answer it to their own subjects, who are weary of the war. Peace is so desirable an object, that humanity as well as policy demands of every nation at war a serious attention to every proposition which seems to have a tendency to it, although there may be grounds to suspect that the first proposer of it was not sincere. I think that no power can judge the United States unreasonable in not agreeing to the *statu quo* or the armistice. But perhaps I have not been sufficiently explicit upon another point.

The proposal of a separate treaty between the British minister and the representative of the United States seems to be a benevolent invention to avoid several difficulties; among others, first, that England may be allowed to save her national pride, to think and to say that the independence of America was agreed to voluntarily, and was not dictated to her by France and Spain; secondly, to avoid the previous acknowledgment of American independence, and the previous ascertaining the title and character of the American representative, which the imperial courts may think would be a partiality inconsistent with the character of mediators, and even of neutrals, especially as England has uniformly considered any such step as a hostility against them, though I know not upon what law of nations or of reason.

I can not see that the United States would make any concession, or submit to any indignity, or do anything inconsistent with her character if their minister should appear at Vienna, or elsewhere, with the ministers of ot her powers, and conduct any negociation with a British minister, without having the independence of the United States or his own title and character acknowledged or ascertained by any other power except France until the pacification should be concluded. I do not see that America would lose anything by this, any more than by having a minister in any part of Europe with his character unacknowledged by all the powers of Europe. In order to remove every embarrassment, therefore, as much as possible, if your excellency should be of the same opinion, and advise me to it, I would withdraw every objection to the congress on the part of the United States, and decline nothing but the *statu quo* and the armistice, against which such reasons might be given as I think would convince all men that the United States are bound to refuse them. If your excellency should think it necessary for me to assign these reasons particularly, I will attempt some of them; but it is sufficient for me to say to your excellency that my positive instructions forbid me to agree either to the armistice or *statu quo*.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

JOHN ADAMS.

Morris to the Governor of Havana.*

PHILADELPHIA, *July* 17, 1781.

SIR: The favorable attention shown me by your excellency in my private character has excited those sentiments of esteem and respect which now impel me to ask your assistance for my country.

The United States of North America are at the present moment possessed of more strength in men, arms, and ammunition than when they first ventured to wage war with Great Britain. The means of subsistence are abundantly equal to our own wants and will essentially contribute to the relief of our friends. [Britain, having experienced the impracticability of subduing us, now rages with pride, insolence, and vexation, and tries to lay waste a country which she could not conquer.]† A variety of causes, too numerous to be detailed in the compass of a letter, have combined to destroy the credit of that paper money which has hitherto enabled us to support the war. It has therefore become necessary to provide means for paying the expenses to be incurred hereafter. Our people are not yet inured to taxation, neither has the revenue which this country is capable of affording been drawn fairly or fully into use. The derangement of our credit and finances, consequent upon the loss of faith in our paper, rendered it necessary for Congress to create a superintendent of the finances of the United States, in order that he might regulate and settle the present debts, point out new funds, with the best means of collecting them, and superintend the public expenditures, so as to prevent as much as possible all excess or abuse. This arduous task is assigned to me by a unanimous choice of that honorable body, and nothing could have induced me to undertake it but my perfect conviction that it is necessary some person should commence the work of reformation and economy. I have engaged in this business with the sole view of saving my country, and therefore think myself entitled to seek support from all who are really friends to her independency, and particularly from those nations which have become parties in the war.

I have commenced my administration with a proposal to establish a national bank, the plan of which I take the liberty to enclose. The subscriptions to it are going on, and I expect the very moderate sum therein proposed will soon be completed. When that is done the directors will be chosen, incorporated, and proceed on their business. As the bank notes are intended to be made use of by government in anticipation of the revenues of this country, you will easily perceive that the sum proposed is far short of the object it is intended to accomplish. My present pursuit, therefore, is to obtain such additional sums as will, when deposited in the bank, not only facilitate the anticipations above mentioned, but induce farther subscriptions among our country-

* MSS. Dep. of State; 6 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 277, with changes and omissions.
† Passage in brackets omitted in Sparks' ed.

men. For when they see and feel the use of an institution which they are yet unacquainted with, they will cheerfully and liberally support it.

It is to your excellency that I apply for foreign aid. The vicinity of your situation, the frequent intercourse between your port and this, and your ability to comply with what I shall request all point out the propriety of that application. Your friendly disposition towards these United States, and above all your strong attachment to the interests of your own country, will dispose you to yield me every assistance in your power. The United States have already received very considerable aid from the court of Madrid. Much more, however, is expected,* and in time to come these services will be repaid with honor, as they are now acknowledged with gratitude.

Our distresses induced Congress to order certain bills of exchange to be drawn on their ministers at the courts of Versailles and Madrid. The former have been all negociated and paid off by the assistance of that court. Many of the latter have also been negociated, and those that have appeared for payment have been discharged. There is every reason to believe that this would still happen, but we learn that the advance of money *in Europe* is rendered inconvenient during the war by the impediments which it occasions to the usual course of remittances from his majesty's American territories. We have desisted, therefore, from the further sale of those bills, especially as we have reason to expect that in consequence of measures adopted here Mr. Jay will obtain from your court a much larger sum than we had before asked for, and that the greater part, if not the whole of it, will be paid to us at your port. However this may be, my present view is to obtain from the Havanah, as expeditiously as possible, four hundred thousand Mexican dollars, in order to deposit them in the bank, and thereby, doubling the capital, give its operations such force as will draw the attention of our own citizens, and induce them to afford it such assistance as will reduce our necessities and place us in a situation to be less troublesome to our allies and friends in the common cause.

His excellency the Chevalier de la Luzerne, minister of France at this place, in consequence of orders from his court, has authorized me to draw bills of exchange on Paris to a very considerable amount, and being sensible of the propriety of my proceedings, he will give you assurances that they shall be punctually paid. I transmit a bill for five hundred thousand livres to Robert Smith, Esq., now appointed agent of these United States at your port, in order that he may negociate it and ship the money back to my address. Should it in any manner promote the interests of your court, he will certainly give your excellency a preference in the purchase, and I am confident that if this should not be convenient to you, you will countenance and promote his

* This anticipation was never realized, as the whole amount of the Spanish loan to the United States during the war was no more than one hundred and fifty thousand dollars.—SPARKS.

negociations with private persons. I have also transmitted to Mr. Smith certain bills drawn some time past by order of Congress on his excellency John Jay to the amount of one hundred and twenty thousand three hundred and eighty-one dollars. I am to request, and have strong hopes, that when Mr. Smith shall have deposited these bills with you, your excellency will advance that sum, so that he may immediately ship it to my address.

We are convinced that these bills would, if sent forward, be paid by your court; but as such a negociation would bring no money into the treasury, I propose that you keep them in your possession until the pleasure of the court shall be known. I will write very fully to Mr. Jay on this subject, and obtain the earliest information. But lest the court should not choose that these bills be finally accepted by you in discharge of the moneys advanced on them, I have empowered Mr. Smith, for your perfect security, to enter into conditional stipulations to repay your excellency that money by a delivery of flour to the amount, at such price as you and he may agree for; the payment to commence as soon after the pleasure of the court shall be known as circumstances will admit.

I hope, sir, you will find it agreeable to your inclinations, and perfectly consistent with the duties of your station, to gratify my desires. They are very moderate, considering the necessities of this country and your ability to administer to its relief. Besides, your excellency's good sense will readily perceive that money granted to invigorate the operations of America will weaken and distress the common enemy much more than the same sums expended in Europe, because the enemy must prosecute the war here at more than four times the expense at which it must be carried on there.

Assuring myself of assistance from your excellency, I have ordered one of the Continental frigates to proceed with these despatches for the Havanah. She will take with her some flour, which I have ordered returns for in dollars.

There are two most cogent reasons why this frigate should be despatched instantly from your port with the money. The first is, because we are much in want of it; and the second is, to prevent our enemies from the possibility of receiving any advice of her. We have so contrived things here that everybody believes she is going to join the French fleet at Rhode Island and to carry the flour for their use.

On the whole, I most earnestly entreat your excellency that, if it be at all convenient and consistent with your duty, you will advance the whole of the four hundred thousand dollars in question to Mr. Smith, so that the frigate may immediately return, and that you will in other respects facilitate his departure.

I am sensible that there are certain duties payable to his majesty on the exportation of money from your port; but as this which I apply for is to be expended in carrying on the war against his majesty's enemies, I hope it may be dispensed with; if not, our minister at Madrid will be

directed to make application to the court on that subject, so that the duty, being charged to us in the first instance, may, if not remitted, be added to the general sum. The same observations will apply to the flour on board this frigate, which is also public property.

I hope it is not necessary to add anything more to induce a full compliance with my requests. But his excellency the Chevalier de la Luzerne, minister of France, and Don Francisco Rendon, your own agent here, will also write you on the subject of this application.

I have the honor to remain, with sentiments of the highest esteem and respect, &c.,*

ROBERT MORRIS.

Morris to Robert Smith, Agent for the United States in Cuba.†

PHILADELPHIA, *July* 17, 1781.

SIR: Upon a proper representation of your character, situation, and attachments to your country and its cause, the honorable Congress of the United States of America have thought proper to appoint you their agent at the port of Havanah and Island of Cuba. I take much pleasure in transmitting your commission, which you will find enclosed herein, because my knowledge of you leads me to expect every exertion your situation and the circumstances attending it will admit of in favor of your country.

You will not find any salary annexed to your appointment, for this plain reason—we can not afford any. It is our present business to reduce salaries heretofore given and not to create new ones. This appointment, however, may be attended with pecuniary advantages, because a public character may, and no doubt will, point you out to American merchants as the proper person to entrust with their commercial affairs. Continental prizes and other objects may occasionally turn up which will leave a reasonable commission behind, and you will have the pleasure of serving Congress when necessary, and the citizens and commerce of your country as often as opportunities for doing so may occur.

I shall now put your talents to the proof. You will find enclosed a letter I have written for his excellency Governor Navarro (or should he be gone, for his successor), which will unfold to you very fully my intentions. You will find enclosed in it for him, as in this letter for you, the plan of a national bank, which I have proposed to establish for many valuable purposes. You will observe that the sum proposed as a capital is far short of what it ought to be, but I was afraid of attempting too much at first, and must now endeavor to increase it by other means. If any of your acquaintance in the Havanah have a mind to

---

*For several letters from Mr. Morris to Mr. Jay on the subject of loans in Spain and the national bank, see index, title Morris.

†MSS. Dep. of State; 6 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 281, with changes and omissions.

speculate in the American funds, I think they can not place their money on a more secure and profitable establishment. This bank will, I believe, exist for ages to come, and I am persuaded the annual dividends on the stock will not be less than from eight to ten per cent. They may also have the honor and pleasure of seeing their names enrolled among the first promoters of this useful institution, on which the salvation of our country in some measure depends. Should any of them incline to subscribe they must send hither money at their own risk, consigning it to whomsoever they please, with power to act for them. I hope you will promote this business, and in order that you may be able to show the profits arising from it, I am to observe that when once, by punctual payment, the notes of the bank have obtained full credit, the sum of them may be increased to two or three times the sum in specie which is deposited. By this means the bank will have the interest of stock two or three times larger than that which it really possesses. Should M. Miralles, or any of the family, be so inclined, I will put any part of their money into the bank which they may think proper.

By Captain James Nicholson, commanding the frigate *Trumbull*, I send a bill of lading and invoice for five hundred barrels of flour, which is all fresh and good, and a considerable part of it superfine. This flour I have caused to be shipped to your address on account and risk of the United States of North America. Be pleased to receive it as quickly as may be from the ship, make the most advantageous sale of it which you can, and remit the net proceeds in Mexican dollars, consigned to my order, for account and at the risk of said United States. I expect you will not charge more than five per cent. for transacting this business; that is, two and a half per cent. on the sales and the same on the returns.

I have also enclosed a bill of exchange, drawn by myself on Messrs. Le Couteulx & Co., bankers in Paris, to the amount of five hundred thousand livres tournois; this bill is at sixty days' sight, and you may depend it will be punctually paid, for I have the authority of the court of Versailles to draw it and every assurance I could wish. You will observe by my letter to the governor that he is to have the refusal of this bill. You will therefore offer it to him in the first instance. When I consider the risk which must attend sending money from Havanah to Cadiz, and the remittances, as well private as public, which are to be made from one place to the other, I can not but persuade myself that, unless the government and the people are alike blind to their interests, good bills must sell at a very considerable advance. Should the governor decline taking the bill on Paris, as it is not probable that any one private person could purchase it, you may either remit it to the house of Le Couteulx & Co., banquiérs, Rue de Montorguille, à Paris, or to the house of Messrs. J. L. & L. Le Couteulx & Co., at Cadiz, as may be most convenient for your operations. You will then draw on the house to whom you remit the bill, and sell your bills to the same amount.

Should you remit to the house in Cadiz let me know it, that I may write and apprize them of it; though this I shall do, provisionally, beforehand, so that they may be prepared for you.

I have also, as you will perceive, written to his excellency on the subject of certain other bills of exchange drawn on Mr. Jay. You will endeavor to get the monies for these, if possible; and in case it is required, you will enter into the stipulations there mentioned as to the shipment of flour. In this last case get the flour fixed at as high a rate as possible, and let me have due notice, so that I may punctually cause to be fulfilled whatever contracts you shall, on the part of the public, have entered into.

Should his excellency be inclined to make those advances of money which I have so earnestly pressed upon him you will be able the sooner to despatch the frigate, which I hope will be done without delay; but as there is a risk in placing large sums on board any one vessel, I am to observe that if there should be any fast-sailing vessels about to leave the Havanah at the same time, and if in consideration of convoy they will take the public money freight free, you will then prudently distribute it among them, and direct Captain Nicholson to give them signals and to take them under his convoy; but I must caution you that on no consideration is any private property to be covered as belonging to the public, either to save the duties or for any other purpose. You will, therefore, use all proper vigilance to prevent everything of this sort, should it be attempted. If there are not such vessels as Captain Nicholson and you shall approve of ready to sail, then ship the whole money in the frigate, for the risk of being waylaid by the enemy in consequence of any unnecessary delay is greater than that of being otherwise intercepted.

It is unnecessary for me to mention to you that we want money exceedingly. This very measure must convince you of it. Exert yourself therefore to get it, and you will merit much at the hands of your country. Should you not succeed in getting the whole sum I have asked for, get as much as you possibly can, and if the governor should decline advancing any money on the bills drawn by order of Congress on Mr. Jay, perhaps the intendant may accept your contract for flour and take these bills in security, or you may possibly borrow on their credit from individuals, to be repaid when I shall send you shipments of flour, which I will cause to be done so soon as I shall hear from you to this effect.

I have forbidden Captain Nicholson to cruise, but should fortune enable him to bring a good prize into Havanah, the continent has one-half, and you must send to me that half in dollars. Whatever supplies the frigate is absolutely in need of you must let her have; but I entreat that her expenses may be as moderate as possible, and the best way to secure this is to despatch her quick, for the moment they get clear of the salt-water air and feel their land tacks on board every soul on board will try to get his hands into your pockets; but *guarda.*

I have desired Captain Nicholson to consult with and obey you whilst in Havanah and to push off whenever you say the word. I shall send you flour by private vessels for the sake of getting money back, and write you further as occasion may require.

I am, dear sir, &c.,

ROBERT MORRIS.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.*

AMSTERDAM, *July* 17, 1781.

SIR: Since my letter of the 26th of June last the memorial of the deputies of the city of Amsterdam of the 8th of June has appeared entire, and is conceived in the following terms:

MOST SERENE AND ILLUSTRIOUS PRINCE AND LORD:

The gentlemen the deputies of the city of Amsterdam, in the name and by the order of the gentlemen their constituents, have the honor to represent to your most serene highness, that the said constituents having learnt with much uneasiness the discontent that your highness had taken on the subject of their last proposition, made in the assembly of their noble and grand mightinesses, although it had been contrary to their intention to give your highness the least offence, or to offer him any insult or displeasure, they have seized with great satisfaction an opportunity to give your highness the most sincere assurances of it; that they flatter themselves that, for what they shall have the honor of laying before you, your highness will be able to deduce the reasons, for which they have not previously acquainted him with the contents of the said proposition, before it hath been remitted to the assembly of their noble and grand mightinesses; that they should feel a real chagrin if your highness attributed this silence to any particular distrust towards his person; they declare that they are absolutely divested of it, and that they have nothing so much at heart as to excite and cherish between your highness and their city that confidence that the well-being and advancement of the public cause render inevitably necessary: that by their proposition they have only wished to open a way to find out and carry into execution such measures as the critical situation of affairs most pressingly requires for the safety and preservation of their dear country.

That placed at the head of the government of a very populous city, in which the lower class of the people begin already to feel that indigence which results from a want of business, they are obliged to show in effect, and in the best manner possible, that they desire not to let any opportunity escape of encouraging and promoting the well-being of the country and of its good citizens, unless they would run the risk of entirely destroying the proper authority and the good order, which in a popular government are founded only upon the confidence of the people and of the burgesses in its regents, and of seeing in a little time a total anarchy, that they had thought that affairs had for a long time, and particularly since the rupture with England, appeared in the eyes of the whole nation, and not without reason, to be administered in a strange and inconceivable manner, seeing that notwithstanding the extreme condescendence to the wishes of England, we had only experienced from that kingdom each year contempt, affronts, and insults, which have been lately crowned by an open war, commenced by the capture of a considerable number of our vessels and the invasion of our foreign possessions, and that, nevertheless, we had remained in a defenceless state, and taken no sufficient steps to place the republic in a situation to protect its liberty, its well-acquired rights, its extensive navigation, and its lawful commerce.

---

* MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 441.

That, nevertheless, it is an incontestable truth that the members of government have for a long time been of opinion that it is principally by sea that it is necessary to place themselves upon a respectable footing, as it evidently appears by the different resolutions taken in the year 1778, and followed by different reports, petitions, and assents to augment and reinforce the equipages of vessels of war, and particularly by the report of the 30th of March, 1779; that notwithstanding the said opinions and resolutions of the confederates to equip all the vessels of war of the state and to construct new ones, yet at this moment, after so much time has elapsed, and some things have taken so disadvantageous a turn, there hath not been put to sea the thirty-two vessels stipulated in the month of April, 1779, much less still the fifty-two whose armament had been resolved upon the last year, so that to this moment none of the precautions proposed in the month of March, 1779, to the generality for the defence of our coasts and the mouths of our rivers have been taken.

That the regency of our city, with all the good citizens of the republic, who discover the best disposition possible to pay the ordinary and extraordinary imposts, has been much surprised at the little promptitude and at the slowness in the executions of resolutions so important for the sovereign; for it is impossible to believe that the situation in which the respective admiralties found themselves should be so bad that they could not effect in two years the equipments that they themselves had proposed, as they had no want of money, and as the necessity of them became more and more pressing daily; that in consequence one could not conceive what were the causes of this slowness and inactivity no more than of the non-execution of the resolutions and orders to secure the coasts and harbors, and above all, one could not form an idea of the unforeseen obstacles and difficulties which have prevented the sailing of few vessels which had been supposed perfectly in a state of putting to sea, even when your highness, after a suitable examination of things, had given the necessary orders to this effect.

That seeing it is to this state of inactivity and incapacity of defending themselves that it is necessary to attribute in the greatest measure the evils and calamities which have happened to the republic and which still threaten it, and that to this moment we have not been able to observe that any vigorous measures are taken to prevent future misfortunes and to repair those already suffered (without which we ought soon to expect the total ruin of the republic), we have judged it the indispensable duty of the brave regents, and that they can not dispense themselves from searching out to what one ought to attribute this inexcusable negligence, and by what means one may remedy it and direct and re-establish still affairs, as much as possible, for the safety of the state.

That this having been attempted from time to time privately, but in vain, and affairs becoming more and more disadvantageous and critical, it was so much the more necessary to take vigorous resolutions, and one could not longer defer the concerting of suitable measures; that from a mature and deliberate consideration of the whole of this had resulted the proposition, made by order of the regency of Amsterdam, the 18th of May last, to the assembly of Holland, and submitted to the judgment and deliberations of the other members, to the end that these deliberations might give rise to resolutions the most useful and the most salutary to the country; that the said regency are still of opinion that duty to themselves, to their country, and to its good citizens, who for a long time had expected a similar measure on their part, required them to make the said proposition.

That, nevertheless, it was very far from their intention to give your highness any uneasiness or discontent, or to introduce innovations, or to diminish and circumscribe in more narrow limits the authority lawfully acquired of my lord the stadtholder; that, on the contrary, they could assure solemnly that they would assist constantly with all their power to maintain the present constitution of government, with which they judge the well-being of the republic is intimately connected; that they considered at the same time that, in the present circumstances of affairs, nothing would

be more useful for the direction and execution of the operations of the present war, and for to combine them with more secrecy and despatch, than to form and establish a small council or committee, composed of the regencies of the respective provinces, to assist your highness with the advice and labors, and to co-operate conjointly to the preservation of the country.

That this proposition (founded perhaps upon former examples) proceeded not from any motive of distrust of the good intentions and designs of your serene highness, of which there is no reason to suspect their purity, although, according to the information of the regency of that city, some evil-minded persons have endeavored to insinuate the contrary to your serene highness.

That such a distrust fell only upon him whose influence over the mind of your serene highness is regarded as the first cause of the slowness and indolence in the administration of affairs, and as that can not but be very prejudicial to the general good, one had in vain expected for a long time that the dangerous circumstances in which the republic finds itself at present would at length have given rise to serious deliberations upon the measures necessary to be employed in future, and with more vigor than the past; but that this expectation having been vain to the present moment, and as the question in agitation was concerning the preservation of the country, of its dear-bought liberty, of your serene highness, of his illustrious house, in one word, of everything dear and precious to the inhabitants of the republic, it is for these reasons that the regency of Amsterdam have judged that they could no longer by silence be wanting in their duty, but saw themselves forced, although with regret, to the present measure.

It is, therefore, with all the respect that they owe to your serene highness, but at the same time with the candor and honest freedom that the importance of the affair requires, that they represent to your serene highness, and declare to him expressly, that, according to the general opinion, the lord the duke is regarded as the principal cause of the deplorable state of weakness in which the republic finds itself at this day of all the negligence which hath had place, of all the false measures that have been taken for a long time, and of all the fatal consequences that have resulted from them; that your serene highness may be assured that the aversion and hatred of the nation against the person and administration of the duke are arisen to such a degree, that one ought to dread an event the most grievous and the most disagreeable for the public tranquillity.

That, without doubt, your serene highness has been already informed by others of all these things; but in case your serene highness is still ignorant of them, it is necessary to attribute it solely to a fear of the effects of the resentment of the duke. We dare, nevertheless, to appeal with confidence upon everything now advanced to the testimony of all the honest and sincere members of the regency that your serene highness shall deign to interrogate, after granting them full liberty of speech, and summoning them to answer according to their duty and their conscience.

That they had heard many times, with much regret, M. the counsellor pensionary complain, in presence of divers members of the province of Holland, of the misunderstanding which existed between him and the lord the duke, as well as of the ascendency that the said lord has over the mind of your serene highness, whereby all his effects for the good of the country were rendered fruitless.

That this disunion and this diversity of sentiments and views between the principal counsellor of your serene highness and the first minister of this province must have not only consequences the most fatal, but furnished also a sufficient motive to make the strongest instances to remove the source of that distrust and of that discord; seeing it is only a previous re-establishment of confidence and concord that can save the republic; that nothing is also more necessary for the happiness of your most serene house, for the support of your authority, the preservation of the esteem and confidence of the nation, and of your consideration among the neighboring powers; for we can assure your serene highness, and we are obliged to apprize him,

that he might indeed lose one day the esteem and confidence of the people, instead of being and continuing the worthy object of the love and the veneration of this people and of its regents, which we pray and wish ardently that your serene highness may ever experience, seeing upon that depends, in a great measure, the preservation and the happiness of our dear country and of the house of Orange.

That as well persuaded as we may be that the members of the sovereignty have always the liberty, and that it is sometimes even their duty, to communicate to your serene highness and to the other members their sentiments upon the state and administration of public affairs, we should have preferred, nevertheless, to have abstained from the present measure if we had been able to conceive any hope, amelioration, and change; but since we can no longer flatter ourselves with that, for the reasons above alleged, and the danger has arisen to its highest degree, there remains no other part to take than that of laying before your serene highness the true state of things, of praying him in the most solemn manner to reflect seriously upon them, and of no longer listening to the councils and insinuations of a man loaded as he is with the hatred of the great and the small, regarded as a stranger destitute of a sufficient knowledge of the form of our government, and not possessed of a true affection to our country.

That we are very far from wishing to accuse this lord of what he is but too openly charged, or of considering as founded the suspicions circulated against him of an excessive and illicit attachment to the court of England, or of bad faith and corruption; that we believe that a lord of so high a birth and so distinguished a rank is incapable of such baseness, but that we think that the unhappy ideas that have been unfortunately entertained of him, and which have caused a general distrust, render him totally unuseful and pernicious, even to the service of the state and of your serene highness; that he consequently be removed from the direction of affairs, and from the court of your serene highness, as being a perpetual obstacle to the re-establishment of the good intelligence so necessary between your serene highness and the principal members of the state; seeing that, on the contrary, his presence can not but for the future occasion the distrust conceived, whether with or without reason, of his counsels to fall upon your serene highness.

That these representations do not spring from a principle of hatred or of ill-will against the lord the duke, who has formerly had occasion to be well satisfied even with the benevolence and the real marks of affection of the regency of Amsterdam, but that we protest before God and the whole world that the only motives which have dictated them to us are the preservation of the country and of the illustrious house of your most serene highness, and to prevent their approaching total ruin; that the regency of our city have seen themselves obliged to take this measure, both in quality of inhabitants of this country and as a member of its sovereign assembly, to the end to make by this means the last effort, and to point out, perhaps yet in time, a means of saving, with the blessing of the Almighty, the vessel of state from the most imminent danger, and of conducting it into a safe port, or of acquitting themselves at least in every case of their duty, and of exculpating themselves in the eyes of their fellow-citizens and posterity.

That, in truth, it is not necessary to despair of the safety of the country; but that, nevertheless, affairs appear to have arrived at such an extremity, that it can not be saved without the use of extraordinary means, and that for this reason we ought still, with the approbation of your serene highness, to take the liberty to submit to his consideration if the best means of managing hereafter affairs with success would not be, that your serene highness should associate to himself a small number of persons, chosen from among the most distinguished and the most experienced citizens born in the country, to concert assiduously with them everything which should be the most necessary or the most useful for the preservation and the service of the country during the present war, with such powers and such restrictions as should be judged requisite to fulfil effectually the object of this commission; that we expect therefrom the two following effects, as important as useful:

1st. That, in a conjuncture like the present, in which every moment is precious, no delay occasioned by deliberations of long duration shall take place, and the requisite despatch would be given to the execution of that which shall have been resolved.

2dly. That thereby the confidence of the nation would be re-established, an universal tranquillity and content promoted, and each one would be encouraged and animated to contribute with joy everything in his power to the execution of the measures of the sovereign, whilst that at present we see the contrary take place, and hear everywhere of the general complaints of the division and of the inactivity of the government.

That this proposition appears of the highest necessity, not only to the regency of Amsterdam, but we have reason to think that it is considered in the same point of light by the principal members of this province and of all the others.

Besides, nothing is more necessary than to adopt a fixed system and plan of conduct, seeing that the republic ought to choose between two conditions; either to re-establish the peace with England or to prosecute the war with all our forces, to the end to accelerate by this means an honorable peace; which ought to be the sincere wish of every good citizen, and to which alone, without any further views (as we can assure your serene highness in the most serious manner), has tended the overture made by our proposition of concerting with France the operations for this campaign. We desire nothing more ardently on our part than to deliberate seriously with your serene highness upon the option between the two conditions alleged, and what means it will be necessary to employ to arrive at the end which shall be chosen; but we are absolutely of opinion that, above all things, we must never lose sight, although a reconciliation may be preferred, that nothing ought to be neglected or omitted to place in every respect the republic in such a position that it has nothing to fear from its enemies, but, on the contrary, that it may be in a state to force them to wish the re-establishment of that peace which, without any lawful cause, they have so unjustly and wickedly broken.

That the above piece is word for word the same, without any addition or omission, as that which has been read to his serene highness the 8th of June, 1781, by the order of the gentlemen the burgomasters, by the Pensionary Vischer, in presence of the counsellor pensionary of Holland, and which is written with the hand of the said pensionary, is that which we attest.

Amsterdam, June 12, 1781.

E. DE VRY TEMMINCK,
J. RENDORP,
Reigning Burgomasters.
C. W. VISCHER,
Pensionary.

Deposed in the cabinet of the gentlemen the burgomasters the said 12th of June, 1781.

The original of this memorial, which after the reading has been put into the hands of his most serene highness, but taken back during the audience, has been sent, the 14th of June, to the counsellor pensionary, accompanied by a letter in the name of the burgomasters, written by the Burgomaster Rendorp to the said counsellor pensionary.

By a resolution of the 6th of this month the States-General have revoked the order that their high mightinesses had given at the beginning of the war to all captains or patrons of merchant ships belonging to the subjects of this republic to remain in the ports where they found themselves, and not to make sail from them either for their destination or to return into this country. Their high mightinesses have this day given to the proprietors and captains of these vessels the liberty of navigating and employing them in such a manner and when they shall judge proper.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

JOHN ADAMS.

Vergennes to J. Adams.*

[Translation.]

VERSAILLES, *July* 18, 1781.

SIR: I have received the letter which you did me the honor to write me the 13th instant. It was owing to the confidence I placed in your judgment and zeal for your country that I entrusted to you the propositions of the two imperial courts and requested that you would take such observations as you might think them susceptible of. Things are not yet sufficiently advanced to admit of communicating them to the two mediating courts. As you have seen in the sketch of your answer, there are preliminaries to be adjusted with respect to the United States, and until they are adjusted you can not appear, and consequently you can not transact anything officially with respect to the two mediators. By so doing you would hazard and expose the dignity of the character with which you are invested.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

DE VERGENNES.

J. Adams to Vergennes.†

PARIS, *July* 18, 1781.

SIR: I have received the letter which your excellency did me the honor to write me this day. I assure your excellency I never had a thought of appearing upon the scene, or of taking ministerially or otherwise any step towards the two mediators. I must confess to your excellency that I have too many jealousies of the motives, and too many apprehensions of the consequences of this negociation, to be willing to take any part in it without an express vocation. The English are tottering on such a precipice, and are in such a temper, that they will not hesitate at any measure which they think can move every latent passion, and awaken every dormant interest in Europe, in order to embroil all the world. Without looking much to consequences, or weighing whether the quarrels they wish to excite will be serviceable to them or not, they seem to think the more confusion they can make the better; for which reason my fears from the proposed mediation are greater than my hopes.

Nevertheless, if properly called upon, it will be my duty to attend to every step of it; but there are many questions arise in my mind upon which in due time I should wish to know your excellency's opinion.

The two imperial courts have proposed that there should be an American representative at the congress. This is not merely by implication, but expressly acknowledging that there is a belligerent power

---

* 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 449; 7 J. Adams' Works, 444.

† MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 449.

in America of sufficient importance to be taken notice of by them and the other powers of Europe. One would think after this that the two imperial courts would have communicated their propositions to Congress. The propositions they have made, and communicated to the courts of France, Spain, and England, imply that America is a power, a free and independent power, as much as if they had communicated them also to Congress at Philadelphia. Without such a formal communication and an invitation to the United States in Congress, or to their representative here by the two imperial courts, I do not see how an American minister can with strict propriety appear at the proposed congress at Vienna at all. I have never heard it intimated that they have transmitted their propositions to Philadelphia; certainly I have received no instructions from thence, nor have I received any intimation of such propositions from any minister of either of the mediating courts, although, as my mission has been long public and much talked of, I suppose it was well known to both that there was a person in Europe vested by America with power to make peace.

It seems, therefore, that one step more might have been taken perfectly consistent with the first, and that it may yet be taken, and that it is but reasonable to expect that it will be. How is the American minister to know that there is a congress, and that it is expected that he should repair to it, and that any minister from Great Britain will meet him there? Is the British court or their ambassador to give him notice? This seems less probable than that the mediators should do it.

The dignity af North America does not consist in diplomatic ceremonials or any of the subtleties of etiquette; it consists solely in reason, justice, truth, the rights of mankind, and the interests of the nations of Europe; all of which, well understood, are clearly in her favor. I shall, therefore, never make unnecessary difficulties on the score of etiquette, and shall never insist upon anything of this sort which your excellency or some other minister of our allies does not advise me to as indispensable; and therefore I shall certainly go to Vienna or elsewhere, if your excellency should invite or advise me to go. But as these reflections occurred to me upon the point of propriety, I thought it my duty to mention them to your excellency.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

JOHN ADAMS.

Morris to Franklin.*

PHILADELPHIA, *July* 19, 1781.

SIR: The foregoing are duplicates of my letters of the several dates there mentioned by Major Franks, who has sailed for Cadiz. I now enclose to you duplicate copies of the letters and resolutions referred to in mine of the 13th.

---

* MSS. Dep. of State; 6 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 285.

I do not write to Colonel Laurens, because I know not whether he is still in France, and because I am confident you will make to him all necessary communications. I pray you, if he is still with you, to present my compliments to him, and inform him of the reasons of my silence. Colonel Laurens' letter of the 9th of April last from Versailles has been received, and I am induced to hope that the ten millions of livres mentioned in it to be borrowed in Holland will be, as he says he shall request, advanced from the treasury of France.

He mentions also a promise of the Marquis de Castries to make immediate arrangements for the safe transportation of the pecuniary and other succors destined hither. It would be well that the money, or as much of it as possible, were in heavy half johannes. Whether this letter may arrive in time I know not, but if it should, you will, I hope, be able to effect my views.

If the fifteen millions of livres I mentioned in my letter of the 13th can be obtained, it will be best that they should be retained in France, provided the ten millions be sent to America; for in that case the exchange may, I believe, be put upon such a footing as to answer every valuable purpose. Of consequence the risk will be saved to America, and France will not suffer by the exportation of so much coin. To this it may be added that a loan will probably be more easily obtained if the days of payment of the money by the subscribers to it be somewhat distant, which will answer very well for bills of exchange, though not quite so well for the exportation of money.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

ROBERT MORRIS.

J. Adams to Vergennes.*

PARIS, *July* 19, 1781.

SIR: In my letter of the 18th I had the honor to mention some things which lay upon my mind, but still I am apprehensive that in a former letter I have not conveyed my full meaning to your excellency.

In my letter of the 16th I submitted to your excellency's opinion and advice whether an American minister could appear at the congress at Vienna without having his character acknowledged by any power more expressly than it is now. This was said upon the supposition, and taking it for granted, that it was the intention of the mediating courts to admit a representative of the United States to the congress with such a commission and such a title as the United States should think fit to give him, and that during his whole residence and negociations at Vienna, whether they should terminate in peace or not, he should enjoy all the prerogatives which the law of nations has annexed to the character, person, habitation, and attendants of such a minister. It is impossible that there should be a treaty at Vienna between Great

*3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 451; 7 John Adams' Works, 446.

Britain and the people of America, whether they are called United States or American Colonies, unless both nations appear there by representatives, who must be authorised by commissions or full powers, which must be mutually exchanged, and consequently admitted to be what upon the face of them they purport to be. The commission from the United States for making peace, which has been in Europe almost two years, is that of a minister plenipotentiary, and it authorises him to treat only with ministers vested with equal powers. If he were to appear at Vienna he would certainly assume the title and character of a minister plenipotentiary, and could enter into no treaty or conference with any minister from Great Britain until they had mutually exchanged authentic copies of their full powers. This, it is true, would be an implied acknowledgment of his character and title and of those of the United States too; but such an acknowledgment is indispensable, because without it there can be no treaty at all. In consequence he would expect to enjoy all the prerogatives of that character, and the moment they should be denied him, he must quit the Congress, let the consequences be what they might.

And I rely upon it this is the intention of the two imperial courts; because otherwise they would have proposed the congress upon the basis of the two British preliminaries—a rupture of the treaty with France and a return of the Americans to their submission to Great Britain; and because I can not suppose it possible that the imperial courts could believe the Americans capable of such infinite baseness as to appear upon the stage of the universe, acknowledge themselves guilty of rebellion, and supplicate for grace; nor can I suppose they meant to fix a brand of disgrace upon the Americans in the sight of all nations or to pronounce judgment against them; one or all of which suppositions must be made before it can be believed that these courts did not mean to protect the American representative in the enjoyment of the privileges attached to the character he must assume; and because, otherwise, all their propositions would be to no effect, for no congress at Vienna can make either the one or the other of the two proposed peaces without the United States. But upon looking over again the words of the first article, there seems to be room for dispute, of which a British minister, in the present state of his country, would be capable of taking advantage. The terms used seem to be justly exceptionable. There are no "American Colonies" at war with Great Britain. The power at war is the United States of America. No American Colonies have any representative in Europe, unless Nova Scotia, or Quebec, or some of the West India Islands may have an agent in London. The word colony, in its usual acceptation, implies a metropolis, a mother country, a superior political governor; ideas which the United States have long since renounced forever.

I am, therefore, clear in my opinion that a more explicit declaration ought to be insisted on, and that no American representative ought to

ppear without an express assurance that while the Congress lasts, nd in going to it and returning from it, he shall be considered as a inister plenipotentiary from the United States of America, and entitled o all the prerogatives of such a minister from a sovereign power. The ongress might be to him and to his country but a snare, unless the ubstance of this is *bona fide* intended, and if it is intended, there can e no sufficient reason for declining to express it in words.

If there is a power upon earth that imagines that America will ever ppear at a congress, before a minister of Great Britain or any other ower, in the character of repenting subjects, soliciting an amnesty or warranty of an amnesty, that power is infinitely deceived. There are w Americans who would hold their lives upon such terms. I know f none who would not rather choose to appear upon a scaffold in their wn country or in Great Britain. All such odious ideas ought to be id aside by the British ministry before they propose mediations. he bare mention of such a thing to the United States by Great Brit- n would be considered only as another repetition of injury and insult. he proposal of a rupture of the treaty is little less to France. But is possible that in the future course of this negociation there may be proposal of a congress of ministers of the several mediating and elligerent powers, exclusive of the United States, to deliberate on the uestion in what character the United States are to be considered, hether a representative of the people of North America can be dmitted, and what shall be his title and privileges.

All that I can say to this case at present is this: The United States ave assumed their equal station among the nations. They have ssumed a sovereignty which they acknowledge to hold only from God nd their own swords. They can be represented only as a sovereign; nd therefore, although they might not be able to prevent it, they can ever consent that any of these things shall be made questions. To ive their consent would be to make the surrender of their sovereignty heir own act.

France has acknowledged all these things, and bound her honor and ith to the support of them, and therefore, although she might not be ble to prevent it, she can never consent that they should be disputed. er consent would make the surrender of the American sovereignty r act. And what end can it answer to dispute them, unless it be to tend the flames of war? If Great Britain had a color of reason for retending that France's acknowledgment of American independence as a hostility against her, the United States would have a stronger ason to say that a denial of their sovereignty was a declaration of ar against them. And as France is bound to support their sovereignty, e would have reason to say that a denial of it is a hostility against r. If any power of Europe has an inclination to join England, and lare war against France and the United States, there is no need of a evious congress to enable her to do it with more solemnity or to fur-

nish her with plausible pretexts. But, on the other hand, if the powers of Europe are persuaded of the justice of the American pretensions, and think it their duty to humanity to endeavor to bring about peace, they may easily propose that the character of the United States shall be acknowledged and their minister admitted.

I can not but persuade myself that the two imperial courts are convinced of the justice of the American cause, of the stability of the American sovereignty, and of the propriety and necessity of an acknowledgment of it by all the powers of Europe. This, I think, may be fairly and conclusively inferred from the propositions themselves. Was there ever an example of a congress of the powers of Europe to exhort, to influence, to overawe the rebellious subjects of any one of them into obedience? Is not every sovereign adequate to the government, punishment, or pardon of its own criminal subjects? Would it not be a precedent mischievous to mankind, and tending to universal despotism, if a sovereign which has been proved to be unequal to the reformation or chastisement of the pretended crimes of its own subjects should be countenanced in calling in the aid of all or any of the other powers of Europe to assist them? It is quite sufficient that England has already been permitted to hire twenty thousand German troops, and to have the number annually recruited for seven years, in addition to her own whole force; it is quite sufficient that she has been permitted to seduce innumerable tribes of savages, in addition to both, to assist her in propagating her system of tyranny, and committing her butcheries in America, without being able to succeed.

After all this, which is notorious to all Europe, it is impossible to believe that the imperial courts mean to give their influence in any degree towards bringing America to submission to Great Britain. It seems to me, therefore, most certain that the imperial courts perceive that American independence must be acknowledged; and if this is so, I think there can be no objection against ascertaining the character of the American minister before any congress meets, so that he may take his place in it as soon as it opens.

But if any sentiments of delicacy should induce those courts to think it necessary to wait for Great Britain to set the example of such acknowledgments, one would think it necessary to wait until that power shall discover some symptoms of an inclination that way. A congress would have no tendency, that I know of, to give her such a disposition; on the contrary, a congress in which Great Britain should be represented and France and the United States not would only give her a opportunity of forming parties, propagating prejudices and partial notions, and blowing up the coals of war.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

JOHN ADAMS.

Luzerne to the President of Congress.*

[Translation.]

PHILADELPHIA, *July* 20, 1781.

SIR: The undersigned, minister plenipotentiary of France, has the honor of informing Congress that he has received despatches from his court the contents of which may be interesting to this assembly, and that he is desirous of communicating them to it through a committee, if Congress shall be pleased to appoint one to confer with him. These communications relate to the state of public affairs in Europe in the months of January and February last, to the rupture between England and the United Provinces, and to the measures to be taken to facilitate an alliance between the thirteen United States and that republic.

LUZERNE.

J. Adams to Vergennes.†

PARIS, *July* 21, 1781.

SIR: Since my letter of the 19th another point has occurred to me, upon which it seems necessary that I should say something to your excellency before my departure for Holland, which will be on Monday morning.

An idea has, I perceive, been suggested of the several States of America choosing agents separately to attend the congress at Vienna in order to make peace with Great Britain, so that there would be thirteen instead of one. The constitution of the United States, or their Confederation, which has been solemnly adopted and ratified by each of them, has been officially and authentically notified to their majesties the Kings of France and Spain and to their high mightinesses the States-General of the United Provinces of the Low Countries, and communicated to all the courts and nations of the world, as far as all the gazettes of Europe are able to spread it, so that it is now as well and universally known as any constitution of government in Europe. By this constitution all power and authority of negociating with foreign powers is expressly delegated to the United States in Congress assembled. It would, therefore, be a public disrespect and contempt offered to the constitution of the nation if any power should make any application whatever to the governors or legislature of the separate States. In this respect the American constitution is very different from the Batavian. If the two imperial courts should address their articles to the States separately, no governor or president of any one of those Commonwealths could even communicate it to the legislature. No president of a senate could lay it before the body over which he presides. No speaker of a house of

---

*5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 743.

†3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 455; 7 J. Adams' Works, 450.

representatives could read it to the house. It would be an error and a misdemeanor in any one of these officers to receive and communicate any such letter. All that he could do would be, after breaking the seal and reading it, to send it back. He could not even legally transmit it to Congress. If such an application, therefore, should be made and sent back it would consume much time to no purpose, and perhaps have other worse effects.

There is no method for the courts of Europe to convey anything to the people of America but through the Congress of the United States, nor any way of negociating with them but by means of that body. I must, therefore, entreat your excellency that the idea of summoning ministers from the thirteen States may not be countenanced at all.

I know very well that if each State had in the Confederation reserved to itself a right of negociating with foreign powers, and such an application should have been made to them separately upon this occasion, they would all of them separately refer it to Congress, because the people universally know, and are well agreed, that all connexion with foreign countries must, in their circumstances, be made under one direction.

But all these things were very minutely considered in framing the Confederation, by which the people of each State have taken away from themselves even the right of deliberating and debating upon these affairs, unless they should be referred to them by Congress for their advice, or unless they should think proper to instruct their delegates in Congress of their own accord.

This matter may not appear to your excellency in so important a light as it does to me, and the thought of such an application to the United States may not have been seriously entertained; but as it has been mentioned, although only in a way of transient speculation, I thought I could not excuse myself from saying something upon it, because I know it would be considered in so unfavorable a light in America, that I am persuaded Congress would think themselves bound to remonstrate against it in the most solemn manner.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

JOHN ADAMS.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.*

AMSTERDAM, *July* 21, 1781.

SIR: From The Hague there is an article of the following tenor:

As to the affair of the Field Marshal the Duke of Brunswick, which makes an object of deliberation in the assemblies of the provinces, one sees in public a copy of the opinion of the quarter of Westergo (one of the four chambers which form the States of Friesland,) in which it is joined by four manors or intendencies of the quarter of Sevenwonde, which have protested against the opinion of the plurality of their chamber; this opinion is of the following tenor:

---

* MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 457.

"The quarter, having examined with all due attention the memorial presented by the duke to their high mightinesses, is of opinion that the paragraphs of the memorial remitted to his highness in the name of the burgomasters of Amsterdam, of which the said lord the duke complains, contain not the least thing by which the lord the duke may be considered to have been any way hurt in his character; but rather that the paragraphs or complaints contained in the said memorial exhibit an accusation against the duke in his quality of counsellor of his highness, and that they express the sentiments of the people, which the gentlemen the burgomasters of Amsterdam have infused into the breast of our well-beloved hereditary stadtholder, by means of which they have manifested an evident proof of their sincere attachment to his highness and to his illustrious house. The quarter is, therefore, of opinion that, in case the lord duke thinks himself aggrieved by the burgomasters of Amsterdam, he ought to address himself to their ordinary and competent judge, seeing that the assembly of their high mightinesses is not a competent judge in this matter; and that, therefore, it is proper to charge the gentlemen the deputies in the assembly of the States-General not to enter into any deliberations upon this matter."

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

Lovell, for Committee of Foreign Affairs, to J. Adams.*

PHILADELPHIA, *July* 21, 1781.

SIR: I do not find by President Huntington's letter-book that he has forwarded the within resolve of July 12th respecting your powers of September 29, 1779. Therefore I take the opportunity of two vessels, which are to sail in a few days, to communicate it doubly.

Your humble servant,

JAMES LOVELL,
For the Committee of Foreign Affairs.

[Private. Partly in cipher.]

The whole of the proceedings here in regard to your two commissions are, I think, ill-judged; but I persuade myself no dishonor was for you intended. The business greatly, in every view, chagrins me. This you will have learned from my former letters written in a half sight.

Lovell to Franklin.†

PHILADELPHIA, *July* 21, 1781.

SIR: It does not appear that the resolutions of June 26th, affecting yourself and colleagues, as well as Mr. Dana, have been transmitted. Mr. President McKean will take other opportunities of writing. I think it essential, however, in the mean time, to forward duplicates, which may serve for information, and perhaps authority, to all concerned.

Your humble servant,

JAMES LOVELL,
For the Committee of Foreign Affairs.

P. S.—Please to give copies where proper.

---

*7 J. Adams' Works, 453. †2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 169.

Morris to Franklin.*

PHILADELPHIA, *July* 21, 1781.

SIR: I have now to inform you that the State of Pennsylvania had emitted five hundred thousand pounds in bills of credit, funded in such manner that there could be no reasonable doubt of their redemption. But the public confidence had been so impaired that these bills soon after they came out rapidly depreciated, notwithstanding the solidity of the funds by which they had been secured. The executive authority of Government, therefore, declined issuing more of them than were then in circulation (being one hundred and thirty thousand pounds), and called together the legislature. The assembly, at their late meeting, took measures for the collection of a very considerable tax, sufficient to absorb all the paper then in circulation, and which was receivable in taxes, as also a considerable balance in specie. It is therefore evident that, if the tax has time to operate before any more of the paper be issued, it must necessarily rise in value.

The assembly did me the honor to commit this sum of five hundred thousand pounds to my care, for the purpose of paying to Congress a balance due on the resolutions of that honorable body of the 18th of March, 1780, and of procuring the specific supplies which had been called for, the greater part of which had been unpaid. In this situation it has been my study to effect both these objects without making any new issues of the paper money. I can not easily describe to you the good consequences which would follow from the appreciation of it. You will partly conceive them when I inform you that it is now at five for one, and that my expectation of specific supplies, or rather of furnishing rations to the amount of them, is very much founded upon the rise of its value.

Finding, however, that the balance of money due to the United States has been already drawn for by them, and that the holders of those drafts are very clamorous for payment, I must put money into the hands of the proper officer immediately. To accomplish this I have fallen upon an expedient which, while it answers that purpose, will be productive of another very considerable advantage. To explain which, I must previously inform you that I have lately refused to draw bills on Messrs. Le Couteulx & Co. for any other than specie; so that the paper will no longer answer the purpose of procuring a remittance to Europe. I shall, at the same time, borrow such of it as I can discover to have been hoarded, and by paying it to the holders of the drafts drawn by Congress throw it again into circulation. I shall then draw bills on you for four hundred thousand livres, payable at six months' sight or more, for which I expect to get four hundred thousand paper dollars; a sum sufficient to satisfy the demand. I shall draw on Messrs. Le Couteulx & Co. in your favor to this amount, payable at sixty days' sight, which will probably

* 6 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 286.

leave four months for my operations; but at any rate it will leave three months, which will be amply sufficient; and therefore in three months after I shall have drawn on you I shall remit you my drafts on Messrs. Le Couteulx & Co. If in that period this money can be appreciated, it will be a gain to the United States of the difference, which you will clearly see to be very considerable. By this means also I shall so economise the funds placed in my hands that I can make them productive of the supplies from this State.

In mentioning these supplies, it occurs to me also to make mention of what has passed relative to the contract you entered into for a part of them, to the amount of four hundred thousand dollars. Colonel Mennonville spoke to me on this subject, from the Count de Rochambeau, shortly after my appointment. Upon considering the very slender situation of our revenue, or rather the total want of it, and that the several States had omitted furnishing the specific supplies demanded of them, I told Colonel Mennonville, and told him truly, that I had but little prospect of complying with your promise. It is not easy to convey to your mind an idea of the pain I suffered from being obliged to make this declaration. I felt for you, for Congress, for America. There is no man in the world more deeply impressed than myself with the importance of fulfilling every compact made by a proper authority. All my reasonings, my feelings, and my experience have concurred in producing a thorough conviction that it is essential according to the principles of justice, from a regard to our national honor, and for the sake of our general interests. I shall, therefore, notwithstanding what has passed between Colonel Mennonville and myself, assiduously endeavor to perform your promise, and I am happy to add that I am not without hopes of success.

With respect to the bills I intend to draw on you, I must apologize for the trouble they will give you, which I hope will be but little. It will be only necessary to accept them, and direct the holders what banker to apply to for payment. That banker will be enabled to make payment by the bill I shall draw on Messrs. Le Couteulx & Co. in your favor. Perhaps it may be most convenient to send the bill-holders to them, but this you will be the best judge of. It is unnecessary to state any reasons to you for accepting these bills, as I can not suppose you will have the least hesitation on that subject. I take this opportunity, however, of pledging myself to you that you shall suffer no inconvenience from honoring them with your acceptance, as I shall most certainly remit in time the bills sufficient to discharge all I draw on you. My reason for drawing them on you at all arises from this circumstance, that I am desirous of keeping the transaction entirely distinct, and that many inconveniences would follow from drawing bills on Messrs. Le Couteulx & Co. at six months' sight for paper, while I draw others at sixty days' sight for specie, especially after my refusal to draw on them except for specie, which refusal was, as you perceive, a necessary part

of my plan. Add to this, also, that the arrangements I had made with the minister of his most Christian majesty would not permit it. When this transaction shall be finished, that is, when my remittances to you and my drafts on you are all paid, be pleased to send me copies of the bankers' accounts.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

ROBERT MORRIS.

Report of Communications from the French Minister.*

IN CONGRESS, *July* 23, 1781.

The committee appointed to receive the communications of the minister of France delivered in the following report:

The minister, from his despatches of the 9th of January, 1781, communicated to your committee the causes which delayed the measures which the court of France proposed to take for the naval operations of this campaign, the length of the passage of Count d'Estaing to Brest, and other circumstances not necessary now to be recapitulated; and then told us that he was desired, in the mean while, to continue to assure Congress that the interest which his majesty takes in the American cause will essentially influence his measures for the present campaign.

The minister continued by observing that the present situation of affairs between Great Britain and Holland presented a favorable opportunity for a union of the two republics.

Your committee will not repeat the details of what has happened between the two powers of England and Holland; it is sufficient to observe that Sweden and Denmark have adopted the plan of the armed neutrality framed by the Empress of Russia; that the Dutch, upon invitation, had done the same; and the court of London, irritated by this step, took hold of the pretence afforded by the papers found on Mr. Laurens, and published a manifesto on the 21st day of December, as well as a proclamation for expediting letters of marque. That this state of affairs and the other consequences of this step deserve the attention of Congress. That, if their high mightinesses should join in this war, it would bring the two republics to terms of more intimate union. That the opinion of the council of the king was, that Congress ought not to neglect to send to Holland a prudent and able man, with full powers. It would likewise be advantageous to give proper instructions to that minister; and as it may happen in the course of the negociations that unforeseen incidents may present themselves, and as it is impossible at this distance to have quick information, it would be proper to have further instructions given by Dr. Franklin, in order to avoid all inconsistency or contradiction, and that the political operations of Congress, aiming towards the same end, may of course be more successful.

* MSS. Dep. of State; 5 Sparks Dip. Rev. Corr., 744.

The minister communicated to your committee the contents of another despatch, of the 19th of February last. After stating some facts relating to Mr. Laurens' capture and its consequences, which Congress are already acquainted with, the minister informed your committee that the Empress of Russia had, on the 5th of January, received the accession of the United Provinces to the association of neutral powers, and that there was great probability that her Imperial majesty would support the Dutch against the tyranny of England, and that on every supposition Congress would do well to take such measures as to prepare, without delay, the means of uniting the interest of the two republics, by making proper advances to the States-General. The minister added, that he was authorized by the king to offer Congress his interposition for this purpose.

The minister informed that, according to appearances, the Empress of Russia seemed to be well disposed to the independence of the United States; and that these dispositions give reason to think that the empress will see with pleasure that Congress have adopted her principles as to the neutrality, and that the Count de Vergennes has sent that resolution to the Marquis Verac, the minister of France to the court of Russia.

Morris to the Governors of the States.*

PHILADELPHIA, *July* 25, 1781.

SIR: I had the honor to write to you on the —— instant, enclosing a certified copy of the account of your State as it stands in the treasury books of the United States. I now pray leave to recall your attention to it.

It gives me very great pain to learn that there is a pernicious idea prevalent among some of the States that their accounts are not to be adjusted with the continent. Such an idea can not fail to spread listless languor over all our operations. To suppose this expensive war can be carried on without joint and strenuous efforts is beneath the wisdom of those who are called to the high offices of legislation. Those who inculcate maxims which tend to relax these efforts most certainly injure the common cause, whatever may be the motives which inspire their conduct. If once an opinion is admitted that those States who do the least and charge most will derive the greatest benefit and endure the smallest evils, your excellency must perceive that shameless inactivity must take the place of that noble emulation which ought to pervade and animate the whole Union. It is my particular duty, while I remind my fellow-citizens of the tasks which it is incumbent on them to perform, to remove, if I can, every impediment which lies in the way, or which may have been raised by disaffection, self-interest, or mistake.

---

* MSS. Dep. of State; 6 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 288.

I take, therefore, this early opportunity to assure you that all the accounts of the several States with the United States shall be speedily liquidated if I can possibly effect it, and my efforts for that purpose shall be unceasing. I make this assurance in the most solemn manner, and I entreat that the consequences of a contrary assertion may be most seriously weighed and considered before it is made or believed.

These accounts naturally divide themselves into two considerable branches, viz, those which are subsequent to the resolutions of Congress of the 18th of March, 1780.* The former must be adjusted as soon as proper officers can be found and appointed for the purpose and proper principles established, so as that they may be liquidated in an equitable manner. I say, sir, in an equitable manner; for I am determined that justice shall be the rule of my conduct as far as the measure of abilities which the Almighty has been pleased to bestow shall enable me to distinguish between right and wrong. I shall never permit a doubt that the States will do what is right; neither will I ever believe that any one of them can expect to derive advantage from doing what is wrong. It is by being just to individuals, to each other, to the Union, to all; by generous grants of solid revenue, and by adopting energetic methods to collect that revenue; and not by complainings, vauntings, or recriminations, that these States must expect to establish their independence and rise into power, consequence, and grandeur. I speak to your excellency with freedom, because it is my duty so to speak, and because I am convinced that the language of plain sincerity is the only proper language to the first magistrate of a free community.

The accounts I have mentioned as subsequent to the resolutions of the 18th of March, 1780, admit of an immediate settlement. The several States have all the necessary materials. One side of this account consists of demands made by resolutions of Congress long since forwarded; the other must consist of the compliances with those demands. This latter part I am not in a capacity to state, and for that reason I am to request the earliest information which the nature of things will permit of the moneys, supplies, transportation, &c., which have been paid, advanced, or furnished by your State, in order that I may know what remains due. The sooner full information can be obtained the sooner shall we know what to rely on, and how to do equal justice to those who have contributed and those who have not; to those who have contributed at one period and those who have contributed at another.

I enclose an account of the specific supplies demanded of your State, as extracted from the journals of Congress, but without any mention of what has been done in consequence of those resolutions; because, as I have already observed, your excellency will be able to discover the balance much better than I can.

---

* It stands thus in the manuscript, but there seems to be an omission of what is meant by the *first branch* of the accounts.—SPARKS.

I am further to entreat, sir, that I may be favored with copies of the several acts passed in your State since the 18th of March, 1780, for the collection of taxes and the furnishing supplies or other aids to the United States, the manner in which such acts have been executed, the times which may have been necessary for them to operate, and the consequences of their operation. I must also pray to be informed of so much of the internal police of your State as relates to the laying, assessing, levying, and collecting taxes. I beg leave to assure your excellency that I am not prompted either by an idle curiosity or by any wish to discover what prudence would dictate to conceal. It is necessary that I should be informed of these things, and I take the plain, open, candid method of acquiring information. To palliate or conceal any evils or disorders in our situation can answer no good purpose; they must be known before they can be cured. We must also know what resources can be brought forth, that we may proportion our efforts to our means and our demands to both. It is necessary that we should be in condition to prosecute the war with ease before we can expect to lay down our arms with security, before we can treat of peace honorably, and before we can conclude it with advantage. I feel myself fettered at every moment and embarrassed in every operation from my ignorance of our actual state and of what is reasonably to be asked or expected. Yet when I consider our real wealth and numbers, and when I compare them with those of other countries, I feel a thorough conviction that we may do much more than we have yet done, and with more ease to ourselves than we have yet felt, provided we adopt the proper modes of revenue and expenditure.

Your excellency's good sense will anticipate my observations on the necessity of being informed what moneys are in your treasury and what sums you expect to have there, as also the times by which they must probably be brought in. In addition to this, I must pray you to communicate the several appropriations.

A misfortune peculiar to America requires that I entreat your excellency to undertake one more task, which, perhaps, is far from being the least difficult. It is, sir, that you will write me very fully as to the amount of the several paper currencies now circulating in your State, the probable increase or decrease of each, and the respective rates of depreciation.

Having now stated the several communications which are most indispensable, let me entreat of your excellency's goodness that they may be made as speedily as possible, to the end that I may be early prepared with those propositions which, from a view of all circumstances, may be most likely to extricate us from our present difficulties. I am also to entreat that you will inform me when your legislature is to meet. My reason for making this request is, that any proposals to be made to them may arrive in season for their attentive deliberation.

I know that I give you much trouble, but I also know that it will be

pleasing to you, because the time and labor will be expended in the service of your country. If, sir, my feeble but honest efforts should open to us the prospect of American glory, if we should be enabled to look forward to a period when, supported by solid revenue and resources, this war should have no other duration or extent than the wisdom of Congress might allow, and when its object should be the honor and not the independence of our country; if with these fair views the States should be roused, excited, animated, in the pursuit and unitedly determining to be in that happy situation find themselves placed there by the very determination—if, sir, these things should happen, and what is more if they should happen soon, the reflection that your industry has principally contributed to effect them would be the rich reward of your toils, and give to your best feelings their amplest gratification.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

ROBERT MORRIS.

Luzerne to the President of Congress.*

[Translation.]

PHILADELPHIA, *July* 26, 1781.

SIR: The twenty-ninth article of the treaty of amity and commerce between his most Christian majesty and the United States reserves to the two contracting powers "the liberty of having, each in the ports of the other, consuls, vice-consuls, agents, and commissaries, whose functions shall be regulated by a particular agreement." In consequence of this stipulation, the court of Versailles has caused a draft to be made of a convention relative to the establishment of consuls, which the undersigned, minister plenipotentiary of France, has the honor to communicate to Congress. It is the desire of his majesty that this draft should be examined by Congress and those points marked which admit of no difficulty, and that the others should be submitted to the examination of delegates appointed by both parties, who may make such observations as they shall judge proper and propose such alterations as they may think convenient. These objects will require discussion in repeated conferences, and the undersigned entreats that Congress would determine in what manner these conferences shall be held. The proposed convention requires the most mature consideration of both parties; while at the same time it is equally the interest of both with all speed to introduce consistency and uniformity into their respective commercial establishments; and the undersigned is of opinion that Congress will think it necessary to prosecute this business with all possible despatch.†

LUZERNE.

---

* 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 745.

† See the draft of this convention in the secret journal, vol. 3, p. 6.

Franklin to Morris.*

PASSY, *July* 26, 1781.

DEAR SIR: I have just received your very friendly letter of the 6th of June past, announcing your appointment to the superintendence of our finances. This gave me great pleasure, as from your intelligence, integrity, and abilities there is reason to hope every advantage that the public can possibly receive from such an office. You are wise in estimating beforehand, as the principal advantage you can expect, the consciousness of having done service to your country; for the business you have undertaken is of so complex a nature, and must engross so much of your time and attention, as necessarily to injure your private interests; and the public is often niggardly even of its thanks, while you are sure of being censured by malevolent critics and bug writers, who will abuse you while you are serving them, and wound your character in nameless pamphlets; thereby resembling those little dirty insects that attack us only in the dark, disturb our repose, molesting and wounding us, while our sweat and blood are contributing to their subsistence. Every assistance that my situation here, as long as it continues, may enable me to afford you shall certainly be given; for, besides my affection for the glorious cause we are both engaged in, I value myself upon your friendship, and shall be happy if mine can be made of any use to you.

With great and sincere esteem, I am ever, dear sir, &c.,

B. FRANKLIN.

Franklin to Morris.†

PASSY, *July* 26, 1781.

DEAR SIR: I have received the letter you honored me with of the 8th of June past, acquainting me that as superintendent of finance you have named Messrs. Couteulx & Co. at Paris to receive from his majesty's ministers the money granted to Congress, that they may be enabled to honor your bills whenever they appear, and you intimate a desire to be informed of the responsibility of that house.

With regard to the six millions given by the king in aid of our operations for the present campaign, before the arrival of Mr. Laurens 2,500,000 of it went in the same ship with him in cash; stores equivalent to 2,200,000 more of it were ordered by him and are shipped; 1,300,000 were sent to Holland to go in the ship commanded by Commodore Gillon. Add to this that Captain Jackson, by his orders, purchased clothing and stores in Holland to the value of about £50,000 sterling, for which he has drawn bills on me, which bills I accepted, and also agreed to pay those drawn on Messrs. Laurens, Jay, and

*MSS. Dep. of State; 6 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 292; 7 Bigelow's Franklin, 279.
†6 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 292; 7 Bigelow's Franklin, 280.

Adams; expecting aid from a projected loan of 10,000,000 of livres for our use in Holland. But this loan meeting with unforeseen difficulties, and its success uncertain, I have found myself obliged to stop the money in Holland in order to be able to save the honor of the Congress drafts and to comply with my engagements. By these means you have really at present no funds here to draw upon. I hope, however, that Messrs. Couteulx & Co. will be enabled to honor your drafts; but I trust in your prudence that you will draw no more till you have advice of funds provided. And as the laying out so much money in Holland instead of France is disapproved here, and the payment will, therefore, not be provided for, I must earnestly request your aid in remitting that sum to me before December next, when my acceptances will become due, otherwise I shall be ruined, with the American credit in Europe.

With regard to the wealth and credit of the house of Le Couteulx & Co. I have never heard it in question. But as Mr. Ferdinand Grand, banker at Paris, and his broker, Sir George Grand, banker in Holland, have been our zealous and firm friends ever since our arrival in France, have aided us greatly by their personal interest and solicitations, and have often been six or seven hundred thousand livres in advance of us, and are houses of unquestionable solidity, I can not but be concerned at any step for taking our business out of their hands, and wish your future bills may be drawn on Ferdinand Grand, for I think it concerns our public reputation to preserve the character of gratitude as well as that of honesty and justice. The commission hitherto charged to us by Mr. Grand for receiving and paying our money is a half per cent., which, considering the trouble given by the vast number of small drafts for interest of the loans, appears to me a moderate consideration.

With great and sincere esteem, I have the honor to be, dear sir, &c.,

B. FRANKLIN.

Morris to the Governors of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New York, Delaware, Maryland, and North Carolina.*

PHILADELPHIA, *July* 27, 1781.

SIR: I find upon examination that the recommendation of Congress of the 3d of February last, for laying an impost of five per cent. on goods imported and a like impost of five per cent. on prizes and prize goods has not been complied with by your State.

The object which Congress had in view when they issued this recommendation was of the utmost importance, and every day gives it an additional weight and magnitude. Whether these States are able to support the annual expenses of the war by their annual revenue, and whether it would be prudent and wise to draw forth such revenue, are

*MSS. Dep. of State; 6 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 294, with verbal changes.

questions which may hereafter be agitated, considered, and answered. For the present it is sufficient to observe that no methods have hitherto been adopted to produce a revenue by any means adequate to the current expenses. The public debt, therefore, is large and increasing. The faith of the United States is pledged to the public creditors. At every new loan it must be pledged anew, and an appeal is now made to the States individually to support the public faith so solemnly pledged. If they do, it is possible that public credit may be restored; if not, our enemies will draw from thence strong arguments in favor of what they have so often asserted, that we are unworthy of confidence, that our union is a rope of sand, that the people are weary of Congress, and that the respective States are determined to reject its authority. I fear that a mere verbal contradiction of these assertions will have but little effect. No words will induce men to risk their property upon the security of a nominal union. Your excellency will be able at once to determine whether that union is more than nominal in which any part shall refuse to be bound for the debts of the whole or to contribute to the general defence. I must be permitted, however, to observe that in matters of public credit long delay is equivalent to direct refusal.

Despotic governments are in war superior to others by the union of efforts, the secrecy of operations, and the rapidity with which every wheel may be moved by one sovereign will. This superiority, however, is amply compensated to free governments by the ardent attachment of their citizens and the general confidence, which enables them to make exertions beyond their force and expend in one year the revenues of many. A single view of our enemy in the unequal contest she now carries on will demonstrate these advantages more clearly than any arguments. The credit of Great Britain is not only her chief, but it is almost her only, support. Inferior in everything else to the associates combined against her, she still makes head everywhere, and balances the opposition through the four quarters of the globe. While we feel the force of these last strugglings of her ambition, we must admire the source from whence they flow. Admiring, we should endeavor to imitate, and in order to succeed, we need only to make the attempt. There was a time when public confidence was higher in America than in any other country. Hence the existence of that paper which bore us through the conflict of five years' hostility. In the moment when no others dared oppose Great Britain in her career towards universal empire we met her ambition with our fortitude, encountered her tyranny with our virtue, and opposed her credit with our own. We may perceive what our credit would have done, had it been supported by revenue, from what it has already effected without that support. And we have no reason to doubt but that it may be restored, when we reflect on the fate which paper currencies have formerly sustained. The appeal, as I have already had the honor to observe, is made by Congress to the several States. Some of them have answered by passing the laws required;

others are silent. Whence this silence proceeds I confess myself at a loss to determine. Some reasons, indeed, I have heard assigned by individuals in conversation, but I can not conceive that they should have weighed with the legislatures. Indeed I can hardly conceive how any reasons can have weighed against a matter of such importance as the keeping public faith inviolate.

I have heard it said that commerce will not bear a five per cent. duty. Those who make such assertions must be very little acquainted with the subject. The articles of commerce are either such as people want or such as they do not want. If they be such as people want, they must be purchased at the price for which they can be had; and the duty being on all, gives to no seller any advantage over another. If, on the contrary, the article be such as people do not want, they must either increase their industry so as to afford the use of it with the duty, or else they must dispense with that use. In the former case the commerce is just where it was, and in the latter case the people consume less of foreign superfluities, which certainly is a public benefit.*

I have also heard it said that the duty should be carried to the account of the State where it is levied. What can be the object of those who contend for this point I know not. If there are doubts as to the justice of Congress, that body should not have been intrusted with the power of apportioning quotas on the several States. If, on the contrary, those who make this proposition expect that the commercial States, by carrying the five per cent. duty to their private account, can derive a revenue from their neighbors, the idea is as fallacious as it is unjust. The equity of Congress would lead them to relax so much in the quotas as would render the contribution of the States proportionate; or, if that could not be done, the suffering State would be induced to carry on its own commerce. Thus the end would be defeated, as indeed it ought; for surely the advantage derived by the commercial States as a mercantile profit is sufficient, without exacting a revenue in addition to it. Articles imported into the country are consumed in the country. If each pays a duty, that duty will be paid by all. The tax will fall equally on all, and therefore ought, in justice, to be carried to the general account.

I have also heard it suggested that the public debts ought to be divided among the several States, and each be called to provide for its proportion. This measure would be sufficient to destroy the credit of any country. The creditors trust the Union, and there can be no right to alter the pledge which they have accepted for any other, even for a better one, without their free consent. But this is not all; there is in it a principle of disunion implied which must be ruinous. Even at this

* For a very interesting letter from the President of Congress to the governor of Rhode Island on the matter of duties to be levied by the States, reported by a committee of which Hamilton was chairman, see the public journals of Congress under the date of April 29, 1783.—SPARKS.

late period the States might singly be subjugated. Their strength is derived from their union. Everything, therefore, which injures that union, must impair the strength which is dependent upon it.

I shall not encroach longer upon your excellency's patience by adducing farther arguments. Everything for and against the proposition has doubtless been considered by the United States in Congress assembled with that attention which is due to the importance of those objects on which they deliberate. I think, however, it may fairly be concluded that those who wish to re-establish the credit and confirm the union of these States will comply with this requisition. As I do not doubt that this is the sentiment of that State over which you preside, I shall believe that the legislature at their next session will pass the proper laws, and I shall at present only entreat that it may be done as speedily as possible.

I take the liberty, however, on this occasion to make an observation which applies, indeed, to many others. Those who have the public weal very seriously at heart can not but lament that the acts passed by many States on the requisitions of Congress have been fettered with restrictions as to their operation and effect very inconsistent with that confidence which is due to the integrity of the United States in Congress assembled. Nothing can be more pernicious than the jealousy which dictates clauses restraining the operation of laws until similar laws shall have been passed by the other States, or confining the revenue or supplies to partial or particular objects not within the design of Congress or short of their intentions, or any other clauses which show a distrust of the States in the sovereign representative of America or in each other. Such jealousies must prove highly detrimental, if not ruinous. And surely there can be no ground to entertain them; for the Congress is composed of representatives freely chosen, and is of consequence under the control of those by whom they were appointed. Nothing, therefore, ought to prevent the free and generous communication of all necessary powers to Congress; and I am confident that such a communication will more effectually dishearten the enemy, encourage our friends, and promote the general and unanimous efforts of the whole community than any other circumstance which could possibly happen. It is a truth that the enemy does not even pretend to hope anything except from sowing discord among us; and it is but too true that while the whigs of America are daily more firm and united in the cause of independence, there has been too little attention paid to give to that union of sentiment a proper political form and consistency. I am not, however, the less confident that in this, as in everything else, the enemy will, to their cost, discover that their hopes have been extremely fallacious.

With every sentiment of respect, &c.,

ROBERT MORRIS.

Dana to the President of Congress.*

BERLIN, *July* 28, 1781.

SIR: I beg leave to acquaint your excellency that after having been detained at Amsterdam more than a month from the time I myself was ready to enter upon my journey in hopes of being accompanied by Mr. Jennings, I have been exceedingly disappointed that that gentleman has thought himself under the necessity to decline going with me on account of certain circumstances which have since turned up in his own affairs.

I left Amsterdam on the 7th instant (Mr. Adams having gone from thence for Paris on the 2d upon a special call, of which he will doubtless give your excellency the earliest notice), and arrived in this city on the 25th very much indisposed. I thought it expedient to take my route to this city through Cologne, Frankfort, and Leipsic, though not the common or shortest one, to avoid passing through Hanover, lest my motions should have been watched in Holland and notice given of my passing through Hanover, which might have brought on the seizure of my person and papers.

I have been unfortunate in having my carriage overthrown and broken into pieces between Leipsic and Berlin; happily, however, no other injury was sustained. I mention this circumstance because it not only lays me under the necessity of purchasing another here (for there is no traveling in these countries tolerably without a private carriage), but it will detain me several days extraordinary. Though I am not quite well, I shall set off as soon as the carriage I have bought can be properly fitted for so long a journey, for no less than fifteen hundred of our miles are still before me, and the route far from being the most pleasant in Europe, yet I should go through it with much alacrity if I had well-grounded hopes that at the end I should find matters in the state we wish them to be.

As I have no faith on the one hand that the present mediation of the emperor and empress will issue in a pacification, general or partial, so on the other I as little expect that it will suddenly light up other wars. It is probable nothing of the latter kind can take place without this kingdom's having a portion in it, and I have not yet been able to learn that there is the least expectation of the sort here, which most commonly goes before the act. I suppose, therefore, that the belligerent powers will still continue belligerent, and that the mediators will hope for a more favorable opportunity to renew their mediation and to make their particular advantage of the conflict. It seems to me it has been accepted by them (America only excepted, to whom it has not been tendered) rather out of respect or to avoid giving offence to the mediators, or to seek an advantage by discovering a ready disposition to hearken to every proposition having the least possible tendency to bring about a pacification.

* MSS. Dep. of State; 4 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 574.

Not one of the belligerent powers, I believe, has an expectation or a sincere wish that a pacification will, or should be, brought about yet awhile. Spain wishes to possess herself of Gibraltar and of the Floridas; can she hope at present that these will be ceded to her? Does she not flatter herself that by the continuance of the war Britain will become so enfeebled that they may be wrested from her? That, having once obtained them by conquest, she will easily retain them at a peace? France wishes to establish herself, in the place of Britain, the dominant power of Europe; to this end she sees that it is necessary to snatch the trident from the hand of Britain and to wield it herself. To effect this *she well knows that America must be supported in her independence.* But is the time yet come when she can reasonably hope that both the mediators are prepared to make this last measure a proposition in their mediation or Britain to acknowledge it?

Great Britain, in my opinion, wishes not to make a separate peace with America, that she may be able to exert her whole force against the house of Bourbon, as many of her popular leaders have frequently expressed themselves. This would be humbling herself in a point on which she is most obstinately fixed. Much sooner would she humble herself before her ancient enemies, provided she could flatter herself that by doing this she might make a separate peace with them, and be thereby at liberty to direct her whole force against the United States. In this case she would cherish the hope that America, seeing herself forsaken by her new allies and exposed singly to the whole power of Britain, might either be induced once more to submit to her domination or would become an easy conquest, in part, at least. So little wisdom, it is probable, experience has taught them. *But is there the least hope for Britain that her ancient enemies are prepared to give up their new friends? Does not their own safety and importance in the political system absolutely depend upon their supporting the independence of our country?*

Of Holland or the United Provinces I know not what to say. They can scarce be ranked among the belligerent powers. The objects of Holland are peace, with that freedom to her commerce which she had a right to demand in virtue of treaties which Britain has annulled, as also restitution of her conquered territories and reparation of the destruction committed upon her navigation. Britain will not gratify Holland in any of these respects unless she grants the aids claimed, and thereby plunges herself into the war against the house of Bourbon and America, which she can never do. Thus a partial pacification between them is not likely to take place.

America will not consent that the independence of her empire shall be brought into question, or that her rights and claims shall be litigated and adjusted in a congress in which she is not properly represented by her minister. Nevertheless these things will, I am persuaded, be attempted, and I fear they will not meet with a very vigorous opposition

from a quarter which we have a right to expect should stoutly oppose them.* Should a congress be assembled in this half-matured state of things, is there any reasonable ground to hope that the professed design of it, a general pacification, can be accomplished? The determination of such bodies are, however, so frequently influenced by improper motives, that he who concludes that such a matter can not be the result merely because it ought not to be may find himself egregiously deceived in the end.

Thus I have attempted to give a sketch of my sentiments relative to the business of a mediation; but Congress will probably receive a much more particular and satisfactory account of it from a much more able hand, who has besides better information, and is now more immediately connected with it. I have said I should go through the fatigues of my journey with much alacrity if I had well-grounded hopes that at the end I should find matters in the state we wish them to be. I do not form any strong conclusion from the answer of the empress to the United Provinces. What could they expect from her when they had so shamefully neglected any preparations necessary even for their own defence and seemed not to be half decided about making any. But the following memorial of the French ambassador at her court, taken in conjunction with the present retirement of Count Panin, her prime minister, seems to denote an essential change in the system of the court of Petersburgh:

ST. PETERSBURGH, *June* 12.

Friday last the minister of the court of Versailles had a conference with Count Ostermann, vice-chancellor of the empire, and delivered him a memorial of the following import:

"Representations upon the continual proceedings of the English against the commerce and navigation of the neutral nations, upon the little activity of these last to prevent these arbitrary proceedings, and to support the principles of their declarations made to the belligerent powers, and the convention of neutrality which has been concluded between them: upon the prejudice which will naturally result therefrom to all nations; and upon the desire which the king, his master, has that it should be remedied by the vigorous co-operation of her Imperial majesty; seeing that otherwise the said association of neutrality would be turned but to the benefit of the enemies of France, and that the king, who has himself to the present time exactly conformed to the principles of the above-mentioned declaration and convention of neutrality, will find himself, though with regret, under the indispensable necessity of changing in like manner the system which he has hitherto pursued respecting the commerce and navigation of neutrals, and to order and regulate that according to the conduct which the English themselves pursue, and which has been so patiently borne by the neutral nations; objects upon the subject matter of which his majesty has nevertheless thought that he ought to suspend his final resolution until he should have concerted measures with her Imperial majesty upon this business."

---

* This doubtless refers to France, but the suspicion was not well founded; for when a pacification was proposed through the mediation of Russia and Austria the court of France insisted on an express *preliminary condition* that the United States should be represented by their ministers as an *independent power* in the negociations for peace. It was on this account alone that England refused to come into the plan of the mediation.—SPARKS.

As Mr. Adams had left Amsterdam before this memorial appeared, I could not have the benefit of his judgment upon it, but I am so thoroughly acquainted with his political sentiments, that I believe I may say it would have made no alteration in his opinion touching the expediency of my going forward. It certainly has made none in mine on that point, though it has indeed given me some reason to apprehend that at present the prospect of success is not so good as before. The experiment ought to be made, what are the real dispositions of that court towards us, or what they would be if they were better and properly informed about us. Britain most certainly has been industrious in concealing the real state of things from them, and there has not been anyone there to counteract her. By this step we shall at least have the satisfaction of knowing whether the empress wishes to take any friendly concern in our affairs; a point of knowledge perhaps not altogether unprofitable though it should turn out contrary to our wishes, as it may prevent our amusing ourselves vainly with expectations of important assistance from Europe, and teach us one wholesome lesson, that America, under the blessing of God, must depend more upon her own exertions for the happy establishment of her great political interests.

I think it my duty to apprize Congress that I have no expectation of any essential support in my commission there, though I shall be careful to appear to be persuaded of the contrary so long as I may do so without injuring our cause. I doubt whether it is natural for us to expect this support in any part of Europe, for when a nation thinks it will insure to itself a powerful influence over another by being its only friend or ally, why should it seek to procure it other allies who by their friendly offices and support will have a share of that influence, and nearly in the same proportion as the new friends gain it the old ones must lose it? Some may act upon such a principle. I may in some future letter give you more particular reasons why I am persuaded we ought not to expect any real support in our attempts to form new alliances, and why the ministers of Congress in Europe should be encouraged in pursuing a more independent line of conduct. I am sensible this is a matter of much delicacy, and that appearances of the most perfect confidence should be kept up as long as possible. I am sensible also that the man who thinks thus, and who wishes to act in conformity to his own sentiments, exposes himself to secret and malicious attacks, which may frequently wound if not destroy his moral and political reputation if he has any; but it becomes our duty to think freely, and to communicate freely on some matters, and I hope we may do so *safely;* otherwise there is an end of all beneficial correspondence and expectations of rendering any essential services to our country.

I crave your excellency's pardon for the length of this letter, and beg leave to subscribe myself, with the highest respect and most perfect esteem, &c.,

FRANCIS DANA.

Morris to Jay.*

PHILADELPHIA, *July* 29, 1781.

SIR: I enclose you copies of my letters of the 17th to the governor of Havana and Robert Smith. These letters will require no explanation to you. In addition, however, I am to inform you that my letter to the governor was shown to Don Francisco Rendon, whose full approbation of it is contained in the enclosed copy of his note to me.

I am to request your early attention to this matter, and that you will support and justify the measures I have taken and which may be taken in consequence of them by others.

With every sentiment of respect, &c.,

ROBERT MORRIS.

Morris to the President of the Council of Pennsylvania.†

PHILADELPHIA, *July* 30, 1781.

SIR: I am favored with your excellency's letter of the 27th instant, for which I beg leave to make my acknowledgments.

I must again repeat my regret that the means devised by the legislature are unequal to the exigencies of the State. A majority of the assembly seemed much disposed, at their late meeting, to adopt such measures as were calculated to promote the public service; and therefore it is to be lamented that they were not called, after passing the resolutions mentioned in your letter, to appropriate to the disposition of council such funds as might have been adequate to the demands they are liable to, if those which remained for that purpose were deemed insufficient. I still hope, however, that the collection of specie in taxes may enable the council to effect more than present appearances promise; but it is evident that the money allotted to my disposal is intended for the procuring specific supplies and paying the balance of the four-tenths of the new Continental emission, and that I can not apply any part of it to other purposes without crediting the State in account with the United States for such part at a value equal to gold and silver. I must observe that the resolutions taken by the assembly were consequent upon a report made to them, and communicated to me by order of the House after it had been made. This report also was by a committee appointed on a message from your excellency in council to the assembly, and it is therefore to be presumed that it originated in that message. Be that as it may, this at least is certain, that the resolutions of the assembly were proposed by them and accepted by me.

With respect to the balances due from the State, I am to observe that I have a perfect conviction of and reliance on the justice of Congress.

---

* MSS. Dep. of State; 6 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 298.

† 6 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 298.

who will, I am persuaded, make every equitable and proper allowance; and your excellency will perceive, by the circular letters I have had the honor to transmit, my determination to have the accounts of every State with the United States settled on just principles with all possible expedition.

I am obliged by your communication as to Mr. Searle's mission,* and assure you that I lament his disappointments, and, still more so, that his negociations have met with any opposition, which to me was quite unexpected. I freely confess that I did not expect he would be successful; nevertheless he had my good wishes, and had it been in my power he should have experienced my readiness to assist every public measure. I wish his efforts in Holland may be productive, but I have very little expectation of it, being convinced that war with England will create such demand for money and procure for the lenders such security as will prevent them from listening to American proposals. It was from a belief that your excellency and the council would give your support to measures which have the public good for their object that I sought your confidence, asked your advice, and relied on your assistance. Entertaining still the same opinion, I shall freely and candidly give my sentiments and opinions on every proposition which the council may think proper to refer to me.

The arguments against drawing paper money from the treasury and throwing it into circulation had forcibly impressed my mind; and nothing but necessity will compel me to have recourse to it, being very desirous to pay every possible attention to your excellency's request.

The determination to proceed with vigor and energy in the collection of taxes coincides with my judgment, and, of course, meets with my earnest wishes for success; and your promise to strengthen my hands and enable me to proceed with cheerfulness in the great work I have undertaken excites my warmest gratitude. The delays which attend the collection of taxes are indeed great and alarming. To remedy them will be highly beneficial, and perhaps the modes suggested in your letter may be effectual. Every proposition of this sort will command my serious attention; and if it shall appear to me productive of the public good, your excellency may rely that it shall meet with all the support in my power.

I am, respectfully, &c.,

ROBERT MORRIS.

* Mission to Holland, for the purpose of borrowing money for the State of Pennsylvania.

Morris to Luzerne.*

PHILADELPHIA, *August* 2, 1781.

SIR: Agreeably to the intimations I made to your excellency some days ago, it was my intention to have gone to camp yesterday. But an act of Congress of the —— of July rendered it necessary for me to hold a conference with a committee of Congress and the board of war. This was done; and it was determined that a member of the board of war should go with me to camp.

This circumstance has postponed my journey for a few days. But this is not all. The daily demands on me for money are considerable, and beyond the utmost extent of any funds I can command. The demands for past dues in compensation for past services and the like are rejected; but those for the prosecution of the campaign must be attended to. If, in my absence, and from that cause, there be any stoppage or considerable delay, the consequences will be equally injurious to my reputation and to the public service.

I have before mentioned to you that my dependence for immediate supplies of money is on the produce of bills of exchange. I am sorry now to observe that this dependence fails, and from a cause equally prejudicial to France and to the United States, considered in their collective capacity, though perhaps advantageous to individuals. Your excellency will remember that when I was called to the administration the bills of your army had been selling for two-thirds, and even so low as for one-half, of their value in Europe. What might have been the causes of this is not my business to inquire. The fact is incontestable. Your excellency observed it, and endeavored to remedy the evil by holding your own bills at five-sixths. But the merchants, who had benefited by the former low rate, could not be brought at once to make so considerable an advance. They expected that the same causes which had reduced bills to one-half must again bring them down; and therefore were disposed to wait the event.

I take the liberty here to observe that the fluctuation of exchange will naturally strengthen that expectation, and nothing but steady, firm perseverance on the part of the administration can, or indeed ought, to produce a ready sale on good terms. Bills of exchange are remitted to France in payment for European commodities. If the cost of this remittance is fixed, commerce may so far be established on true commercial principles; otherwise it is a mere game of hazard. Sensible of this, the merchant will rather wait, with his money in his chest, the event of public necessity, than invest that money in bills which may shortly after be bought on better terms by his more cautious neighbor. Hence it follows that the public will really command less money than they otherwise might. Nor is that all. While the public can command the money of the merchants as fast as it comes into their hands, the

* MSS. Dep. of State; 6 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 301.

servants of the public can spend that money to advantage, and the very expenditure will increase the circulation, so as to bring it again sooner into the hands of the merchant.

Your good sense, sir, your experience, and the unremitted attention which I have perceived you pay to every object which can relate to the service of your sovereign will render it unnecessary for me to prosecute any further these observations.

It was from a knowledge of this subject, which many years' constant attention to this business had imparted, that I saw the necessity of raising the value of bills by degrees, and, at the same time, of opposing the most inflexible firmness to every attempt at lowering their price. The bills I drew on Messrs. Le Couteulx & Co., at sixty days' sight, were selling readily at four-fifths, until the bills for your army were offered at thirty days' sight and at a lower rate. This, sir, has checked my sales; and this induces me to mention to you another matter, which will, I foresee, become of great importance.

The concurrence of many venders of bills can not be more pernicious than the concurrence of many purchasers of supplies. The merchant can not reason more effectually on public necessities, which he may conjecture, than the husbandman on such wants as he has ocular demonstration of. Melancholy experience has shown that the contest between our purchasers has been extremely pernicious. What may have been the manner of conducting the business by the agents of the king I do not positively know; but if I were to credit many tales which I have heard about it, I should believe there had been errors at least. But I know too well the weakness and impropriety of listening to slanderous reports; and I am very confident that all possible care will be taken of the interests of his majesty.

But, sir, if the supplies for the French army and navy are kept in a distinct channel, I do not believe it will be possible to obtain them so cheap as they might otherwise be had. The ration, consisting of one pound of bread one pound of beef or three-quarters of a pound of pork, one gill of country-made rum, and to every hundred rations one quart of salt, two quarts of vinegar, also to every seven hundred rations eight pounds of soap and three pounds of candles, is now furnished to the United States, in this city, at nine pence, with a half penny allowed over for issuing. It may perhaps cost more to furnish rations to the army, perhaps as high as ten pence or eleven pence, Pennsylvania currency.

You, I suppose, sir, can command the necessary accounts to determine what the king now pays for the subsistence of his troops; but as the French and American rations differ, I take the liberty, for your further information, to mention that the parts of the ration are estimated as follows: for one pound of bread, two-ninetieths of a dollar; for one pound of beef or three-quarters of a pound of pork, four and a quarter ninetieths; for one gill of rum, two ninetieths; for soap, candles, vinegar, and salt, one and a quarter ninetieths for each ration. You will also observe, sir,

that when exchange is at four-fifths, one livre tournois is equal to fourteen pence and two-fifths of a penny, Pennsylvania money.

I go into these details to enable your excellency exactly to determine what is most for the interest of France, for I conceive it my duty to give you a confidential state of our affairs whenever it can promote his majesty's service, which, I beg leave to assure you, I have every possible desire to assist, being convinced that I can by no other means more fully comply with the wishes of the United States in Congress assembled.

I beg leave further to observe that I have no personal wish to negociate your bills or to supply your fleets and armies. You must be very sensible that I have already before me a field of business sufficiently large. To extend it will give me labor and pain, I can derive no advantage from it, nor will anything induce me to engage in it, except it be the prospect of rendering effectual service to the common cause. I make this declaration, not because I conceive it necessary to you, or from an ostentatious display of those motives which actuate my conduct, but there may be persons to whom I am not so well known as I have the honor of being to your excellency, and who from ignorance or interest might give to the present intentions the foulest interpretation.

I have been led much further, sir, than the occasion strictly required, but perhaps my observations may demand your attention; they certainly appeared to me of importance, or I would not have given you the trouble of so long a letter.

I pray you to believe me, with respect, &c.,

ROBERT MORRIS.

Washington to Morris.*

HEADQUARTERS,
Dobbs' Ferry, August 2, 1781.

DEAR SIR: The expectation of the pleasure of seeing you has prevented me hitherto from making a communication of a most important and interesting nature. But circumstances will not admit of further delay, and I must trust it to paper. It seems reduced almost to a certainty that the enemy will reinforce New York with part of their troops from Virginia. In that case the attempt against the former must be laid aside, as it will not be in our power to draw together a force sufficient to justify the undertaking. The detachment which the enemy will probably leave in Virginia seems the next object which ought to engage our attention, and which will be a very practicable one should we obtain a naval superiority, of which I am not without hopes, and be able to carry a body of men suddenly around by water. The principal difficulty which occurs is in obtaining transports at the moment they may be wanted; for if they are taken up beforehand, the use for which they are designed can

* MSS. Dep. of State; 6 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 300.

not be concealed, and the enemy will make arrangements to defeat the plan.

What I would therefore wish you to inform yourself of, without making a direct inquiry, is, what number of tons of shipping could be obtained in Philadelphia at any time between this and the 20th of this month, and whether there could also be obtained at the same time a few deep-waisted sloops and schooners proper to carry horses. The number of double-decked vessels which may be wanted, of two hundred tons and upwards, will not exceed thirty. I shall be glad of your answer as soon as possible, because, if it is favorable, I can direct certain preparations to be made in Philadelphia and at other convenient places without incurring any suspicions. There certainly can be no danger of not obtaining flour in Philadelphia, and as you seem to have doubts of procuring salt meat there, I shall direct all that which is to the eastward to be collected at points from whence it may be shipped at the shortest notice.

You will also oblige me by giving me your opinion of the number of vessels which might be obtained at Baltimore, or other places in the Chesapeake, in the time before mentioned, or thereabouts.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.*

AMSTERDAM, *August* 3, 1781.

SIR: I have the honor to enclose copies of some papers which passed between the Count de Vergennes and me lately at Paris. The conjecture that the British court would insist upon their two preliminaries is become more probable by the publication of the king's speech at the prorogation of Parliament:

> The zeal and ardor which you have shown for the honor of my crown [says the king], your firm and steady support of a just cause, and the great efforts you have made to enable me to surmount all the difficulties of this extensive and complicated war must convince the world that the ancient spirit of the British nation is not abated or diminished.
>
> While I lament the continuance of the present troubles and the extension of the war I have the conscious satisfaction to reflect that the constant aim of all my counsels has been to bring back my deluded subjects in America to the happiness and liberty they formerly enjoyed and to see the tranquillity of Europe restored.
>
> To defend the dominions and to maintain the rights of this country, was on my part the sole cause and is the object of the war. Peace is the earnest wish of my heart, but I have too firm a reliance on the spirit and resources of the nation, the powerful assistance of my Parliament, and *the protection of a just and all-ruling Providence* to accept it upon any other terms or conditions than such as may consist with the honor and dignity of my crown and the permanent interest and security of my people.

---

* MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 458, with verbal changes; 7 J. Adams' Works, 453.

We all know very well what his meaning is when he mentions "the honor and dignity of his crown, and the permanent interest and security of his people." Could the minister who composed this speech expect that anybody would believe him when he said that the constant aim of all his counsels had been to bring back the Americans to the happiness and liberty they formerly enjoyed?

The whole of this speech is in a strain which leaves no room to doubt that the cabinet of St. James is yet resolved to persevere in the war to the last extremity, and to insist still upon the return of America to British obedience and upon the rupture of the treaty with France as preliminaries to the congress at Vienna. Thus the two imperial courts will find themselves trifled with by the British. It is not to be supposed that either will be the voluntary bubble of such trickish policy. The Empress of Russia is supposed to be as sagacious as she is spirited, yet she seems to have given some attention to the pacific professions of the English. If she should see herself intentionally deceived she will not probably be very patient.

The emperor, in his late journey through Holland, made himself the object of esteem and admiration of all; affable and familiar, as a great sovereign can ever allow himself to be with dignity, he gave to many persons unequivocal intimations of his sentiments upon public affairs. Patriotism seemed to be the object which he wished to distinguish. Whoever espoused with zeal the honor and interest of his own country was sure of some mark of his approbation; whoever appeared to countenance another country in preference to his own found some symptom of his dislike; even the ladies, French or Dutch, who had any of the English modes in their dress, received from his majesty some intimation of his disapprobation of their taste. Everybody here since his departure is confident of his entire detestation of the principles on which the English have conducted this war and of his determination to take no part in it in their favor. His sentiments concerning America are inferred from a very singular anecdote, which is so well attested that it may not be improper to mention to Congress.

His majesty condescended in a certain company to inquire after the minister of the United States of America to their high mightinesses, said he was acquainted with his name and character, and should be glad to see him; a lady in company asked his majesty if he would drink tea with him at her house? He replied in the affirmative, in the character of the Count of Falkenstein. A lady in company undertook to form the party, but upon inquiry the American was at Paris. It is supposed with good reason that there could be nothing personal in his curiosity, and therefore that it was intended as a political signification of a certain degree of complaisance towards America.

Thus it is that the words, gestures, and countenances of sovereigns are watched and political inferences drawn from them; but there is too much uncertainty in this science to depend much upon it. It seems,

however, that the emperor made himself so popular here as to excite some appearance of jealousy in Prussia. For my own part I think that the greatest political stroke which the two imperial courts could make would be upon receiving the answer from England adhering to their preliminaries immediately to declare the United States independent. It would be to their immortal honor; it would be in the character of each of these extraordinary geniuses; it would be a blessing to mankind; it would even be friendship to England.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

JOHN ADAMS.

Morris to the Governor of Massachusetts.*

OFFICE OF FINANCE, *August* 4, 1781.

SIR: On the 23d of June last the United States in Congress assembled directed me to take measures for the speedy launching and equipping the ship *America*, and directed the board of admiralty to assign to me the share of the United States in the prizes taken by Captain Barry, to enable me to carry their orders into effect.

By a letter from the navy board in the eastern district, dated the 18th of July, at Boston, it appears that the greater part of this money is already expended, and that more is wanting to fit the *Deane* and *Alliance* for sea. Congress have referred this letter to me, and, in consequence, as I am convinced that expense will constantly accrue while those vessels continue in port, I request of your excellency to furnish to the navy board such moneys as may be necessary to fit them out with all possible expedition. I must further entreat to be favored with an account of the sums furnished, that they may be carried to the credit of your State on the late requisitions of Congress and the navy board, to be debited with them in the treasury books.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

ROBERT MORRIS.

Morris to the Governors of Delaware, Maryland, and New Jersey.†

PHILADELPHIA, *August* 4, 1781.

SIR: Being obliged to go to camp on public business, I shall set off this day. During my absence it is highly probable that the service may require various applications to your excellency. Should this be the case they will be made to you by Mr. Gouveneur Morris, who is

---

* MSS. Dep. of State; 6 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 305.

† 6 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 306.

my official assistant. I am therefore to pray the same attention to his letters as if they were written by me.

With great respect, &c.,

ROBERT MORRIS.*

Morris to Luzerne.†

PHILADELPHIA, *August* 4, 1781.

SIR: I was honored with your letter of the 3d yesterday evening. I am happy that the sentiments expressed in mine of the 2d meet with your excellency's approbation, and shall readily confide in your discretion to make such use of it as you think proper.

The two questions you ask do not admit of a precise answer. The rate of exchange ought by no means to be under four-fifths; indeed, I could wish that it were higher, and am not without hopes of raising it; but that must depend on circumstances which I can not command. The sum which can be furnished to the French army monthly by the sale of bills admits still less than the other of being precisely ascertained. Let me add, sir, that the sum which your army may want must greatly depend upon the measures which may be taken to supply them. Government ought to know its expenses precisely, if that were possible. Upon this principle it will be of use that your stipulations should be to pay a certain sum in France for every ration; consequently you will want no money here for that purpose.

I wish it were in my power to reply more pointedly, for I am well convinced of the importance of information on that subject. Whenever I am in a condition to know more I shall readily communicate to you the extent of my inquiries. But while it is my determination to speak to you with that confidence which your ingenuous conduct has merited, I am equally determined neither to compromise myself nor mislead you by relying on unfounded conjecture.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

ROBERT MORRIS.

---

* *August* 4. Having omitted in my minutes to make mention of the assistance I have received from Gouverneur Morris, I think it proper to declare that he has most cheerfully afforded me every advice and assistance which his genius and abilities enabled him to afford from my first appointment to this time, and that I found him so capable and useful as to induce me to solicit his assistance in an official character, which, having readily consented to, I made a verbal engagement with him, since confirmed by my letter of appointment dated on the 6th of July last, being the date of the acts of Congress which fixes a salary for my assistant, and he is of course entitled to that salary from that date.—*Diary.*

† 6 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 304.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.*

AMSTERDAM, *August* 6, 1781.

SIR: In the Utrecht Gazette of this morning is an article from Petersburgh of the 13th of July in these words:

Saturday last the government despatched a courier from London. He carries, it is assured, instructions to M. Simolin, our minister to the King of England, to make to his Britannic majesty, conjointly with the ministers of Sweden and Denmark, certain representations concerning the war which he has thought fit to declare against the republic of the United Provinces.

The minister of England at our court received a courier from London the day before yesterday with the answer of the British ministry to the preliminary articles of a treaty of peace to be concluded between the belligerent powers of Europe under the high mediation of her majesty the empress, our sovereign, and of his majesty the King of Hungary and Bohemia; but nothing has transpired of the contents of this answer.

It is said that the Grand Duke and the Grand Duchess of Russia will set off from hence for the courts of Europe, which their imperial highnesses propose to visit about the end of August or the beginning of September.

A man who is master of the history of England for the last twenty years would be at no loss to conjecture the answer to the preliminary articles of the two imperial courts. Indeed the king's speech has already answered them before all the world. The king has not probably given one answer to Parliament and his ministers another to the mediating courts.

Thus all Europe is to be bubbled by a species of chicanery that has been the derision of America for a number of years. In time the courts of Europe will learn the nature of these British tricks by experience, and receive them with the contempt or the indignation they deserve.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

JOHN ADAMS.

Franklin to Brown.†

PASSY, *August* 6, 1781.

SIR: I received yours of the 23d past, acquainting me with your having taken a brig bound to New York, and desiring to know if I had granted a passport to one Benjamin Joy.

On examining my papers I find that I did grant such a passport on the recommendation of a Mr. Diggs, at that time an American merchant residing in London, and in good credit as a sincere and hearty friend to the American cause. I had therefore full faith in his recommendation, but as he has since proved villain in defrauding our poor prisoners in England during all last winter of several hundred pounds I had put in his hands to be distributed among them for their relief, I have now no great opinion of his recommendation. As possibly the trial of

---

* MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 461.

† MSS. Dep. of State.

your prize may not determine before your arrival, I send you copies of the papers, by which may be seen the goods she was engaged to carry; that so, if her cargo was of a different kind and fitter for the market of New York, it may appear more clearly that she was bound thither. in which case I wish you joy of your prize; and am, sir, your most obed't humble servant.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.*

AMSTERDAM, *August* 6, 1781.

SIR: In several of the London newspapers of July 26th appeared the following paragraph:

An order has been sent from Lord Hillsborough's office for bringing Curson and Gouvernieur (whom we some time ago mentioned to have been confined by command of Sir George Rodney and General Vaughan for having carried on a traitorous correspondence with the enemy at St. Eustatia) to town, to be confined in Newgate, to take their trial for the crime of high treason. The whole circumstances of their case and all their correspondence has been submitted to the inspection of the attorney and solicitor-general, and they consider the offence in so serious a light, that a direct refusal has been given to a petition from Mr. Curson to be indulged with the privilege of giving bail for appearance on account of the ill-health which he has experienced on board the *Vengeance*, where he and his colleague have been for some months confined and which is now lying at Spithead. It has been discovered from an inspection of their papers that Mr. Adams, the celebrated negociator to Holland, was the man with whom they held their illicit correspondence, and it is said that the appearance of proof against them has turned out much stronger than was originally supposed.

Last fall Mr. Searle informed me that Messrs. Curson and Gouvernieur were Continental agents at Eustatia, and advised me to send my despatches to their care as worthy men, a part of whose duty it was to forward such things to Congress. I accordingly sent several packets of letters, newspapers, and pamphlets to their address, accompanied only with a line, simply requesting their attention to forward them by the first safe opportunity. I never saw those gentlemen nor received a line from either. It must have been imprudence or negligence to suffer my letters to fall into the hands of the enemy. I have looked over all the letters which I wrote about that time, and I find no expression in any that could do harm to the public if printed in the gazettes, yet there are some things which the English would not choose to publish, I fancy. What other correspondences of Messrs. Curson and Gouvernieur might have been discovered I know not.

The British ministry seem to be growing outrageous. The more they despair, the more angry they are. They think not at all of peace. America should think of it as little; sighing and longing for peace will not obtain it. No terms short of eternal disgrace and irrecoverable ruin would be accepted. We must brace up our laws and our military

---

* MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 462.

discipline, and renounce that devoted and abandoned nation for ever. America must put an end to a foolish and disgraceful correspondence and intercourse which some have indulged, but at which all ought to blush, as inconsistent with the character of man.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

JOHN ADAMS.

Franklin to J. Adams.*

PASSY, *August* 6, 1781.

SIR: I some time since gave orders, as you desired, to Mr. Grand to furnish you with a credit in Holland for the remainder of your salary to November next. But I am now told, that your account having been mixed with Mr. Dana's, he finds it difficult to know the sum due to you. Be pleased, therefore, to state your account for two years, giving credit for the sums you have received, that an order may be made for the balance. Upon this occasion it is right to acquaint you that I do not think we can depend on receiving any more money here applicable to the support of the Congress ministers.

What aids are hereafter granted will probably be transmitted by the government directly to America. It will, therefore, be proper to inform Congress, that care may be taken to furnish their servants by remittances from thence.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

B. FRANKLIN.

Franklin to Dumas.†

PASSY, *August* 6, 1781.

DEAR SIR: I have received several letters from you lately, enclosing others for the President of Congress and for Spain, all of which are sealed and forwarded, except the last for the President, contained in yours of the 26th past, which shall go by the first opportunity. The reading of those letters gave me much information, and therefore pleasure, though since the fixing of Mr. Adams there I do not attend so much to the affairs of your country as before, expecting, indeed, but little from it to our advantage; for though it was formerly in the same situation with us, and was glad of assistance from other nations, it does not seem to *feel* for us, or to have the least inclination to help us; it appears to want magnanimity.

Some writer, I forget who, says that Holland is no longer *a nation*, but *a great shop;* and I begin to think it has no other principles or sentiments but those of a shopkeeper. You can judge of it better than I, and I shall be happy to find myself mistaken. You will oblige me, however, by continuing the history, either directly to me or in your letters

* MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 460; 7 Bigelow's Franklin, 282.
†2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 169; 7 Bigelow's Franklin, 283.

to Congress; but when you enclose a sealed letter in another to me, please to observe to place the second seal on one side, and not directly over the first, because the heat of the second is apt to deface the impression of the first, and to attach the paper to it so as to endanger tearing the enclosed in opening the cover.

With best wishes for your health and prosperity, I am ever, dear sir, &c.,

B. FRANKLIN.

P. S.—I pity the writer of the enclosed, though I have no other acquaintance with him than having seen him once at Hanover, where he then seemed to live genteely and in good credit. I can not conceive what should reduce him to such a situation as to engage himself for a soldier. If you can procure him any friends among the philanthropists of your country, capable of relieving him, I wish you would do it. If not, and he must go the Indies, please to give him three or four guineas for me to buy a few necessaries for his voyage.

B. F.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.*

AMSTERDAM, *August* 8, 1781.

SIR: This people must have their own way. They proceed like no other. There can not be a more striking example of this than the instructions given to privateers and letters of marque.

The commander is ordered to bring his prizes into some port of the United Provinces, or into the ports or roads of the allies and friends of this republic, especially France, Sweden, North America, or Spain; and the ship shall be at liberty to join, under a written convention, with one or more privateers or other similar ships of war belonging to Hollanders, Zealanders, French, Americans, or Spanish, to undertake jointly anything advantageous, &c. This is not only an acknowledgment of the independence of North America, but it is avowing it to be an ally and friend. But I suppose, in order to elude and evade, it would be said that these are only the instructions given by owners to their commanders; yet these instructions are required to be sworn to, and produced to the admiralty for their approbation.

It is certain that the King of Spain, when he declared war against Great Britain, sent orders to all his officers to treat the Americans as the best friends of Spain, and the king's pleasure being a law to his subjects, they are bound by it. But what is there to oblige a citizen of the United Provinces to consider the Americans as the friends of the republic? There is no such law, and these instructions can not bind. Yet it is very certain that no Dutchman will venture to take an American.

I have the honor to be, &c., JOHN ADAMS.

* MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 463.

Franklin to Dumas.*

PASSY, *August* 10, 1781.

DEAR SIR: Enclosed I send you a late paper received from Rhode Island. You will see in it the advantages our troops have gained in South Carolina. Late advices, directly from Philadelphia, say that the enemy have now nothing left in Georgia but Savannah; in South Carolina, but Charleston; nor in North Carolina but Wilmington. They are, however, in force in Virginia, where M. de la Fayette has not sufficient strength to oppose them till the arrival of the reinforcements which were on their march to join him from Maryland and Pennsylvania.

In looking over my last to you, I apprehend I may have expressed myself perhaps a little too hardly of your country. I foresee you will tell me that we have many friends there. I once thought so too; but I was a little out of humor when I wrote, on understanding that no loan could be obtained there for our use, though the credit of this kingdom was offered to be engaged for assuring the payment, and so much is lent freely to our enemies. You can best tell the reason. It will be well not to let my letter be seen.

I am ever, dear sir, &c.,

B. FRANKLIN.

Appointment of a Secretary of Foreign Affairs.†

IN CONGRESS, *August* 10, 1781.

Congress proceeded to the election of a secretary of foreign affairs; and, the ballots being counted, Robert R. Livingston was elected, having been previously nominated by Mr. Floyd.

Instructions to Jay as to Navigation of Mississippi.‡

CONGRESS, *August* 10, 1781.

Congress resumed the consideration of the report of the committee on the letter of the 9 July from the superintendent of finance, and on the question to agree to the following proposition, viz:

"That the minister be empowered to make such further cessions of the right of these United States to the navigation of the river Mississippi as he may think proper, and on such terms and conditions as he may think most for the honor and interest of these United States."

---

*2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 170; 9 Sparks' Franklin, 70; 7 Bigelow's Franklin, 284.

† MSS. Dep. of State; 6 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 146.

‡ MSS. secret journals, Dep. of State; printed secret journals.

The yeas and nays being required by Mr. Sherman,

New Hampshire	Mr. Sullivan	No.	No.
	Mr. Livermore	No.	
Massachusetts	Mr. Lovell	No.	No.
	Mr. Partridge	No.	
	Mr. Osgood	No.	
Rhode Island	Mr. Mowry	No.	No.
	Mr. Varnum	No.	
Connecticut	Mr. Ellsworth	No.	No.
	Mr. Sherman	No.	
New York	Mr. Duane	No.	No.
	Mr. L' Hommedieu	No.	
New Jersey	Mr. Boudinot	No.	No.
	Mr. Elmer	No.	
Pennsylvania	Mr. Montgomery	No.	No.
	Mr. Clymer	No.	
	Mr. Smith	No.	
Delaware	Mr. McKean	No.	No.
	Mr. Van Dyke	No.	
Maryland	Mr. Jenifer	No.	No.
	Mr. Carroll	No.	
Virginia	Mr. Jones	No.	No.
	Mr. Madison*	No.	
	Mr. Bland	No.	
	Mr. Randolph	No.	
North Carolina	Mr. Sharpe	No.	No.
South Carolina	Mr. Bee	No.	No.
	Mr. Eveleigh	No.	
Georgia	Mr. Walton	No.	No.
	Mr. Howley	No.	

So it passed in the negative.

---

* Madison's course, when in Congress, as to Mr. Jay's instructions concerning the Mississipi River, is discussed in 1 Rives' Madison, chapter 8. The instructions, it appears, were drawn by Madison, and at the time of their presentation were unanimously sustained by Congress. But after the fall of Charleston the dangers of the Confederacy seemed so great, and Spanish aid so essential, that the delegates from Georgia and South Carolina asked that the question be reopened. Of this Madison, in a letter of November 25, 1780, to his colleague Jones, thus wrote:

"The delegates from Georgia and South Carolina, apprehensive that a *uti possidetis* may be obtruded on the belligerent powers by the armed neutrality in Europe, and hoping that the accession of Spain to the alliance will give greater concert and success to the military operations that may be pursued for the recovery of their States, and likewise add weight to the means that may be used to obviate a *uti possidetis*, have moved for a reconsideration of the instructions, in order to empower Mr. Jay, in case of necessity, to yield to the claims of Spain, in consideration of her guaranteeing our independence and affording us a handsome subsidy. The expediency of such a motion is further urged from the dangerous negotiations now on foot by British emissaries for detaching Spain from the war. Wednesday last was assigned for the consideration of this motion, and it has continued the order of the day ever since, without being taken up." (1 Madison Papers, 65.)

From this view, however, Bland, Madison's only colleague then present, dissented; and the two deputies, for the purpose of harmony, agreed to refer the question to the Virginia legislature for decision. In that body, on January 2, 1781, a resolution was passed to the effect that our claims to the Mississippi should only be to the margin of our own territory, and that "every further or other demand of the said navigation be ceded, if insisting on the same is deemed an impediment to a treaty with Spain." On February 15, 1781, the instructions above given were passed, authorizing Jay "to recede from his former instructions so far as they insist on the free naviga-

McKean to Washington.*

[Private.]

PHILADELPHIA, *August* 12, 1781.

SIR: By a vessel from Cadiz last night we are informed that our minister at the Spanish court as late as the 11th June had made but little progress in a negotiation with them. They still appear friendly, but aim at cessions we can not make. They give encouragement respecting money at some times; again they are disappointed and can not promise anything certain. They have, however, given Mr. Jay liberty to accept bills to the amount of one hundred and fifty thousand dollars, but have no known funds appropriated for the payment. In short, their conduct appears rather insincere and mysterious. Our public despatches are intercepted or obstructed insomuch that a free correspondence is almost impracticable. Mr. Gardoqui was to set off from Madrid for Philadelphia some time in June, but his intentions of coming here have been so often announced and the delay not accounted for, that Mr. Jay will say nothing about him hereafter until he has actually sailed.

France acts a truly friendly part. We shall certainly obtain from her this year twenty millions of livres, four of which will be retained for Dr. Franklin to discharge the interest on loan-office certificates; two supplied in military stores, &c., and the residue be subject to the directions of Congress. I have the strongest reason to believe that Col. Laurens is now on the ocean, and has with him two millions and a half of this money in specie. I pray most sincerely for his safe arrival.

It is as yet more than probable that there will be a negotiation for a

---

tion of that part of the river Mississippi which lies below the 31st degree of north latitude, and provided such cession shall be *unalterably insisted* on by Spain, and provided the free navigation of the said river above the said degree of north latitude shall be acknowledged and guarantied by his Catholic majesty to the citizens of the United States in common with his own subjects."

An explanation of the circumstances under which this concession by Virginia was made, and of its temporary character, was given by Mr. Madison on June 8, 1822, and was afterwards published in 1 Madison Papers, App. XIX–XXII.

These restrictive instructions both of the legislature of Virginia and of Congress were subsequently revoked, and Mr. Jay left to pursue the policy originally prescribed—that of a refusal to surrender the navigation of the Mississippi—a policy which, as has been seen, he resolutely maintained when in Spain, though afterwards, when secretary for foreign affairs, somewhat receding from his earlier position. (See 1 Rives' Madison, 247 *ff.*)

As will be seen from the secret journal, Jones, Madison, and Bland, being the entire Virginia delegation on that day, voted for the amended instructions to Jay under instructions from their legislature.

The full text of Madison's writings on this relation is given in 4 Madison's Writings, 558 *ff.*

* 3 Sparks' Letters to Washington, 378.

general peace some time this fall, the congress to assemble at Vienna. France has proposed that the United States of America shall have a minister or ministers plenipotentiary at the congress. The emperor is afraid this proposition may obstruct a measure he has much at heart. It has been suggested that if the United States are heard by memorial it would probably answer; but to this France does not seem to consent. The emperor was expected in June or July at Paris on a visit, the probable consequence of which is yet *in dubio*.

Sweden and Denmark have refused to assist the Dutch with ships of war. Russia is undecided. Count Panin, the prime minister of Russia, is removed. Mr. Necker's resignation has been accepted by his most Christian majesty. This great character was not agreeable to the court of Spain nor to the officers at Versailles. He is said to have conducted with too much *hauteur*.

Out of Admiral Rodney's thirty-four ships, laden with the plunder of St. Eustatia, M. Piquet has certainly captured twenty-four; and it is said that five more have been picked up by privateers. The escort, consisting of a seventy-four, one sixty-four, and two frigates, with five of the convoy, escaped by their swiftness in sailing. An expedition was in great forwardness at Cadiz, to consist of eight sail of the line, besides frigates, &c., and eight or ten thousand land forces, the destination unknown. They were to sail in July, and conjectured to be for the West Indies or this continent.

By a letter from the Marquis de Lafayette of the 6th, from Pamunky, we have intelligence that Lord Cornwallis, with the fleet formerly mentioned and an addition of whale-boats carrying the greatest part of the British army, have arrived in York River and landed at Gloucester and Yorktown, which they now occupy. Your excellency is probably acquainted with their situation. However, the marquis describes the one to be a small neck projected into the river; the other surrounded by the river and a morass. General O'Hara commands at Portsmouth. The honorable Robert R. Livingston was appointed by Congress, on Friday last, secretary of foreign affairs. Georgia has re-established her government, and South Carolina is expected to be soon in capacity to do the same.

I am, sir, with the most respectful attachment, your excellency's most obedient servant,

THOMAS MCKEAN.

Franklin to J. Adams.*

PASSY, *August* 12, 1781.

SIR: Since my last, of the 6th inst., there have been several arrivals in France from America. I have letters from Philadelphia of the 20th June, though none from Congress. The advices are that General Greene has

*Franklin MSS., Dep. of State.

taken all the enemy's outposts in South Carolina and Georgia, and that their possession in those provinces is reduced to Charleston and Savannah. In North Carolina they also have Wilmington. Their great force is now under Cornwallis in Virginia, where they are ravaging and burning as usual, M. de la Fayette not being in force to repress them. But General Wayne was on his march to reinforce him, and had passed Annapolis.

I have received the letter from your excellency enclosing a list of the bills you have lately accepted. I think you did right in accepting them, and hope they are the last that the Congress will draw till they know you have funds to pay them.

I have the honor to be, with respect, sir, your excellency's.

Morris and Peters to Washington.*

CAMP, *August* 13, 1781.

SIR: The orders of Congress, which we have the honor to communicate, directing us to confer with your excellency on the subject of the proposed numbers and arrangements of the army for the next campaign, not having pointed out the reasons for inducing the measure, we have the honor to lay before you our ideas on the subject so far as we are acquainted with the matter from a long conference at which we were present in Philadelphia, held by a committee of Congress, the superintendent of finance, and the board of war, pursuant to a resolution of Congress, with a copy of which your excellency has been furnished.

After the full conversation with which we were honored on the 12th instant it is unnecessary to enter at large into those reasons, or to urge the pressing necessity of economising our affairs so as to make our revenues in a great degree meet our expenses. Your excellency must be equally sensible with us of the necessity, and we are perfectly convinced that you are disposed to assist in every measure tending to promote so desirable an object. You are also sensible of the impolicy of calling on the States for men or money in numbers or quantities so extensive as to excite among even the zealous and considerate ideas of the impracticability of carrying on the war on such terms. Demands of this nature, instead of animating to exertions, are only productive of hopeless languor. Your mortifying experience of the inadequate compliance of the States heretofore with your former requisitions will explain the motives inducing to the expediency of moderating those demands so as to render them productive, and in case of failure to leave the delinquent State without excuse. Your excellency has no doubt considered that the class of men who are willing to become soldiers is much diminished by the war, and therefore the difficulties of raising an army equal to former establishments has increased, and will continue

*MSS. Dep. of State; 6 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 306.

to increase, and embarrass the States in their measures for filling up their quotas should the mode of recruiting the army be continued in the present line. You will also have considered that the enemy, proportionably debilitated by war, is incapable of opposing to us the force we originally had to encounter; and therefore the necessity of such extensive levies as we formerly raised seems to be in some measure superseded.

In what degree the forces of these States should be decreased we do not pretend to determine, leaving this to your excellency's better judgment. But from past experience it appears that the States are incapable of bringing into the field an army equal to that called for by the last arrangement; or, if all the demands of Congress on the States become merely pecuniary, it does not seem probable that they can or will furnish money for raising, equipping, and supporting such an army.

We wish we were capable, from any information we are possessed of, to assist your excellency in the investigation of the subject with respect to the probable designs or force of the enemy the next campaign. This must in its nature depend upon contingencies at present even beyond conjecture. At this time, therefore, in our apprehension, the only solid grounds of procedure is to consider what force these States are capable of producing.

Having thus in general mentioned the ideas which have arisen on the subject, we beg to leave the matter to your consideration, and take the liberty of proposing the following queries, after further stating that it has been thought that it would be expedient, in case of a reform, to lessen the number of regiments, so as to make fewer commissioned officers and privates in the regiments. It has been supposed that a considerable saving would arise from this measure by not having so many officers in full pay, with their horses, servants, baggage, and other consequent expenses in the field. Or, if they remain in quarters from want of commands, they are in a situation disagreeable to their own feelings and uselessly expensive to the public. We presume that gentlemen qualified for staff officers, and that artificers and other persons employed by the staff department, should not come into the calculation, as the officers at the head of those departments should be enabled to carry on their business without taking men from the line; a practice introduced from necessity, very prejudicial to discipline, and productive of pernicious consequences by lessening the effective force of the army.

Query 1. Is a reduction of the number of the officers and men, as fixed by the last arrangement, expedient or proper?

2. How can the reduction be brought about consistently with the good of the service, and what arrangement should be made in consequence of this resolution?

The answer to the above queries will no doubt include the number of men necessary for the next campaign and the organization of them,

so as to designate the numbers of regiments and the numbers in those regiments both of commissioned and non-commissioned officers and privates, as well regimentally as by companies. The expediency of having fewer regiments of artillery and horse and of consolidating the independent corps will also, we presume, come into your excellency's consideration.

3. What periods of enlistment, under present circumstances, are most proper to be adopted?

4. What regulation can be made to modify the practice of taking servants from the line by officers? And on this head we beg leave to submit to your opinion a copy of a motion made in Congress on this subject.

5. What is to be done with officers by brevet, or those who have no particular commands? Can they not be placed in the regiments, or retire on half pay?

6. Would it be practicable, consistent with justice and the good of the service, to call into actual service officers who have retired on half pay, by the former arrangement, to fill vacancies happening in the lines to which they respectively belong?

We have the honor to be, with much regard, &c.,

ROBERT MORRIS.
RICHARD PETERS.

Morris to Jay.*

OFFICE OF FINANCE, *August* 15, 1781.

SIR: Enclosed you have a list of sundry bills of exchange drawn on you. I wrote you relatively to these bills on the 29th day of July last, with sundry enclosures explanatory of my letter. I am now to inform you that the advices contained in that letter must, from particular circumstances, be totally disregarded. Should any of the bills mentioned in the enclosed list come to your hands you will be pleased to protest them, and assign, if you please, as a reason therefor that you have express instructions to that purport. The uncertainty whether you have received my cypher prevents my using it on this occasion. The importance of the subject obliges me to write, and as I send many copies, the risk of capture and inspection is too great to be more particular.

The gazettes will furnish you with our latest intelligence. That of New York announces the arrival of near three thousand Hessian troops and the capture of the *Trumbull* frigate. Neither of these is a very agreeable circumstance. However, we must wait the course of events, and struggle, as well as we can, against adverse fortune. Our affairs to the southward wear no unpleasing aspect. And, although it

---

* MSS. Dep. of State; 4 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 326.

is impossible at this distance to determine what effect European movements may have on American politics, our government acquires daily a firmness and stability which will not easily be shaken.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

ROBERT MORRIS.

Lovell to Jay.*

PHILADELPHIA, *August* 15, 1781.

SIR: Herewith you will receive, according to the resolution of Congress of the 10th, such information relative to the surrender of Pensacola and the subsequent arrival of the garrison at New York, as I have been able to obtain, which you will make use of according to your discretion and the spirit of the enclosed resolution.

I am, sir, your friend and very humble servant,

JAMES LOVELL.

AUGUST 16.

P. S.—It appears to me not amiss to enclose to you a report of a committee on the 10th, as it stands negatived on the journals of Congress.

J. L.

Carmichael to Committee of Congress.†

ST. ILDEFONSO, *August* 16, 1781.

GENTLEMEN: Since my last, in which I enclosed to the committee a list of the combined fleet assembled at Cadiz and of the troops to be embarked under the command of the Duke de Crillon, we have advice of the sailing of this fleet and that the troops with three vessels of the line passed the Straits of Gibraltar the 23d ultimo. They have however been detained by contrary winds and had not left the neighborhood of Carthagena the 7th inst. The court expects to hear soon that they have landed in Minorca. It is the general opinion that the force employed is not sufficient to take Port Mahon and that a blockade is the object. The character of the general, the Duke de Crillon, does not accord with this idea. The combined fleet is said to be cruising off Cape Spartel. The English fleet is at sea, and consists of twenty four sail. The Dutch squadron sailed the 23d ultimo, composed of seventeen sail, ships of the line and frigates. It is said to be destined to the Northern seas, where England has a fleet of eleven sail

---

*MSS. Dep. of State; 4 Spark Dip. Rev. Corr., 327.

†MSS. Dep. of State; 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 55. The copy given by Sparks varies from the original in so many particulars as to make it substantially a different paper.

ommanded by Sir Hyde Parker. Our negotiation seems to be in a etter train, and it may happen that Mr. Jay may be able to ter- inate our affairs with Spain previous to the general negotiation, hich is much talked of at present among the corps diplomatic here. he number of couriers who pass and repass between the court of ersailles, this, and those of Vienna and Petersburgh, gives occa- on to these conjectures. Mr. Adams has been sent for by the Ct. e Vergennes, and, as I am informed, has had conferences with that inister on the above-mentioned subject. If this is the case, the com- ittee will have from the first authority more ample information on a usiness which only can be learnt here at second or third hand. The nited Provinces appear much divided, and seem more engaged in party uarrels than in the pursuit of measures for the public interest. I fear he republican party has lost ground by their late attack against the uke of Brunswick. This court continues to borrow money. They ave just concluded a loan for three millions of dollars, to be repaid in he Havana and at Vera Cruz—one million in the present year and two 1782. They have other loans in contemplation, of the general nature which I hope to be able to inform the committee in time, for it will e difficult to obtain the minute particulars and conditions of these ans. The French ministry is concerned in the last mentioned, and ill receive part at least of the three millions in question, which I hope ill ultimately centre in America. Mr. Jay continues to receive and ccept the bills drawn on him by Congress, of which to the amount of etween twenty and thirty thousand have been accepted, for which o funds are provided, but I hope we have not much to fear for their ayment.

I have rendered to Mr. Jay the accounts of our money transactions ere, which, with his usual regularity, he will transmit to Congress, with rticular details of their other affairs here. It may not be improper observe that among the bills accepted several have been endorsed people in America, payable to merchants in G. Britain and Ireland. this doth not accord with the intentions of Congress, the treasury ay be instructed to convey to Mr. Jay further directions on this sub- ct. Although much is said of the forwardness of the negotiations for peace, it is probable that the preliminaries to be fixed on previous to e opening of the conferences will not be adjusted until the fate of e campaign is known, particularly if this court acts with its usual liberation, which some people style dilatoriness. If the expedition ainst Minorca succeeds and money can be procured for the operations the war, persons of good information here are of opinion that the neral peace will meet with more obstacles here than elsewhere. I ve already written to the committee that the court of Vienna found e pretensions of this court extravagant. Its real great objects of the r are the entire possession of the Gulf of Mexico and Gibraltar. ese are said to be the king's favorite points. He is in a good state

of health, and follows with the same ardor his usual occupation—the chase. There is no talk of any change in the ministry. The fleet from Buenos Ayres mentioned in former letters is arrived, and I am afraid Mr. Solano will be more attentive to the security of that from the Havana than to the prosecution of the plan of operations formed with our allies.

I have the honor to be, with great respect, gentlemen, your most obt. and most humble servt.,

WM. CARMICHAEL.

Resolves of Congress, Comprising the Instructions to John Adams.*

IN CONGRESS, *August* 16, 1781.

On the report of the Committee to whom was recommitted their report on the communications from the Honorable the Minister of France, and who are instructed to report instructions to the Honorable John Adams respecting a treaty of alliance with the United Provinces of the Netherlands,

Resolved, That the Minister Plenipotentiary of these United States at the Court of Versailles be directed to inform his Most Christian Majesty, that the tender of his endeavors to accomplish a coalition between the United Provinces of the Netherlands and these States, has been received by Congress as a fresh proof of his solicitude for their interests. That previous to the communication of this, his Most Christian Majesty's friendly purpose, Congress, impressed with the importance of such a connexion, had confided to Mr. John Adams full powers to enter, on the part of the United States, into a treaty of amity and commerce with the United Provinces, with a special instruction to conform himself therein to the treaties subsisting between his Most Christian Majesty and the United States. That Congress do, with pleasure accept his Most Christian Majesty's interposition, and will transmit further powers to their Minister at the Hague, to form a treaty of alliance between his Most Christian Majesty, the United Provinces, and the United States, having for its object, and limited in its duration, to the present war with Great Britain. That he will be enjoined to confer, on all occasions, in the most confidential manner, with his Most Christian Majesty's Minister at the Hague; and that provisional authority will also be sent to admit his Catholic Majesty as a party.

Resolved, That the Minister Plenipotentiary of these United States at the Hague be, and he is hereby, instructed to propose a treaty of alliance between his Most Christian Majesty, the United Provinces of the Netherlands, and the United States of America, having for its object, and limited in its duration to the present war with Great Britain, and conformed to the treaties subsisting between his Most Christian Majesty and the United States.

---

* MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 500.

That the indispensable conditions of the alliance be that their High ightinesses the States-General of the United Provinces of the Neth-rlands shall expressly recognize the sovereignty and independence of ne United States of America, absolute and unlimited, as well in matters f government as of commerce. That the war with Great Britain shall e made a common cause, each party exerting itself, according to its iscretion, in the most effectual hostility against the common enemy; nd that no party shall conclude either truce or peace with Great Britain ithout the formal consent of the whole first obtained; nor lay down eir arms until the sovereignty and independence of these United States all be formally or tacitly assured by Great Britain in a treaty which all terminate the war.

That the said Minister be, and he hereby is, further instructed to unite ne two Republics by no stipulations of offence, nor guaranty any pos-essions of the United Provinces; to inform himself, from the Minister f these United States at the Court of Spain, of the progress of his ne-otiations at the said Court; and if an alliance shall have been entered to between his Catholic Majesty and these United States, to invite is Catholic Majesty into the alliance herein intended; if no such alli-nce shall have been formed, to receive his Catholic Majesty, should he anifest a disposition to become a party to the alliance herein intended, ccording to the instructions given to the said Minister at the Court of pain.

That in all other matters not repugnant to these instructions the said inister at the Hague do use his best discretion.

Resolved, That the Minister Plenipotentiary of these United States the Hague be, and he hereby is, instructed to confer in the most con-dential manner with his Most Christian Majesty's Minister there.

Ordered, That the foregoing resolutions be communicated to our Min-ters at the Courts of Versailles and Madrid, that they may furnish ery information and aid in their power to our Minister at the Hague the accomplishment of this business.

Resolved, That the following commission be issued to Mr. John Adams r the purpose aforesaid:

e United States in Congress assembled to all who shall see these presents send greeting:

Whereas a union of the force of the several Powers engaged in the war ainst Great Britain may have a happy tendency to bring the said ar to a speedy and favorable issue; and it being the desire of these ited States to form an alliance between them and the United Prov-es of the Netherlands; know ye, therefore, that we, confiding in the egrity, prudence, and ability of the Honorable John Adams, have minated, constituted, and appointed, and by these presents do nomi-te, constitute, and appoint him, the said John Adams, our Minister nipotentiary, giving him full powers, general and special, to act in

that quality, to confer, treat, agree, and conclude with the person or persons vested with equal powers by his Most Christian Majesty and their High Mightinesses the States-General of the United Provinces of the Netherlands, of and concerning a treaty of alliance between his Most Christian Majesty, the United Provinces of the Netherlands and the United States of America, and whatever shall be so agreed and concluded for us, and in our name to sign, and thereupon to make such treaty, convention, and agreements as he shall judge conformable to the ends we have in view; hereby promising, in good faith, that we will accept, ratify, and execute whatever shall be agreed, concluded, and signed by him, our said Minister.

In witness whereof, we have caused these presents to be signed by our President, and sealed with his seal.

Done at Philadelphia, this sixteenth day of August, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-one, and in the sixth year of our independence, by the United States in Congress assembled.

THOMAS MCKEAN,
President.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.*

AMSTERDAM, *August* 16, 1781.

SIR: Mr. Temple has held offices of such importance, and a rank so considerable in America before the Revolution, that his return to his native country at this time can not fail to cause much speculation, and it is to be feared some diversity of sentiments concerning him. As he came from London to Amsterdam and did me the honor of a visit, in which he opened to me his design of returning and his sentiments upon many public affairs, it will be expected in America by many, although it has not been requested by Mr. Temple, that I should say something concerning him.

I was never before personally acquainted with this gentleman, but I have long known his public character and private reputation. He was ever reputed a man of very delicate sentiments of honor, of integrity and of attachment to his native country, although his education, his long residences in England, his numerous connexions there, and the high offices he held under the British Government, did not even admit of a general opinion that his sentiments were in all respects perfectly conformable to those of the most popular party in the Colonies. Nevertheless he was never suspected, to my knowledge, of concurring in or countenancing any of those many plots which were laid by other officers of the crown against our liberties; but, on the contrary, was known to be the object of their jealousy, revenge, and malice because he would not. He was, however, intimate with several gentlemen who stood

*MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 464, with verbal changes; 7 Adams' Works, 457.

foremost in opposition, particularly Mr. Otis, who has often communicated to me intelligence of very great importance which he had from Mr. Temple, and which he certainly could have got no other way, as early, I believe, as 1763 and 1764, and onwards.

I can not undertake to vindicate Mr. Temple's policy in remaining so long in England, but it will be easily in his power to show what kind of company he has kept there, what kind of sentiments and conversation he has maintained, and in what occupations he has employed his time. It is not with a view to recommend Mr. Temple to honors or emoluments that I write this. It would not be proper for me, and Congress know very well that I have not ventured upon this practice even in cases where I have much more personal knowledge than in this. But it is barely to prevent, as far as my poor opinion may go, jealousies and alarms upon Mr. Temple's arrival. Many may suspect that he comes with secret and bad designs, in the confidence of the British ministry, of which I do not believe him capable.

Mr. Temple, it is most certain, has fallen from high rank and ample emoluments merely because he would not join in hostile designs against his country. This, I think, should at least entitle him to the quiet enjoyment of the liberties of his country and to the esteem of his fellow-citizens, provided there are no just grounds of suspicion of him. And I really think it a testimony due to truth to say that, after a great deal of the very freest conversation with him, I see no reason to suspect his intentions.

I have taken the liberty to give Mr. Temple my own sentiments concerning the suspicions which have been and are entertained concerning him and the causes of them, and of all parts of his conduct which have come to my knowledge with so little disguise, that he will be well apprized of the disappointments he may meet with, if any. I hope, however, that he will meet a more friendly reception in America and better prospects of a happy life there than I have been able to assure him. Whether any services or sufferings of Mr. Temple could support any claim upon the justice, gratitude, or generosity of the United States, or of that of Massachusetts in particular, is a question upon which it would be altogether improper for me to give any opinion, as I know not the facts so well as they may be made known, and as I am no judge if I knew the facts. But this I know, that whenever the facts shall be laid before either the great council of the United States or that of the Massachusetts, they will be judged of by the worthy representatives of a just, grateful, and generous people, and therefore Mr. Temple will have no reason to complain if the decision should be against him.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

JOHN ADAMS.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.*

AMSTERDAM, *August* 16, 1781.

SIR: The following verbal insinuation, made to the ambassador of Holland at the court of Russia, was transmitted to Congress in my absence, and is now repeated by me, in order to complete the sets already forwarded:

The affection of the empress to the interests of the republic of the United Provinces, and her desire to see re-established, by a prompt reconciliation, a peace and good harmony between the two maritime powers have been sufficiently manifested by the step which she has taken in offering them her separate mediation. †

If she has not had the desired success, her Imperial majesty has only been for that reason the more attentive to search out the means capable of conducting her to it. One such means offers itself in the combined mediation of the two imperial courts, under the auspices of which it is to be treated at Vienna of a general pacification of the courts actually at war.

It belongs only to the republic to regulate itself in the same manner. Her Imperial majesty, by an effect of her friendship for it, imposing upon herself the task to bring her co-mediator into an agreement to share with her the cares and the good offices which she has displayed in its favor. As soon as it shall please their high mightinesses to make known their intentions in this regard to the Prince de Gallitzen, the envoy of the empress at The Hague, charged to make to them the same insinuation, this last will write of it immediately to the minister of her Imperial majesty at Vienna, who will not fail to take with that court the arrangements which are prescribed to him, to the end to proceed in this affair by the same formalities which we have made use of with the other powers.

Her Imperial majesty flatters herself that the republic will receive this overture as a fresh proof of her benevolence, and of the attention which she preserves to cultivate the ties of that friendship and of that alliance which subsists between them.

It does not appear by this insinuation that the articles proposed by the two imperial courts to serve as a basis for the negotiations of peace at Vienna were communicated to the Dutch minister at Petersburgh or the Russian minister at The Hague, or by either to their high mightinesses; as the word courts at war is used, and no hint about the United States in it, the probability is that the articles are not communicated.

I must confess I like this insinuation very much, because it may be in time an excellent precedent for making such an insinuation to the minister of the United States of America.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

Franklin to J. Adams.‡

PASSY, *August* 16, 1781.

SIR: I have the honor to inform your excellency that I yesterday received despatches from Congress refusing for the present the dismission I had requested, and ordering me upon an additional service, that

* MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Spark Dip. Rev. Corr., 466.

† This separate mediation is discussed at large in the first volume of the Correspondence of the Earl of Malmesbury.

‡ 7 J. Adams' Works, 456.

of being joined with yourself and Messrs. Jay, H. Laurens and T. Jefferson in negotiations for peace. I would send you a copy of the commission and of another which authorizes us to accept of the mediation of the Emperor* and Empress of Russia, but that I suppose you may have them in the enclosed packet. I shall be glad to learn from your excellency what steps have already been taken in this important business.

With great regard, etc.,

B. FRANKLIN.

Washington to Morris.†

HEADQUARTERS, *Dobbs' Ferry, August* 17, 1781.

DEAR SIR: I have in confidence imparted to you the alteration of our late plan, and made you acquainted with our intended operations. Besides the provision necessary at the head of the Elk to carry the troops down the bay, a very considerable quantity will be wanted in Virginia. I should suppose three hundred barrels of flour, as many of salt meat, and eight or ten hogsheads of rum would be sufficient at the Elk. For what will be consumed in Virginia I imagine the order must be general, as we can neither ascertain the number of men which will be drawn together, or the time they will be employed.

I have written to the Count de Grasse, and have requested him to send up his light vessels of every kind to the Elk; but I would, nevertheless, wish to have all that may be at Baltimore and the upper parts of the bay secured. I shall therefore be obliged to you to take measures at the proper time for that purpose. When that time will be, and when you shall give orders for the deposit at the Elk, I will hereafter inform you.

I shall direct the quartermaster in due season to take up all the small craft in the Delaware for the purpose of transporting the troops from Trenton to Christiana. Should he have occasion for advice or assistance from you on this occasion I must request you to give him both.

I am confident it will be necessary to give the American troops designed for southern service one month's pay in specie. This will amount to about —— dollars. If it will be possible for you to procure this sum, you will infinitely oblige me and will much benefit the service. I shall also stand in need of a sum of specie for secret services; I suppose about five hundred guineas.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

---

* Of Germany.

† MSS. Dep. of State; 6 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 309.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.*

AMSTERDAM, *August* 18, 1781.

SIR: We have received at last Parker's account of the action with Admiral Zoutman; according to which the battle was maintained with a continual fire for three hours and forty minutes, when it became impossible to work his ships. He made an attempt to recommence the action, but found it impracticable. The *Bienfaisant* had lost her maintop-mast and the *Buffalo* her mizzen-yard, and the other vessels were not less damaged in their masts, rigging, and sails. The enemy did not appear in a better condition. The two squadrons remained some time over against each other; at length the Dutch retired, taking, with their convoy, the course to the Texel. He was not in a condition to follow them. The officers and all on board behaved with great bravery, and the enemy did not discover less courage. He encloses the particulars of the number killed and wounded and of the damages which the vessels have sustained. The last is prudently suppressed by the ministry.

The following is a list of the killed and wounded in the action of the 5th of August:

ENGLISH.

	Killed.	Wounded.	Total.
Fortitude	20	67	87
Bienfaisant	6	21	27
Berwick	18	58	76
Princess Amelia	19	56	75
Preston	10	40	50
Buffalo	20	64	84
Dolphin	11	33	44
	104	339	443

DUTCH.

Admiral de Ruyter	43	90	103
Admiral-general	7	41	48
Batavier	18	48	*66
Argo	11	87	98
Holland			64
Admiral Piet Hein	9	58	97
			476

* Besides Captain Bentinck.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS.

* MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 467, with verbal changes.

Franklin to Jay.*

PASSY, *August* 20, 1781.

DEAR SIR: I have before me several of your late letters, which though not *formally* have been *substantially* answered by the payment of your bills.

I got our banker to examine the marquis' account, who explained it to me and satisfied me that it was right. There are intricacies in the affair of exchange which neither you nor I well understand, and we are therefore under necessity of placing confidence somewhere. If you are still in doubt about any particular I will get him to give me his explanation in writing and send it to you.

We have for the convenience in accounts generally reckoned louis as pounds sterling, the difference being a trifle. It is, however small, against the Congress, and therefore what we have no right from their expressed allowance. At the final settlement of our accounts it will be easy to give Congress credit in one article, thus: For the difference between louis received and pounds sterling at —— per louis —— on —— pounds —— sterling. In truth I do not know exactly what the difference is, and I am told it varies with the exchange.

I have taken to my account the fifty louis you left in my hands. My grandson, I suppose, informs you what he has expended by your orders.

In yours of the 31st of May you complain of the want of regular intelligence. I *sympathize*, because I suffer with you. I receive indeed a number of letters from Mr. Lovell, but they are very short, and mostly to acquaint me that he can not write fully because the committee of correspondence are not easily got together. To many of my letters I have never received any answer. The Congress have wisely put their finances into the hands of one intelligent person. I wish they would do the same with their correspondence, by appointing a single secretary for foreign affairs. I know nothing of what passes in America but what I learn from their newspapers or the English, or from the ministers here, who are more early informed than I am even of what relates to myself, and it was by M. de V. that I first learnt the Congress had refused to grant my request of dismission from their service.

In yours of May 31 you informed me that bills upon you had lately arrived dated *in March*, and I answered that if you could not pay them they must be protested, as it would not be in my power to help you.

I had not then time to give you the reasons, which are, that this court, being fatigued and displeased by my repeated applications for more money to pay new and unexpected demands of bills drawn, not only on me, but on you and Mr. Laurens and Mr. Adams, etc., had ordered their minister at Philadelphia to remonstrate against this irregular proceeding, and the Congress had promised him not to draw any more.

---

*MSS. Dep. of State.

This was, I think, in March, and on being helped out of my last difficulty I have promised M. de Vergennes not to accept any bills drawn on me after the first of April, if such there should be, and he has acquainted me explicity that if I do accept such bills I am not to expect any assistance from him towards paying them. You see, therefore, thus the thing will be impossible.*

Mr. Vaughan is not indeed an American, but desires to become one, and the constitutions of most, if not all, of the States show a disposition to receive strangers by making the residence of one or two years entitle them to all the privileges of denizens without a formal naturalization. My brother ministers here I believe considered themselves as vested with consular powers, and to be therefore capable of administering an oath, and I have continued the practice, conceiving them to be better lawyers than myself. I did not consider the matter in the lights you state it; I think your objections reasonable, and I wish the Congress would give some instructions about it. On reflection, however, there seems to me some difference between requiring an oath and being witness to the taking of an oath. He that requires another to take an oath ought to be vested with authority for so doing. But when a man is pleased to take an oath voluntarily may not any other person testify its being done in his presence. This I apprehend is the case of those which have been taken before us. I have not heard lately from the young gentleman. Pray, is he still in Spain?

I received a letter from Silas Talbot, and Mr. Adams another, similar to that of which you sent me a copy, all of which were, I imagine, written about the same time. I am sorry for his misfortunes, but I do not think it would be right for me to furnish him with the sum he desires. There are hundreds in the same situation, and if I were to comply with his request how could I refuse the others, and if I were willing to gratify them all, where should I find the money? It is easy for any man to write me a letter and tell me that Congress is indebted to him. I can not deny his assertions, because I know nothing to the contrary; but my ignorance of the fact and my want of orders, if I knew it, make it improper for me to pay such debts. You can have no conception of the sums that have been drawn from me by these applications, and I have at length come to a resolution to make no difference on account of rank among the prisoners, because I know nothing of their ranks, but to consider all as men, and relieve them equally as far as lies in my power.

There are a few of them who, if I should answer their demands, would engross all the money that I can spare, live like gentlemen, and starve their poor companions in captivity. There are no people so improvident as seamen. We have had several instances when they have been furnished with money to bear their expenses to a seaport they have

* There is blunder in this paragraph, occasioned by correcting months that were in the rough draft, etc., putting March for February and April for March. *Bills drawn in March* will be paid.—Note by Mr. Stevens.

stayed in Paris till it was spent and then demanded more. Others riotously spend the whole sum given them for the journey in a few of the first days and beg their way for the rest. I assure you that none have applied to me for relief without receiving what was reasonable and sufficient; many have obtained more, and abused it. The conduct of their countrymen, the sea captains at the ports, towards them I can not be accountable for. There may be some instances of such hard heartedness, but in general I believe those people are rather kind to one another, and sometimes it has not been in a captain's power to take all that claimed a passage with him, having neither sufficient room nor provisions.

There is need of some person in Lisbon to take care of and assist poor American seamen, who are often carried in and left there by the enemy's cruisers. As you are more at hand than I am, I wish you would appoint some person there for that purpose. The French consul has kindly offered (as you will see by his letter enclosed) to superintend the business and examine the accounts, &c. I send you open the letter I have written him on the subject, which please to forward, writing at the same time yourself, if you have no objection to complying with my request.

Digges, a Maryland merchant, residing in London, who pretended to be a zealous American, and to have much concern for our poor people in the English prisons, drew upon me for their relief at different times last winter to the amount of £495 sterling, which he said had been drawn for upon him by the gentlemen at Portsmouth and Plymouth, who had the care of the distribution. To my utter astonishment, I have since learned that the villain had not applied above £30 of the money to that use, and that he has failed and absconded.

It gave me great pleasure to learn by yours of the 13th of July that the Congress had promised no further bills should be drawn on you. I hope the promise will be kept better than that made to me about a year since.

The other day a gentleman just arrived from America, pressing me to accept immediately some bills he presented to me, I excused myself on account of the necessity I found of carefully examining all bills by the book we kept of acceptance, to see that none of a set had already been presented; and that as a great number had come upon our hands at once by the late arrivals, it might be two or three days before we could get through the examination of them, so as to come at his bills in their turn. He agreed in the propriety of this, because he said he had heard at Nantes that two bills of the same set had been presented to Mr. Jay at different times, and that he had accepted them both. Perhaps this mistake has already been made known to you and rectified, but I thought it right to acquaint you with what I had heard. Not a week passes in which some such impositions are not attempted to be put upon me, but our accounts are kept in so good a method that it is scarce possible those attempts should succeed.

I have just received a commission joining yourself, Mr. President Laurens, Governor Jefferson, and me with Mr. Adams, and directing us to repair to such place as may be appointed for conferences upon peace, and to negotiate and agree upon the terms in behalf of the Congress. Also another commission impowering us to accept in behalf of Congress the mediation of the Emperor of Germany and Empress of Russia. These commissions are accompanied by a set of instructions. If you have not received the same let me know and I will send a courier with copies, though the occasion does not at present seem pressing. Inform me at the same time, if you please, whether you have received certain instructions dated Oct. 4, 1780, Oct. 17, 1780, and Feb. 15, 1781, for copies of the same, having been sent to me, if any of them have missed coming to your hands I can supply the deficiency.

The drafts from you, or upon your account, that I have accepted since my former mentioning those matters are, I think, that of—

	Livres.		Livres.
April 18, 1781, for	60,000	July 14, 1781, for	45,125
April 30, 1781, for	487,320	July 23, 1781, for	21,500
May 9, 1781, for	40,800	Aug. 6, 1781, for	25,430
June 1, 1781, for	90,135		

Please to say whether this account agrees with yours.

We just now hear from Holland that there is a violent fermentation there and much clamor against some of their rulers. It has been published that in the late fight the English fired broken glass bottles to make wounds that should be incurable. The wounded brought ashore at Amsterdam were carried in a long train of boats on the canals through the city to the hospitals. The sight of the procession inflamed the people exceeding. Verses were handed about expressing that much good blood was shed, but the bad ran still in the veins of certain great personages, &c. Above 600 sailors went immediately and entered voluntarily in order to avenge their countrymen.

The *Indiana*, as she was formerly called, now the *South Carolina*, is at last sailed for Philadelphia from Amsterdam. She is a fine ship, well armed and well manned, and conveys two others with clothing, &c., for our army. I wish she may arrive safe, but have my doubts. By our last advices from America, which are to the 23rd of June, the Carolinas and Georgia were recovered by General Greene, except the capitals of each province and the post called Ninety-six. The Marquis de la Fayette had received reinforcements, and Cornwallis was retiring, after having burnt a great deal of tobacco, which seems not to be much regarded, because they say what is left will fetch a proportionately better price.

M. de Grasse appears by the papers to be expected there during the hurricane months.

Excuse, if you can, my not answering your letters duly. I have had too much business upon my hands. If you are disposed to be favorable to your debtor, you may give me credit for this long letter against

three or four of your short ones. There is one thing more which I ought to mention. I apprehend that what supplies are granted to Congress by this court hereafter will be sent by the government directly, and that no more money will be put into my hands out of which I might pay the salaries of ministers as formerly. It will be necessary for us, therefore, to write to Congress to furnish us by remittances.

Be pleased to make my respects acceptable to Mrs. Jay, and believe me to be, with sincere and great esteem, dear, sir, &c.

Jay to Franklin.*

ST. ILDEFONSO, *August* 20, 1781.

DEAR SIR: Seven vessels have lately arrived at Nantes and L'Orient from America, two of them directly from Philadelphia, and but one letter brought by them has yet reached me. It gives me reason to expect them by every post, as well as to suppose that despatches of an important nature have arrived on them for you. My correspondent informs me that certain measures relative to peace were preparing in Congress, and refers me for particulars to public letters on that subject which have not yet come to hand. He also gives me to understand that France possesses the fullest confidence of America, and that if the former perseveres in her integrity and does not sacrifice too much to a premature peace, she will be amply repaid for the expenses of the war by an alliance which our countrymen are sincerely desirous of rendering in every respect advantageous to her.

I can not forbear considering the approaching winter as a very critical season. It is said that Russia and the Emperor have offered their mediation, and that it will be accepted. It is further said that France wishes for peace. For my own part I fear that France has very little to expect from the friendship of these mediators, and unless appearances deceive me, every nation in Europe, except Prussia, wishes better to England than to France. It appears to me expedient to delay the progress of this mediation, and in the meantime to endeavor strenuously to form a close defensive alliance between France, Spain, Holland, and America. If France and Spain could be prevailed upon to adopt this idea *speedily* and heartily, I am persuaded that the Dutch might, in their present temper, and to obtain certain guaranties, easily be brought into the measure. Such a quadruple alliance, followed by a vigorous campaign, could give us a peace worth our acceptance. As to the present campaign, I do not expect great things from it. My expectations from the expedition against New York are far from sanguine; it depends on too many contingencies not to be very uncertain. I wish to see some great stroke struck, some great plan wisely concerted and

---

* 2. Corr. and Pub. Papers of John Jay, 60.

vigorously executed. Had a French fleet of decided superiority to the enemy been on our coast early in the spring, and co-operated with General Washington throughout the summer, Halifax, New York, and Charleston would before winter have changed masters, and then we should have been ripe for peace.

As to this court, I do not apprehend that they are tired of the war, or that they have the least objections to another campaign—they want Jamaica, they want Gibraltar, and Mahon would be a trump card in their hands. If their activity was equal to their perseverance, and they possessed the talent of drawing forth and using all their resources, they would be very formidable. But take Spain as she is, if she could once be prevailed upon to pass the Rubicon, that is, to acknowledge and engage to support our independence, she would give Great Britain a mortal wound—render essential assistance to the common cause. How far France views its affairs in the same light I know not, nor can I clearly comprehend the policy of the system she seems to hold relative to it.

The ambassador is well attached to the American cause, and has such proper views of its importance as well as the manner of supporting it, that I have often wished him at Versailles. There is, nevertheless, a sort of mysterious reserve about him on this subject; nor am I informed whether any and what steps have been taken by him and his court to influence Spain to an alliance with us. I have, however, full confidence in the friendship of France, and the late aids she has granted to America gives us reason to rely on the king and his principal ministers.

There is some reason to hope that this court begins to think more seriously of a treaty with us than heretofore. A few weeks will enable me to judge better of their views. In politics I depend upon nothing but facts, and therefore never risk deceiving myself or others by a reliance on professions which may or may not be sincere.

The Duke of Crillon is still at sea. I am tempted to wish that expedition had not been undertaken. If it fails it will do harm, and I see little prospect of its succeeding.*

You are several letters in my debt, and I wish to know whether one relative to Mr. Vaughan ever reached you.

As I have reason to think this letter will go unopened to your hands, I have written with less reserve than usual. In a former letter I informed you that Mr. Torcan carried your letter for Congress, which was committed to my care in April last. I mean the one in which you requested leave to retire, and mentioned your wishes respecting your grandson. Your letter to me upon that occasion also contained an intimation which demanded my warmest acknowledgments. I have since waited for a good opportunity of informing you of the part I acted in consequence of it. It appeared to me most expedient to avoid taking

* Reference to the attack on Minorca which, however, proved successful.

any measures to induce Congress to adopt your proposition, so far as it respected me, for though the change would be agreeable to me, I did not wish to give occasion to debates on a subject which could only affect my personal concerns, especially, too, as the policy of the measure did not, on the whole, appear to me unquestionable. For these reasons I did not give hint of the plan to any of my correspondents, but confined myself to the following paragraphs respecting you in a public and private letter to the President of Congress:

MADRID, *April* 25, 1781.

The letters herewith enclosed from Dr. Franklin were left open for my perusal, the shortstay of my courier at Paris not allowing time for copies to be made of the information in and with it.

I perceive that Dr. Franklin desires to retire. This circumstance calls upon me to assure Congress that I have reason to be perfectly satisfied with his conduct towards me, and that I have received from him all the aid and attention I could wish or expect. His character is very high here, and I really believe that the respectability he enjoys throughout Europe has been of general use to our cause and country.

Thus, my dear sir, you will find that the long silence I have observed upon this subject did not result from inattention; on the contrary, it will always give me pleasure to have opportunities of being useful to you and yours.

Be pleased to inform your grandson that Mrs. Jay has received and is much pleased with her watch and buckles. I have not time to write to him by this courier. Assure him of my attention, and present to him my thanks for the obliging manner in which he has executed our little commission. I shall do myself the pleasure of writing to him in a few days.

With great and sincere esteem and regards, I am, dear sir,

Your most obedient servant,

JOHN JAY.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.*

AMSTERDAM, *August* 22, 1781.

SIR: The late glorious victory obtained by Admiral Zoutman over Admiral Parker is wholly to be ascribed to the exertions of Amsterdam. Pretences and excuses would have been devised for avoiding to send out the fleet, and indeed for avoiding an action when at sea, if it had not been for the measures which have been taken to arouse the attention and animate the zeal of the nation. The officers and men of the army, and especially of the navy, appear to have been as much affected and influenced by the proceedings of the regency of Amsterdam as any other parts of the community. Notwithstanding the apparent ill success of the enterprises of the great city, it is certain that a flame of patriotism and of valor has been kindled by them which has already produced great effects, and will probably much greater.

*MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 468.

It is highly probable, however, that if the regency of Amsterdam had taken another course they would have succeeded better. If instead of a complaint of sloth in the executive department and a personal attack upon the duke they had taken the lead in a system of public measures, they would have found more zealous supporters, fewer powerful opposers, and perhaps would have seen the ardor of the nation increase with equal rapidity. For example, as the sovereignty of the United States was a question legally before them, they might have made a proposition in the States of Holland to acknowledge it and make a treaty with them. This measure would have met with general applause among the people throughout the seven provinces, and their example would have been followed by the regencies of other cities, or they might have proposed in the States to accede to the treaty of alliance between France and America. However, we ought to presume that these gentlemen know their own countrymen and their true policy better than strangers, and it may be their intention to propose other things in course. It is certain that they have animated the nation to a high degree, so that a separate peace or any mean concessions to Great Britain cannot now be made.

The good party have the upper hand and patriotic counsels begin to prevail.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

JOHN ADAMS.

Morris to Washington.*

OFFICE OF FINANCE, *August* 22, 1781.

DEAR SIR: I arrived in town the day before yesterday. Having taken the earliest opportunities to acquire information, I am sorry to inform you that I find money matters in as bad a situation as possible. The exchange, by the concourse of venders, has run down to five shillings, and bills are offered at that rate in such great numbers as to command all the money which is to be disposed of; so that reducing the price of bills still lower would not command money or answer any other good purpose.

The paper of this State (Pennsylvania) is indeed appreciating; but to issue it in the present moment would destroy in embryo all my hopes from that quarter, cut off the only resource which I have the chance of commanding, and shake a confidence which has been reposed in me, and which the public interest calls upon me to cherish. I am sorry to observe, in consequence, that you must expect to meet with disappointments; but I assure you that I will make every possible exertion to place you in the most eligible situation which my means admit of.

I am sir, your most obedient, &c.,

ROBERT MORRIS.

---

*MSS. Dep. of State; 6 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 310.

Morris to the Governors of New Jersey and Delaware.*

OFFICE OF FINANCE, *August* 22, 1781.

SIR: I have in a former letter forwarded to your excellency an account of the specific supplies which Congress had demanded from your State. It now becomes my duty again to press for a compliance with those demands. The exigencies of the service require immediate attention. We are on the eve of the most active operations, and should they be in anywise retarded by the want of necessary supplies, the most unhappy consequences may follow. Those who may be justly chargeable with neglect will have to answer for it to their country, their allies, to the present generation, and to posterity. I hope, entreat, expect, the utmost possible efforts on the part of your State, and confide in your excellency's prudence and vigor to render those efforts effectual.

I beg to know most speedily, sir, what supplies are collected and at what places; as also the times and places at which the remainder is to be expected. I can not express to you my solicitude on this occasion. My declaration to Congress when I entered upon my office will prevent the blame of ill accidents from lighting upon me, even if I were less attentive than I am; but it is impossible not to feel most deeply on occasions where the greatest objects may be impaired or destroyed by indolence or neglect. I must, therefore, again reiterate my requests; and while I assure you that nothing but the urgency of our affairs would render me thus importunate, I must also assure you that while those affairs continue so urgent I must continue to importune.

With all possible respect, &c.,

ROBERT MORRIS.†

---

* 6 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 311.

† *August* 21.—During my stay at camp I had constant applications for money from almost everybody, as all had claims on the public. I took with me only one hundred and fifty guineas; and finding so many demands, I thought it best to satisfy one, therefore brought the money back. I had conferences with the quartermaster-general, paymaster-general, clothier-general, commissary-general of issues, director-general of the hospitals, and with many other persons; but as these chiefly ran on the wants of themselves and others employed in their departments, I could only recommend the strictest economy in their expenditures, that I might thereby be the better warranted in making reasonable requisitions from the several States; always promising what I mean most punctually to perform, that is, to use my utmost endeavors to establish such revenues as will enable the regular payment of their salaries and other just demands, but always concluded with assuring them that this ultimately depended on the several legislatures, which could only be induced to grant such revenues from a conviction that their grants would be faithfully and frugally used. I made the same observations to the general officers and others who spoke to me on money matters.—*Diary.*

J. Adams to the President of Congress.*

AMSTERDAM, *August* 22, 1781.

SIR: The constitution of this country is such that it is difficult to discover the general sense. There have been all along circumstances in which it might be discerned, but these were so feeble and so susceptible of contradiction and disguise, that some extraordinary exertions were necessary to strike out unquestionable proofs of the temper and opinion of the nation.

Last spring the part of this people which was most averse to war was for making propositions and concessions to England in order to obtain peace. This policy was not only injudicious, but would have been fruitless, because the English would have made peace upon no other terms than this nation's joining them against France, Spain, and America, which would have been its ruin. Nevertheless, if the party had prevailed, and sent ambassadors to London to solicit peace, the court of London would have found so many arts and pretences for spinning out the negociation, and would have obstructed the commerce of Holland so much, as to bring on a discouragement and despair among the people.

In these critical circumstances something uncommon was necessary to arouse the nation and bring forth the public voice. The first step of this kind was the proposition of the United States of America to their high mightinesses, which, being taken *ad referendum*, became a subject of deliberation in every city of the republic, and the publication of the memorial of the 19th of April, 1781, which made the American cause the primary object and mainspring of the war, the topic of conversation in every private circle, as well as in every public assembly.

This memorial gave all parties an opportunity to know with certainty the public opinion; and, accordingly, such a general and decided approbation was discovered everywhere that the few who detested it in their hearts never dared to open their mouths. Emboldened by this, M. Van Berckel came forward with his application to the States for a vindication of his character, and, although he has not obtained an answer, yet it has been discovered that his enemies have not been powerful enough either to condemn or to censure him. Not long after followed the manly proposition of the regency of Amsterdam for an inquiry into the causes of the inactivity of the state, and, in course, their direct attack upon the Duke of Brunswick.

The American memorial has not obtained, and probably will not obtain for a long time, an acknowledgment of American independence, but it discovered with absolute certainty the sentiments of the nation. M. Van Berckel's petition has not procured him a formal justification, but it has proved that his enemies are too weak to punish or to censure him. The proposition of Amsterdam has not obtained an inquiry into the causes of the sloth of the state, nor the appointment of a commit-

*MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 469.

tee to assist the prince; but it has occasioned a universal declaration of the people's sentiments that the state has been too inactive, and the counsels of the court too slow. The application of Amsterdam against the duke has not procured his removal, but it has procured a universal avowal that the public counsels have been defective and a universal cry for an alteration, and has obliged the court to adopt a different system. When the public counsels of a country have taken a wrong bias the public voice pronounced with energy will sometimes correct the error without any violent remedies. The voice of the people, which had been so often declared, by the late sea action was found to be so clear, that it has produced many remarkable effects, among which none deserve more attention than the following declarations of the prince. The first was inserted by order in the newspapers in these words:

As pains are taken to draw the public into an opinion that the vessels of the Meuse (Rotterdam) and of Middleburg, (Zealand), which at first had orders to join the squadron of the Texel (only those of Amsterdam), had afterwards received counter orders, as it is given out in some cities almost in so many words, and which is propagated (God knows with what design), it is to us a particular satisfaction to be able to assure the public, after authentic information and even from the supreme authority, that such assertions are destitute of all foundation and absolutely contrary to the truth; that the orders given and never revoked, but on the contrary repeated more than once to the vessels of the Meuse to join the convoy of the Texel, could not be executed because it did not please Providence to grant a wind and the other favorable circumstances necessary to this effect, while the province of Zealand, threatened at the same time with an attack from an English squadron, would not willingly have seen diminished the number of vessels which lay at that time in their road. It is, nevertheless, much to be regretted that circumstances have not permitted us to render the Dutch squadron sufficiently strong to have obtained over the enemy a victory as useful as it was glorious.

On the 14th of August the prince wrote the following letter to the crews of the vessels of the state:

NOBLE, RESPECTABLE, AND VIRTUOUS, OUR FAITHFUL AND WELL BELOVED: We have learned with the greatest satisfaction that the squadron of the state, under the command of Rear-Admiral Zoutman, although weaker by a great deal in ships, guns, and men than the English squadron of Vice-Admiral Parker, has resisted so courageously on the 5th of this month his attack, that the English squadron, after a most obstinate combat, which lasted from eight o'clock in the morning to half-past seven, has been obliged to desist and to retire. The heroic courage with which Vice-Admiral Zoutman, the captains, officers, petty officers, and common sailors and soldiers, who have had a part in the action, and who, under the blessing of God Almighty, have so well discharged their duty in this naval combat, merits the praises of all, and our particular approbation; and it is for this cause we have thought fit by these present to write to you, to thank publicly, in our name, the said vice-admiral, captains, officers, petty officers, and common sailors and soldiers, by reading this letter on board of each ship which took part in the action, and whose captains and crews have fought with so much courage and valor, and to transmit by the secretary of the fleet of the state an authentic copy as well to the said Rear-Admiral Zoutman as to the commanders of the ships under his orders, of the conduct of whom the said rear-admiral had reason to be satisfied, testifying, moreover, that we doubt not that they and all the other officers of the state and soldiers, in those occasions which may

present, will give proof that the state is not destitute of defenders of our dear country and of her liberty, and that the ancient heroic valor of the Batavians still exists and will not be extinguished. Whereupon, noble, respectable, virtuous, our faithful and well beloved, we recommend you to the Divine protection.

Your affectionate friend,

WILLIAM, *Prince of Orange.*

HAGUE, *August* 14, 1781.

By order of his highness :

T. J. DE LARRY.

Thus, although the enemies of England in this republic do not appear to have carried any particular point against the opposite party, yet it appears that they have forced into execution their system by means of the national voice and against all the measures of the Anglomanes. The national spirit is now very high; so high that it will be dangerous to resist it. In time all things must give way to it. This will make a fine diversion, at least, for America and her allies. I hope in time we may derive other advantages from it. But we must wait with patience here, as we are still obliged to do in Spain, and as we were obliged to do in France, where we waited years before we succeeded.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

JOHN ADAMS.

Morris to the Governor of Virginia. *

OFFICE OF FINANCE, *August* 23, 1781.

SIR: I am just returned from the headquarters of the commander-in-chief, where I have been for some days, in order to confer with him on the various military operations and arrangements, as far as they are connected with the duties of my department. Of consequence the defence of that valuable part of Virginia now invaded became much a subject of consideration, and I am happy to inform you that every measure will be pursued for its safety which is consistent with the general objects of the war.

The force in Virginia ought to be very considerable, for reasons which it is unnecessary to mention to you, who are so well acquainted with the country. But it is necessary to observe that the supplies to this force must be proportionately great. I have already done myself the honor to transmit to your excellency an account of specific supplies which have been required by Congress. Virginia stands debited for the whole, and it is not in my power, perhaps not in yours, to state as yet the credit side of that account. Let, however, the amount of the articles already furnished be what it may, this at least is certain, that I have the command of no money from the several States which will serve to maintain a force in Virginia. Much, therefore, must depend on the provisions and forage which that State can call forth.

* 6 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 312.

It is necessary for me to inform the general what reliance can be made on your resources, and it is also necessary that this information should be just. Your excellency must perceive that his arrangements will greatly depend upon my communication; and therefore you will need no incitement to transmit to me as soon as possible the answers to my inquiries.

Let me, then, entreat, sir, to know what quantity of flour, beef, and pork, both fresh and salted, and what quantity of hay and Indian corn, or other forage, can be delivered by the State of Virginia, at what places, and by what times. I shall also be happy to be informed where the tobacco required of your State is deposited, that I may take proper measures for the disposal of it.

With all possible respect, &c.,

ROBERT MORRIS.

Dumas to the President of Congress.*

THE HAGUE, *August* 23, 1781.

SIR: Since my last the provincial States of Holland have been separated till last week.

I was not unacquainted with the negociation set on foot by the French ambassador here for a loan of five millions of florins, or five hundred thousand pounds, at four per cent., nor with his notes lately presented for this purpose to the graphiary, M. Fagel; and although the ambassador does not yet know that I am acquainted with it, I thought myself obliged to abstain discreetly from writing or speaking about it for obvious reasons. I am now happy with the assurance given me that the proposition of this loan is committed, and will soon be agreed by their high mightinesses, either by their taking up the money themselves and sending it to France, or by their countenancing and warranting the taking it up directly by France; the only secret, or at least not publicly acknowledged particular of this agreement, will be the destination of this money in behalf of the United States. This true account is given me by a friend, who has it officially from the mouth of the grand pensionary.

The Baron Lynden had written and delivered into the hands of the president of the States General a letter to their high mightinesses, containing the reason which engaged him to resign his embassy to Vienna, and to decline any other, viz., the unconstitutionality of a foreigner's (the Duke of Brunswick) being the only counsel to the stadtholder for internal as well as external politics and administration of this republic. This letter the baron had been prevailed upon to desist from having read to their high mightinesses; and he took it out of the hands of the presi-

* MSS. Dep. of State; 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 335, which version, paraphrasing and condensing the original, is here given.

dent in presence of the grand pensionary of Holland and of the graphiary of their high mightinesses, reserving to himself, however, the liberty of presenting it again whenever he should think it convenient. Some persons (your servant for one) have been favored with the perusal of this letter. This compliance having somewhat discredited the baron among the patriots, he brought his letter back on Tuesday last to the president, telling him it must be laid open to their high mightinesses without any further delay, otherwise he should publish it by printing.

AUGUST 24.

I have been favored by the Baron de Lynden with the sight, 1st, of a letter written by him last Monday to the stadtholder, in which he tells him that, seeing him still influenced and prepossessed in favor of and directed by the Duke of Brunswick, he found his own honor and conscience did not suffer him to withhold any longer from their high mightinesses and from his country the above-mentioned letter; 2dly, the answer of the stadtholder, telling him that it was for the sake of the baron personally that he had endeavored to persuade him to suppress that letter; but seeing him now determined to put off the mask and join with his adversaries, he gave him up to his own reflections; 3dly, the reply of the baron, viz., that whereas his highness was sorry for the letter's being presented for his (the baron's) sake only, he was determined to present it for the same sake, which he did accordingly; and the letter has been read to their high mightinesses, the baron himself being present at the second reading, or *resumption* as they call it, the day following.

The original of a very noble and unanimous resolution of the city of Dort respecting the Duke of Brunswick, where he is considered merely as a military servant of the republic, and where the conduct of the regency of Amsterdam is vindicated, has been read confidentially to me. Several other authentic and interesting pieces are in my hands, viz., 1st. A resolution of the city of Dort of June 25th last, in which their deputies are ordered to insist upon the important propositions of Amsterdam of May 18th, being taken into serious consideration; and principally upon a good plan of operations during this war being concluded with France and her allies. 2dly. The reports of the several admiralties of this republic, showing their having accomplished the building, equipping, and putting into service ships according to the orders of their high mightinesses; to which the admiralty of Amsterdam has added a remark which has much displeased this court, viz., that after having done their duty in this matter, an account of the most proper application and disposition of the forces set in readiness for the protection of this country must not be asked from them, but from the higher power, which had the direction of their exertions. 3dly. A resolution of the province of Holland for another squadron to be speedily ordered to convoy to the Baltic not only the merchant fleet of Amsterdam lying in the Texel roads, which, after the glorious action of the 5th against Parker, has been

obliged to come back, but also those of Rotterdam, whose merchants, n a spirited address, have complained of being neglected.

I would fain join herewith translated copies of these voluminous nd interesting pieces, but without the aiding hand of a clerk such a ask is impossible for me to perform.

AUGUST 30.

To shorten the business of the above-mentioned loan, probably, their igh mightinesses will open it themselves on their own credit, by warranting the capital and interest at four per cent., for surety of which hey will receive, in that case, a general bond from France. Regularly hey may pay no more than three per cent. for themselves, and notwithtanding such small interest, the course of their paper is at twelve, fourteen, and even sixteen per cent. purchase above the capital sum. By his method, if pursued, the subscription at four per cent. will be rapdly completed.

SEPTEMBER 2.

A very interesting resolution of August 28th, of one of the principal ities of this province, was received the day before yesterday by her eputies here, of which the substance is as follows:

Having been informed by their deputies of the contents of two notes, which they ere told by the grand pensionary had been presented successively to the graphiary f their high mightinesses by the French ambassador; and being desirous of facilitatng the use which the court of France intends to make of the proposed loan, because uch a compliance with her desire will not only fasten a most necessary confidence beween that court and this republic, but also annoy the common enemy by strengthning the Congress of North America, in whose behalf his majesty the King of France ntends, according to certain secret informations, to dispose of the whole loan, so that he said Congress may the better carry on the war against Great Britain: Resolved, hat the deputies of this city at the assembly of this province shall be, and are hereby ualified, when the business shall be reported to the assembly, to favor with all their ower the conclusion of it, and moreover to advise and further a resolution that may romote the intents and purposes aforesaid. Besides this, when done, our said depues at the provincial assembly are charged herewith, pursuant to our resolution of une 25th last, to insist, by way of proposition, upon their noble and grand mighti-sses taking into serious deliberation the proposition laid before them by the reency of Amsterdam on the 18th of last May, and bring forth a final resolution about he same; and particularly upon the deputies of this province in the assembly of the ates-General, being ordered to direct things there to such effect that the French ourt may be requested by their high mightinesses to deliberate with them on the anner of acting jointly, by communicating the plans of operation; a measure which ust visibly clog the enemy and directly fortify the affair of this republic.

SEPTEMBER 12.

Last Thursday they were busy at the assembly of this province in eliberating on the duke's letter to their high mightinesses. The votes eight cities, viz., Dort, Haerlem, Delft, Leyden, Amsterdam, Rotterm, Gorcum, and Schiedam were directly against it. The speeches Haerlem and Leyden, which, being written, were read, have been adired. The points wherein the eight agree are, 1st, the impropriety of e duke's addressing himself by letter (when as a military servant he

should have done it by request) to their high mightinesses, which are by no means competent judges, when he should have applied to the true and only sovereign here, viz., to the province of Holland. 2dly. That of any foreigner whatever being in fact the only counsel of the eminent chief of this republic. 3dly. That, without crediting or countenancing current charges of corruption, this foreigner's being hated and suspected by the bulk of this nation as not patriotic produces the same effect, and forbids his having any management or influence, direct or indirect, in public affairs. 4thly. That the nobility's constantly opposing the advices of the cities is a circumstance which will at last ruin this republic. 5thly. That the cities have the constitutional right of remonstrating against whomsoever they think proper, according to the resolutions of 1586, 1622, and 1663, which last is the strongest *act of indemnity* for the purpose. With all that they could not come to a resolution; the nobility, with the ten other cities, pretending their not having yet considered the matter. I think the duke will dispute the ground with some success as long as he can preserve his old influence over his pupil; but, on the other hand, he will by no means obtain the satisfaction he craves.

I have been favored by a very good patriot with the sight of the two short notes of the French ambassador. Their contents are that, the king being satisfied with the notice given him of their being now disposed to exert all their powers for annoying the enemy, his majesty proposes to them an occasion for distressing them greatly by their consenting to a loan of five millions of florins, at four per cent. a year, payable every six months, which interest, as well as the capital, the king should procure to be paid exactly at their expiration. The destination of the money in behalf of the United States has been added verbally.

There are two very strong propositions against the duke made by the Quarter of Westergo in Friesland, to which that of Ostergo and part of Sevenwolde have acceded. The first is inserted already in the Leyden Gazette; the second the gazetteer hesitates as yet to insert, because it is very violent against their high mightinesses. If he does not, I shall translate and transmit it.

SEPTEMBER 13.

I am just now informed that this province has consented in the loan for France by their resolutions of the 7th and 10th instant.

I have the honor to be, &c., DUMAS.

Luzerne to the President of Congress.*

[Translation.]

PHILADELPHIA, *August* 23, 1781.

SIR: The undersigned, minister plenipotentiary of France, has the honor of informing Congress that the situation of affairs requires that M. de l'Etombe, consul-general of France in the four States of New

* 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 746.

England, should proceed immediately to his destination. This officer being provided with the commission of his majesty in the form made use of for the other French consulates in the different quarters of the world, it is desirable that his character should be recognized in the manner and form which for the future are to take place uniformly throughout the thirteen United States. The undersigned, minister plenipotentiary, consequently entreats Congress to determine provisionally what this form shall henceforward be, without waiting till the plan to be agreed upon shall be definitively settled. He is also desirous that Congress will be pleased to pass a resolution on the subject of the recognition of the character of vice-consuls.

LUZERNE.

Franklin to Carmichael.*

PASSY, *August* 24, 1781.

DEAR SIR: On looking over your letters I am ashamed to find myself so much and so long in your debt. I thank you for making me acquainted with M. Sonnerat. He appears a very aimable man, and is full of intelligence and information. We are all much obliged to Count de Montmorin for his friendly assistance in our affairs. Please to present him my thankful acknowledgments. I thank you also for my being made known to M. Giusti. I saw him often, and had much satisfaction and pleasure in his conversation. The Congress have done me the honor to refuse accepting my resignation, and insist on my continuing in their service till the peace. I must therefore buckle again to business, and thank God that my health and spirits are of late improved. I fancy it may have been a double mortification to those enemies you have mentioned to me that I should ask as a favor what they hoped to vex me by taking from me, and that I should nevertheless be continued. But this sort of considerations should never influence our conduct. We ought always to do what appears best to be done, without much regarding what others may think of it. I call this continuance an honor, and I really esteem it to be a greater than my first appointment, when I consider that all the interests of my enemies, united with my own request, were not sufficient to prevent it.†

---

* MSS. Dep. of State; 9 Sparks' Franklin, 71; 7 Bigelow's Franklin, 288.

† Mr. Sparks adds the following note:

"On this subject Dr. Franklin said, in writing to another friend: 'Your comparison of the *keystone of an arch* is very pretty, tending to make me content with my situation. But I suppose you have heard our story of the *harrow;* if not, here it is: A farmer in our country sent two of his servants to borrow one of a neighbor, ordering them to bring it between them on their shoulders. When they came to look at it one of them, who had much wit and cunning, said: "What could our master mean by sending only two men to bring this harrow? No two men upon earth are strong enough to carry it." "Poh!" said the other, who was vain of his strength, "what do you talk of two men? One man may carry it. Help it

I have not yet received the works of your Economical Society, or those of its founder. I suppose you have not met with an opportunity of sending them. The letter you propose sending to our Philosophical Society will be very acceptable to them. I shall be glad to peruse the copy you propose passing through my hands.

Yours,

B. FRANKLIN.

[Mr. Laurens' business here was to solicit a large aid in money for the army. It was thought that as he was a witness of their wants, he would be able to represent their situation and necessities more forcibly than I could do. He was indefatigable while he stayed and took true pains, but he *brusqued* the ministers too much, and I found after he was gone that he had thereby given more offense than I could have imagined. He obtained a promise of a loan of 10,000,000 livres to be borrowed in Holland, but as that borrowing has not succeeded, he in fact obtained nothing. The offense he gave will I hope have no durable effects, though it produced me some mortifications. Good humor and a kind disposition towards us seems again to prevail. I had before his arrival got the grant of 6,000,000, and have since obtained more, or I could not have paid Mr. Jay's bills.

Who was the young American that asked leave to serve in the Duke de Crillon's family? I honor him.

If the "last instructions" you mention as not being an authentic copy are those of Feb. 15, I have a copy that is authentic, and will send it.

The loss of the ship *Marquis de la Fayette* is, as you observe, a heavy one. I am soliciting to have the goods replaced, and have some hopes of success. The *Alliance*, who lost her company in a storm some days before she was taken, made a cruise afterwards and took six prizes, viz., two Jamaica ships bound to London, two English privateers, and two royal armed vessels, viz., a sloop and a brig, by all which he made 400 prisoners, whom he sent to Newfoundland to be exchanged, and brought his prizes into Boston.

I have accepted the bill you last mentioned for 15,000 dollars. I had before accepted the bill for 1,700 louis, being (with 50 left in my hand) the amount of your half year's salaries, so that you are made easy on that head for the present. But whether I shall have it in my power to continue the payments either to you or myself is uncertain, and I would advise writing to Congress, as I shall do, for remittances.

With great esteem, etc.

---

upon my shoulders, and see." As he proceeded with it the wag kept exclaiming, "Zounds, how strong you are! I could not have thought it! Why, you are a Samson! There is not such another man in America! What amazing strength God has given you! But you will kill yourself! Pray put it down and rest a little, or let me bear a part of the weight!" "No, no," said he, being more encouraged by the compliments than oppressed by the burden, "you shall see that I can carry it quite home." And so he did. In this particular I am afraid my part of the imitation will fall far short of the original.' "

P. S.—I have just received a letter from M. de Vergennes, acquainting me that the replacing what was lost in the *Marquis de la Fayette* is granted.

I have also just heard from Holland that the affair of the loan there is in good train and likely to succeed. But this I do not yet depend on.]*

Livingston to the President of Congress.†

CLERMOUNT MANOR OF IRVINGSTON,
August 25, 1781.

SIR: I was yesterday favored with your letter of the 11th inst., enclosing a resolution of Congress appointing me secretary for foreign affairs. I feel myself extremely honored by this mark of their attention and by the obliging manner in which your excellency has communicated it. I am too conscious of my own insufficiency and too solicitous for the welfare of my country not to wish that the choice of Congress had fallen upon some person better qualified to fulfil the duties of that important department.

Though I agree in sentiment with your excellency on the expediency of filling this place as soon as possible, and am sorry to interpose the smallest delay, yet I feel myself embarrassed in coming to a determination from not having seen the act of Congress constituting the office, nor do I know how far the secretary for foreign affairs is to be consulted in the appointment of an interpreter, secretary, and such clerks as he may find necessary, though his reputation may depend upon their discretion and fidelity. Nor what provision is made for defraying the necessary expenses of the department. When your excellency shall do me the honor to communicate the resolutions of Congress on these subjects I shall without delay inform you of my determination to accept or decline the office, and in either case shall retain a grateful sense of the honor Congress have done me by the appointment.

I have the honor to be, sir,

With great respect and esteem your excellency's most obedient humble servant,

R. R. LIVINGSTON.

J. Adams to Franklin.‡

AMSTERDAM, *August* 25, 1781.

SIR: Last evening I received your excellency's letter of the 16th of this month, accompanied with a letter from the President of Congress containing the commissions you mention.

---

* Passages in brackets omitted by Sparks, but given in Franklin's letter book.

† MSS. Dep. of State.

‡ MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 473; 7 J. Adams' Works, 459.

You desire to know what steps have already been taken in this business. There has been no step taken by me in pursuance of my former commission until my late journey to Paris at the invitation of the Count de Vergennes, who communicated to me certain articles proposed by the mediating courts, and desired me to make such observations upon them as should occur to me. Accordingly I wrote a number of letters to his excellency of the following dates: July 13th, enclosing an answer to the articles sixteen, eighteen, nineteen, twenty-one. I would readily send you copies of the articles, and of those letters, but there are matters in them which had better not be trusted to go so long a journey, especially as there is no necessity for it. The Count de Vergennes will readily give you copies of the articles and of my letters, which will prevent all risk.

I am very apprehensive that our new commission will be as useless as my old one. Congress might very safely, I believe, permit us all to go home, if we had no other business, and stay there some years; at least until every British soldier in the United States is killed or captivated. Till then Britain will never think of peace but for the purposes of chicanery.

I see in the papers that the British ambassador at Petersburgh has received an answer from his court to the articles. What this answer is we may conjecture from the king's speech. Yet the Empress of Russia has made an insinuation to their high mightinesses which deserves attention. Perhaps you may have seen it, but lest you should not I will add a translation of it which I sent to Congress in the time of it, not having the original at hand.*

I must beg the favor of your excellency to communicate to me whatever you may learn which has any connexion with this negociation, particularly the French, Spanish, and British answers to the articles, as soon as you can obtain them. In my situation it is not likely that I shall obtain any information of consequence but from the French court. Whatever may come to my knowledge I will communicate to you without delay.

If Britain persists in her two preliminaries, as I presume she does, what will be the consequence? Will the two imperial courts permit this great plan of a congress at Vienna, which is public and made the common talk of Europe, to become another sublime bubble like the armed neutrality? In what light will these mediating courts appear after having listened to a proposition of England, so far as to make propositions themselves, and to refer to them in many public acts, if Britain refuses to agree to them and insists upon such preliminaries as are at least an insult to France and America and a kind of contempt to the common sense of all Europe? I am weary of such roundabout and needless negociations as that of the armed neutrality and this of the congress at Vienna. I think the Dutch have at last discovered

*See J. Adams to the President of Congress August 16, 1781, *supra*.

the only effectual method of negociation, that is, by fighting the British fleets until every ship is obliged to answer the signal for renewing the battle by the signal of distress. There is no room for British chicanery in this. If I ever did any good it was in stirring up the pure minds of the Dutchmen and setting the old Batavian spirit in motion after having slept so long.

Our dear country will go fast asleep in full assurance of having news of peace by winter, if not by the first vessel. Alas! what a disappointment they will meet. I believe I had better go home and wake up our countrymen out of their reveries about peace. Congress have done very well to join others in the commission for peace who have some faculties for it. My talent, if I have one, lies in making war. The Grand Seignior will finish the *procès des trois rois* sooner than the congress of Vienna will make peace, unless the two imperial courts act with dignity and consistency upon the occasion, and acknowledge the American independency at once upon Britain's insisting on her two insolent preliminaries.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

JOHN ADAMS.

Morris to Le Couteulx & Co.*

OFFICE OF FINANCE,
Philadelphia, August 26, 1781.

GENTLEMEN: My former letters advised you of the sundry bills I had drawn on you to the 2d day of this month, being numbered from one to one hundred and thirty-one inclusive, and amounting to five hundred and twenty-one thousand, six hundred and thirty-four livres, sixteen sous and eight dernier tournois, as you will perceive by a copy of a list of said bills herein enclosed; to which you will find added the list of sundry bills drawn on the 10th instant, numbered one hundred and thirty-two to one hundred and fifty-eight inclusive, all at sixty days' sight, in favor of Mr. Haym Solomans, amounting to two hundred and one thousand, three hundred and twenty-three livres, eight sous tournois.

On the 8th of this month I had occasion to visit his excellency General Washington at camp, and at my departure I left these bills signed. They were sold during my absence, and I pray that they may be duly honored. You will be enabled to pay these punctually, as his excellency the minister plenipotentiary of France has engaged that five hundred thousand livres tournois should be placed with you for that purpose; of course you will have received one million of livres subject to my drafts, and I shall continue to pass them on you as occasion may require.

---

*6 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 314.

On the 17th of July last I drew one bill on you at sixty days, in favor of Robert Smith or order, for five hundred thousand livres, but that bill is either sunk or has fallen into the enemy's hands, therefore should it ever appear it must be refused as a fraud.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

ROBERT MORRIS.

Washington to Morris.*

CHATHAM, *August* 27, 1781.

DEAR SIR: Accounts brought by several vessels to Philadelphia and to the eastward leave little doubt but that the Count de Grasse must have already arrived in the Chesapeake, or that he must be very soon there. The Count de Rochambeau and myself have therefore determined that no time ought to be lost in making preparations for our transportation from Trenton to Christiana, and from the head of the Elk down the Chesapeake. I have written by this opportunity to Colonel Miles, and have directed him immediately to engage all the proper kind of craft for the navigation of the Delaware which can be found in Philadelphia or in the creeks above and below it; and as your advice may be useful to him, more especially as far as respects procuring the vessels at a distance from Philadelphia, I have desired him to wait upon you for that purpose.

I shall also be obliged to you for using your influence with the gentlemen of Baltimore to permit any vessels which may be in that port to come up to the Elk to assist us in transportation. I have little doubt, from the cheerfulness with which they furnished the Marquis de la Fayette last winter, that they will comply with your requisition on the present occasion. But lest there should be a necessity for the interference of the executive of the State, I have written to Governor Lee upon that and other matters. I enclose the letter under flying seal for your information, and you will be good enough to forward it by a chain of expresses, which is established. Any vessels which may be procured in the Chesapeake should rendezvous as soon as possible in the Elk River.

You will be pleased to make the deposit of flour, rum, and salt meat at the head of the Elk which I requested in a former letter.

I am very fearful that about fifteen hundred barrels of salt provisions and thirty hogsheads of rum, which I directed to be sent from Connecticut and Rhode Island under convoy of the Count de Barras, would not have been ready when the fleet sailed from Newport. Should that have been the case the disappointment will be great. I would wish you to see whether a like quantity of those articles can be procured in Philadelphia or in Maryland, if we should find that they have not gone round from the eastward.

---

* 6 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 314.

I must entreat you if possible to procure one month's pay in specie for the detachment which I have under my command. Part of the troops have not been paid anything for a long time past, and have upon several occasions shown marks of great discontent. The service they are going upon is disagreeable to the northern regiments, but I make no doubt that a *douceur* of a little hard money would put them in proper temper. If the whole sum can not be obtained a part of it will be better than none, as it may be distributed in proportion to the respective wants and claims of the men.

The American detachment will assemble in this neighborhood to-day, the French army to-morrow.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

Morris to Yeates.*

OFFICE OF FINANCE, *August* 28, 1781.

SIR: The express which carries this letter will bring you one from Colonel Miles on the same subject. It is necessary that vessels be procured as speedily as possible to transport a body of from six to seven thousand men from the head of the Elk to Virginia, with their necessary apparatus. You will therefore collect them at the head of the Elk on the 5th of September, and as soon after as may be engage them by the day on the cheapest terms you can, to be paid in hard money, and obtain as long a credit as possible. There will be little or no risk of the vessels, and therefore you may insure them to the owners, if that will tend to obtain them either sooner or cheaper. The express has letters to William Smith and Matthew Ridley, of Baltimore, on this subject, and they will give you their advice and assistance, as will some other gentlemen to whom I have written, should either be necessary. He has also letters to the governor of Maryland, who will, I am confident, give every aid which the executive authority of the State can afford. You will therefore either apply to the governor or not, as circumstances shall require.

Any engagements you enter into on this account shall be fulfilled; but I must again request that you will be as economical as the nature of the business will permit. I expect and rely on the exertion of your utmost industry and attention, and am, sir, very respectfully, &c.,

ROBERT MORRIS.

---

* 6 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 315.

Morris to Franklin.*

PHILADELPHIA, *August* 28, 1781.

SIR: Herewith I send you triplicates of my letters of the 13th and 14th of July last and duplicates of my letters of the 19th and 21st of July last. I have not yet executed the plan mentioned in mine of the 21st of July, of drawing bills on you, for reasons which it is not necessary to enumerate at present.

Since my letter to you of the 8th of June last I have found it necessary to apply to the minister of his most Christian majesty in this place to direct another sum of five hundred thousand livres to be deposited with Messrs. Le Couteulx & Co., and I am now drawing bills for that sum; wherefore I must pray your excellency to take measures that they be put in cash to answer my drafts. Although I have no doubt that this will be done on the Chevalier de la Luzerne's application, yet as his letters may miscarry, or other unavoidable misfortune happen, I take this additional precaution, because it is of the utmost importance to the United States that these bills be duly honored.

The last advices from Europe inform us of M. Necker's resignation and removal, which occasions much speculation as to the causes which produced this event. I should be glad to hear from you upon that subject.

We learn from Boston the arrival of the frigate *Magicienne*, with a large store-ship laden with clothing, &c., for the United States; another store-ship put back to Corunna, as is said, having been dismasted in a gale of wind. If this be so, it is a loss which will be more easily supplied than that of the *Lafayette*, which ship we are informed was taken and carried into England.

Colonel Laurens' embarkation on board a frigate for this place, with money, is also announced, and I hope she will speedily arrive. The Boston account of the 16th of August mentions the arrival of the *Magicienne* in fifty days. If Colonel Laurens had then sailed he must now have been out sixty-two days, which is a very long period for a single frigate to be engaged in that voyage. If that frigate arrives safe with five hundred thousand dollars, which is, as I am informed, on board of her, it will relieve me from many very great difficulties which I have now to struggle with, and give a much better appearance to our affairs, as it will enable us to operate with far more vigor and activity.

It is now a very long time since we have had any tidings of Mr. Adams. We have indeed been informed, though not from himself, that he had opened a loan for a million florins; but we are much in the dark as to the success of it, as well as many other particulars relative to his situation which would be very interesting.

---

* 6 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 316.

SEPTEMBER 7, 1781.

Since writing the above letter Colonel Laurens has come to this city from Boston, at which place he arrived in the *Resolve*, with the two store-ships under her convoy, after a passage uncommonly tedious. It is certainly unnecessary to mention how great pleasure we have received from this occurrence.

Another equally pleasing is the arrival of the Count de Grasse in the Chesapeake Bay, on the 30th of August, with twenty-eight sail of the line, viz., one of one hundred and ten guns, three of eighty-four guns, nineteen of seventy-four guns, four of sixty-four guns, and one of fifty guns. The Count de Barras sailed from Rhode Island on the 24th, so that probably he has before this made a junction with the Count de Grasse, although he had not on the 31st of August. A detachment of about seven thousand men is on the way to Virginia, of which about two thousand five hundred were at the head of Elk. As many more must have arrived there this evening and the remainder to-morrow. There are landed from the fleet three thousand men, and we are told these will receive an addition of one thousand five hundred marines, besides the army under the command of the Marquis de la Fayette which was before in Virginia, and consists of about five thousand, including the militia. Lord Cornwallis was entrenched at York, in Virginia, with five thousand men. General Washington takes the command of the southern army in person. The fleet under the Count de Grasse took on its way a packet from Charleston to Great Britain, on board of which was Lord Rawdon. From this combination of circumstances you will perceive that we have reason to flatter ourselves with the expectation of pleasing occurrences.

With the greatest respect, &c.,

ROBERT MORRIS.

Morris to the President of Congress.*

OFFICE OF FINANCE, *August* 28, 1781.

SIR: My circular letter to the governors of the several States, of the 25th of July, a copy whereof was sent to Congress on the 6th of August, contains a solemn assurance that all the accounts of the several States with the United States should be speedily liquidated if I could possibly effect it, and that my efforts for that purpose should be unceasing.

If, after this declaration, I could possibly have forgotten it, the reference made to me on the 23d instant, of two letters from the State of Massachusetts, and a report on them of the 14th instant would have called for an immediate attention.

I have thought much on this subject and feel very anxious about it. The settlement of those accounts is of the utmost importance, for until

* MSS. Dep. of State; 6 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 318, with important changes and omissions.

it be completed the States will persuade themselves into an opinion that their exertions are unequal. Each will believe in the superiority of its own efforts; each claim the merit of having done more than others; and each continue desirous of relaxing to an equality with the supposed deficiencies of its neighbors. Hence it follows that every day they become more and more negligent, a dangerous supineness pervades the continent, and recommendations of Congress, capable in the year 1775 of rousing all America to action, now lie neglected. [This is the inevitable consequence of such opinions.] *

The settlement of former accounts being considered as a thing forgotten, men, naturally reasoning from them to those which are now present, conclude that they also will drop into forgetfulness, and consider everything not furnished as so much saved. The legislatures will not call forth the resources of their respective constituents; the public operations languish; the necessity of purchasing on credit enhances expense; the want of that credit compels to the use of force; that force offends; the country is daily more plunged in debt, and its revenues more deeply anticipated. A situation so dangerous calls for more accurate principles of administration, and these can not too speedily be adopted. The settlement of accounts is the first step, but it is necessary not only that this settlement be speedy, but that it be final; for if it be not final, the disputes on that subject will have the same baleful influence with those now subsisting. Disunion among the States must follow in the event; disgust must take place in the moment; the same opprobrious indolence will continue; and, in the mean time, it is to little purpose that our country abounds in men and subsistence, if they can not be called forth for her defence.

All the requisitions of Congress upon the several States contain a provision for future liquidation, when the quota shall have been ascertained according to the articles of confederation. The evil consequences which have followed from this are very evident, and the great advantages which would have resulted from rendering every apportionment final and conclusive are equally evident. But those who, on such ground, build a censure against Congress ought to consider that they could not act otherwise before the Confederation was completed.

The changes which have already happened in the affairs of the several States at the different periods of the war are so great, that any apportionment formerly made, however equitable then, would be inequitable now. To determine the quota, therefore, from the present situation, or from any particular moment of the past, must be equally improper. But the quotas must be determined at some period or other. If we suppose it already done, we shall clearly see how many inconveniences would have been avoided and how many advantages gained. True it is that, let this final adjustment of the quota take place when it will, difficulties will arise by reason of those changes in the circumstances of the

* Passage in brackets omitted in Sparks' ed.

everal States which have been already mentioned. But those difficult-es will be daily increased, and become at length insurmountable. If a nal determination of past quotas were made now, it must be arbitrary n some degree; but if we carry our ideas forward to the end of several ears, it must be still more arbitrary. To attempt a settlement of ac-ounts subject to after revision and after determination is still worse; or it is liable to every objection which lies against leaving them un-ettled, to every difficulty which could attend the final settlement, and as the additional evil that by placing the several precise balances im-ediately before the eyes of Congress, they could take no step which ould not be charged with partiality. I will dwell no longer on this ubject, for I trust that the United States in Congress will agree with me n one leading position, that after taking a general view of the past from he commencement of the war to the present moment a certain rate or uota should be established for each State of the whole expense now in-urred excepting the public debt of the United States. I will presently ssign the reasons for this exception; but that general position which I ave advanced is the corner-stone [of the whole fabric]; without it othing can be done, at least such is my conviction. [For these things ppear with the force of] irresistible conclusion.

1st. That while a demand of Congress is the mere request of a loan, nstead of a complete [apportionment of expense], it will not be at-ended to.

2dly. That while from the unsettled state of public accounts the indi-idual States are led to suppose that there is a balance in their favor y superior exertions, for which they neither have nor are like to have ny credit, they will relax their efforts.

3dly. That the final settlement of these accounts can not take place ntil the quotas be finally adjusted.

4thly. That a settlement of accounts which is not final will [be so uch labor and expense not merely thrown away, but employed to per-icious effect.

5thly. That Congress are less capable to determine on the exact pro-ortion of past expenses now than at any former period.

[And, 6th, that every day's delay will increase their incapacity.]*

I feel, therefore, a demonstration that the past circumstances and tuations of the several States should be candidly reviewed, that the pportionment of all the past expenses should be made now, and that should be final. Thus, if the whole expense be stated at one hun-red, each State would be declared chargeable with a certain number f parts of that hundred, and thus a standard will be established y which to determine the proportion, let the amount be what it may. know it is not possible to do strict justice, but it is certain that less justice will be done in this mode than any other, and that without dopting it nothing effectual can be done.

* Passages in brackets omitted in Sparks' ed.

After the proportion is fixed, the principles on which to admit the various charges will next come into consideration. I know it will be difficult to draw such a line as will apply to all cases, or which will be absolutely just even in those to which it does apply. Yet neither of these objections ought to prevent Congress from laying down those general rules which shall on the whole appear to be most equitable. The various requisitions have been made payable at certain days. The value, therefore, of the demand ought to be estimated at the day of payment fixed by each, and the proper mode of doing this would be by the table of depreciation formed the 29th day of July, 1780, in pursuance of the act of Congress of the 28th day of June preceding. It is possible that this table is not perfect; but we must remember that it has been fixed by the authority of the United States, and acted upon. It ought, therefore, to be adhered to; for there is always less of inconvenience and danger in pursuing an established rule than in the frequent change of rules; because the former is at the worst only a partial, but the latter is a general evil. Assuming, then, this table as a standard, the account of the requisitions previous to the 18th of March, 1780, will stand thus; by the resolutions of the 22d of November, 1777, there is payable as follows:

	Dollars.	Ninetieths.
January 1st, 1778, $1,250,000, equal to	857, 222	20
April 1st, 1778, $1,250,000, equal to	621, 423	55
July 1st, 1778, $1,250,000	412, 864	52. 4
October 1st, 1778, $1,250,000	268, 472	2
By the resolutions of January 2d, 1779, and May 21st, 1779, there is payable by January 1st, 1780, $60,000,000, equal to	2, 042, 500	
By the resolution of October 5th, 1779, payable by February 1st, 1780, $15,000,000, equal to	451, 041	60
March 1st, 1780, $15,000,000, equal to	401, 450	30
	5, 054, 982	39. 4

Thus the whole demand made on the States from the beginning of the war to the 1st of March, 1780, is but little more than five millions of dollars. And yet this demand, moderate as it is, has not been complied with.

By the various resolutions of Congress on the subject of requisitions it is provided that interest at six per cent. shall be charged on the sums due and allowed on the sums paid. The sums paid do in no instances amount to the value of the demand, but each State has an account against the Union for advances by supplies furnished of various kinds and by payments made to militia. As no taxes were laid by the States, the sums they expended were procured partly from the Continental treasury and partly by the emission of State currency, which tended to depreciate the Continental paper and impede its circulation. A consideration of the mischiefs arising from this circumstance will much

diminish the merit which is assumed from those advances. If the State paper had not been issued the same services might have been performed by an equal sum of Continental money, and the general torrent of depreciation would then have swept away those expenditures which now exist as State charges. From hence it might in strictness be inferred that the continent should not be charged for the amount of State paper advanced and that amount be estimated at its value when redeemed by the State, especially as Congress have not only urged the States not to emit money, but even to call in what they had already emitted. But this inference would perhaps be rather too strong. No such idea has been formerly advanced by Congress, and therefore the States, not having had due notice, might conceive the determination at this late period to be inequitable.

On the whole, therefore, it may be proper to estimate the sums paid by them according to the rule already noticed, especially as the method of redeeming the old Continental money formerly adopted will, if pursued, work some degree of equality. For it will create a demand for the old money in those States which, by the amount of their own emissions, have expelled it from themselves and forced it upon their neighbors. There must, however, be a distinction made in the advances of the several States; much of them has been for the pay and support of the militia, and much of that for the private defence of particular States, and of that again a part has frequently been unnecessary. To go at this late period into a close investigation of the subject is impracticable and perhaps dangerous. Neither would it answer any valuable purpose. Some general rule, therefore, must be adopted, and propriety seems to require that credit should be given only for those expenditures on militia which were previously authorised and required by express resolutions of Congress. With respect to all other articles there is also to be noted a distinction between those which were furnished by the several States previously to the 22d of November, 1777, when the first demand of money was made, and those made subsequently to that period. I would propose that the former, as also the militia expenses not expressly authorised as above mentioned, should be taken together into one account, and the specie value of the whole estimated; that the amount of both throughout America should be apportioned by the same standard with the other expenses; and that the several expenditures of each State should be settled and liquidated with its proportional part of the whole, and the several balances carried to their respective debits and credits in the general accounts. These balances should bear interest at six per cent. to the 18th of March, 1780. Thus, suppose the whole of those expenses should amount to one million of dollars and that the State A be held to pay nine and the State B ten parts out of every hundred; the State A would be accountable for ninety thousand dollars, and the State B for one hundred thousand dollars. And if it should appear that the former had paid one hundred

thousand and the latter only ninety thousand, the former would be credited and the latter debited ten thousand dollars, with six per cent. interest.

I would propose that the advances made by the several States subsequent to the 22d of November and prior to the 18th of March, 1780, excepting those to militia not authorised, should be estimated as aforesaid, and carried to account regularly upon the advances of money made to each from the Continental treasury, and the apportionment of the several demands made by Congress in like manner with the moneys paid to their order. And that interest at six per cent. should be charged or credited upon the several balances until the 18th of March, 1780.

I would further propose that on that day these balances and those before mentioned should be liquidated together, and the final capitals be considered as principal sums, bearing interest at six per cent. Thus, supposing the State A, in one account, to be credited ten thousand dollars, amounting, with interest, to eleven thousand, and debited in the other account five thousand, amounting, with interest, to six; in that case the final balance on the 18th of March would be a credit of five thousand dollars.

On the 18th of March we come to a new and more enlightened era of public accounts. The apportionment formerly mentioned as preliminary to a settlement will determine the quota due by each State for the two hundred millions of old Continental money, valued at forty for one. These resolutions of the 18th of March, 1780, not having been fully complied with, there appears to be a propriety in the following plan:

1st. To charge the several States with their proportions of it at that rate.

2dly. To fix some future day for the full compliance with the resolution.

3dly. To receive old paper at the rate of forty for one in discharge of those proportions until that day; and

4thly. To charge the balances then unpaid in specie with a debit and credit of interest at six per cent. in the manner before mentioned.

I am sensible that many persons now condemn the resolutions of the 18th of March, and among these are found some of those who warmly advocated it previously to that period. It is not my business to enter into arguments on the subject. Be those resolutions wise or unwise, they are acts of the sovereign authority, which have been obeyed by some, if not by all, and therefore those who have obeyed ought not to suffer by their obedience. They are acts for the redemption of bills issued by that sovereign, and they have formed the standard of public opinion with respect to those bills. If, therefore, for argument's sake, it were admitted that the measure was impolitic and unjust, yet, now that it has taken place, there would certainly be both injustice and bad

policy in altering it. The respective States have either obeyed it in the whole or in part or have totally neglected it. The first have a right to insist upon a compliance with it. The second must have so far accommodated themselves to it as that interior mischiefs would arise from changing the system. And the last, whatever may be their claim to superior wisdom, will at least acknowledge that, the precedent of disobedience once established, our Union must soon be at an end, and the authority of Congress reduced to a metaphysical idea. Besides, the claim of such States must ultimately rest on the foundation of their own neglect; and as this will always be in their own power, it will be sufficient to rear any argument for any purpose.

By the resolutions of the 18th of March, 1780, ten millions of dollars of new paper were to have been issued, whereof four millions were to be at the order of Congress. By the resolutions of the 26th of August, 1780, three millions more were demanded. By the resolutions of the 4th of November, 1780, besides the specific supplies an additional demand was made of one million six hundred and forty-two thousand nine hundred and eighty-seven and two-thirds dollars in money; and by the resolutions of the 16th of March, 1781, six millions more are required. These sums amount in the whole to fourteen millions six hundred and forty-two thousand nine hundred and eighty-seven dollars and two-thirds. A very small part of this sum has yet been paid; but admitting that there may have been circulated by the United States two millions six hundred and forty-two thousand nine hundred and eighty-seven dollars and two-thirds, twelve millions would still remain due. If from this we deduct the whole of the new emissions, it would leave a balance of two millions. I propose, therefore, the following plan:

1st. That no more of these new emissions be used on any pretence.

2dly. That as fast as the old Continental money is brought in the several States be credited for the new emissions to have been issued as specie, agreeably to the several resolutions of Congress upon that subject; and

3dly. That on all those requisitions last mentioned the money of the new emissions of any particular State be received as specie.

It is true that these propositions are liable to exception, but they have the great advantage of being consistent with former resolutions of Congress, which should always be attended to as much as possible. I am sure that Congress must be convinced of this, for they are not to learn that authority is weakened by the frequent change of measures and pursuits, that such changes injure the reputation of supreme power in public opinion, and that opinion is the source and support of the sovereign authority. It is further to be observed that the motives for complying with the resolutions of the 18th of March will, if the above plan is adopted, become very strong; for in that case every forty dollars of old Continental paid by a State will produce to the credit

side of its account three dollars in specie; because, in the first place, the whole proportion of old Continental being charged at forty for one and receivable until a certain day at the same rate, that payment will so far operate a discharge of one dollar; and, in the second place, it will entitle the State to two dollars of the new emission, which, not being issued, will also be carried to its credit upon the several requisitions.

It will be in the wisdom of the United States in Congress assembled to determine whether, after the expiration of the day to be fixed for the above purpose, they will permit the possessors of old Continental money to bring it in on loan at the rate of forty for one. It is true that this might operate against those States who have not complied with the resolutions of the 18th of March, 1780, and who have not now the old Continental to comply with it; but it is entirely consistent with the former resolutions of Congress, and the States are themselves blamable for the neglect. Besides, those who now hold the Continental money do it either from choice because of their confidence in Congress, or from necessity; because it has been poured in upon them from those places where it was of inferior value, and this inferiority was owing to the neglect of those States in not passing the laws which Congress had recommended. There is, therefore, a degree of justice and firmness in that measure which will create confidence in the future acts of the United States.

Whatever principles may be established for settling these accounts and however just they may be, many doubts will arise in the application of them. It must always be remembered that the States are independent; and that while they are pressed to a compliance with their duty, they must have full evidence that Congress act fairly. It might therefore be proper that for the settlement of their accounts commissioners should be chosen as follows: one by the State, one by the United States, and one by the other two, and the decision of the majority to be final.

Hitherto I have taken no notice of the specific supplies called for from the several States. Many of these have been furnished and many remain to be provided. I would exclude them entirely from the other public accounts; but as the apportionment so often mentioned will give a rule to go by, I shall continue to press for the supplies; or, where they are not wanted, make such composition with the States in lieu of those which remain to be furnished as the public service shall render most eligible.

I have observed that the public debts ought to be excepted from the apportionment of past expenses. The reason is clear: Those debts, or at least a great part of them, may subsist until the relative wealth of the States has entirely changed. Those who are now most rich may then be poor, and those who are poor may become rich. This is not all; these debts are hitherto unfunded. The creditors have, indeed,

he general promise of government, and some of them have certificates s the evidences of that promise; but until measures are taken to pro- ide solid funds for the final payment the public credit must languish. o an enlightened mind it is needless to dilate on the advantages esulting from national credit. Congress will doubtless pursue the teps necessary for its perfect establishment. And this can not be therwise accomplished than by raising taxes in hard money from ources which must be productive and increasing. Those taxes must e so bound to the public creditors for the debts due to them that the roduce can not be diverted. These taxes ought to be raised from he same articles, at the same rates, and in the same manner through- ut the whole Confederation; and consequently a present apportion- nent of the public debts will be as unnecessary as it would be unjust.

I think it my duty, while I am upon this subject, to mention my pinion that, in addition to the five per cent. called for on articles im- orted and on prizes and prize goods, it would be proper to appro- riate to the payment of the public debts a land tax, a poll tax, and n excise on spirituous liquors. I readily grant that neither of these axes would be strictly equal between the States, nor indeed can any ther tax be so; but I am convinced that all of them taken together ould be as nearly equal as the fluctuating nature of human affairs ill permit. I am, however, to observe, in addition, that the land tax hould be laid at a certain rate by the acre, because the superior cer- ainty of such a tax will give it the preference of others, although it an not perhaps be so great as might have been expected. Whatever nequalities may remain must be adjusted among individuals by the everal States in raising their quotas; and although those quotas will e most considerable during the war, yet it must be remembered that fter the conclusion of it such sums will be necessary for the establish- ng a marine and other national purposes, as will still enable the States to continue their interior regulations for equalizing the general axes.

Among the public debts there are a considerable number of certifi- ates given by public officers to the citizens of the several States for rticles occasionally taken to the public use. With respect to these ertificates, it is unnecessary to mention that they have anticipated he revenue and brought us to the brink of destruction. But it is me to pay a particular attention to them. Many ways may be fallen pon for their liquidation, all of which are perhaps justly exceptionable.

1st. They may be consolidated with the rest of the public debt, and e made payable at a future period; but this could only be by forcing loan from the people, many of whom are unable to make it, and of onsequence it would be a hard measure, if not an unjust one. Per- aps it could not be executed, for laws repugnant to the general feelings f mankind are only a dead letter. 2dly. Another mode is by receiv- ng them in taxes; but this is very dangerous for several reasons,

among which the two following are cogent: The public revenue will not bear such a heavy deduction as those certificates would create, and the collectors of taxes would be liable to be defrauded themselves, or the remedy for that would give them opportunities of defrauding the public, which, considering the natural bent and disposition of many men, ought to be carefully provided against. A third mode would be by turning over the holders of these certificates to their respective States and giving credit for them on account of the specific supplies. This may in some degree become necessary in cases where the negligence of the States on the one hand, and the necessities of the army on the other, have compelled to seize by force what ought to have been collected by law. But in many cases it can not be done, and it would be improper in many others where it is practicable.

Among the bad consequences which attend the present mode of supplying our armies, or rather leaving them to supply themselves, one of no small magnitude is that the officers who are compelled to the melancholy duty of plundering their fellow-citizens endeavor by the sum of their certificates to compensate for the manner of taking as well as for the value of the thing taken. Nor is that all; where there is a disposition for fraud, an ample opportunity is afforded to commit it. Whatever may be the cause, I am informed that these certificates are for sums vastly beyond the value of the services and articles obtained for them. The respective States would naturally be led to give to these certificates their specified value, and it can not be expected that they will scrutinize them so rigidly as they ought if they are to be accepted in discharge of demands existing against the particular State. To all these modes there are also some farther objections, among which it is my duty to state the following: The accounts of the several staff officers still remain unsettled; the certificates given by them, if they are to be paid by the public, ought to be carried both to the debit and credit of their cash accounts, and the articles obtained carried to their debit in the account of expenditures. Of consequence the amount of these last debits must depend much upon the amount of the certificates, and therefore either the certificates given should be known and the accounts settled with those charges, or the account should be settled, and no other certificates allowed but such as are charged in it.

A further mode of liquidating these certificates would be by purchasing them from the holders; but it is needless to state any other objections to it than the want of money, which is felt through all our operations. There still remains this method:

1st. That at present those certificates should neither be receivable in taxes nor transferable.

2dly. That they should be taken up and examined in the course of settling the public accounts.

3dly. That they should be brought to the amount in specie which the article procured or service performed was reasonably worth.

4thly. That where the sum due to any person on certificates is small, bill for the amount should be given, payable at the distance of a year.

5thly.* That where the sum is large, it should be divided into five fferent parts, and bills given payable in one, two, three, four, and five ears, calculating on each part an interest of six per cent., and adding to the amount, As if, for instance, the sum were one hundred pounds, en the bills would be for twenty-one pounds four shillings, twenty-vo pounds eight shillings, twenty-three pounds twelve shillings, twenty-ur pounds sixteen shillings, and twenty-five pounds.

6thly. That these bills should be drawn payable to the bearer and in ich form as not to be counterfeited without great difficulty.

7thly. That they should be receivable in Continental taxes, within any the States, as cash, at the times when they are respectively due, or not so received, be payable by the Continental treasurer, or any re-iver of the Continental taxes, on demand, after collecting the taxes, which they were respectively receivable.

In this way a credit would be obtained not only without injury, but robably with advantage to the individual. The anticipation of the ublic revenue would not be very great, and as a list of these notes ould be kept, the amount of every year's anticipation would be accu-tely known. Exceptions may probably be found even to this mode, t unfortunately for us, we have only an alternative of difficulties. All hich human prudence can do in such cases is to choose the least.

I have the honor to be, sir, &c.,

ROBERT MORRIS.

Morris to the Governor of Maryland.†

OFFICE OF FINANCE,
Philadelphia, August 28, 1781.

SIR: Whilst I was at headquarters, near Dobbs' Ferry, the determi-ation was taken by his excellency the commander-in-chief to send a ery considerable force against the enemy's troops under Earl Corn-allis in Virginia, and immediately on my return hither I did myself e honor to address your excellency respecting the specific supplies ne from the State of Maryland to the United States upon the requisi-ons of Congress of the 25th of February and 4th of November, 1780, ell knowing the whole balance due on these calls of Congress would ow become absolutely necessary to the intended operations.

I am very sensible that your government have upon all occasions ex-uted demands of Congress with a decision and vigor which does them onor, and on that account I should decline saying anything calculated stimulate their present exertions did I not know that everything de-

* In the manuscript there is a direct error in the numerals of this and the following adings.

†6 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 330.

pends thereon. Virginia, North and South Carolina have long subsisted large armies, and that expense of provisions must come to their credit. The New England States, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania have supported, and must continue to support, the main army. Pennsylvania will also contribute towards the support of the southern army, and her supplies will be directed both ways, as circumstances may require. Delaware and Maryland must chiefly be depended on. Virginia and North Carolina will, I hope, continue to do all they can. But your excellency must be perfectly sensible that I have not any funds wherewith to purchase supplies; no State in the Union has hitherto supplied me with money except Pennsylvania. But as the money of that State is (in consequence of plans adopted for that purpose) very rapidly rising in value, it would be improper to call it into circulation at present, when it is at the rate of only two for one, though it has been as low as seven, because the public interest would thereby be injured, and indeed I might be charged with defeating the measures I myself had taken in the very moment when they bid fairest for success.

The security of your State, the safety of individuals and their property, are so immediately connected with the present operations, that I persuade myself your excellency will receive every aid and support in your exertions that you can wish both from public bodies and individuals. My dependence, therefore, on receiving the supplies from your State seems well founded.

I have the honor to transmit your excellency herewith a letter from the commander-in-chief on the same subject, which will add weight to my entreaties. I have written to Donaldson Yeates, quartermaster of the States of Maryland and Delaware, to procure immediately as many craft or vessels suitable for transporting the troops from the head of the Elk to Virginia as will carry about seven thousand men, with the necessary provisions and apparatus. I have written to Mr. Ridley, William Smith, and some others in Baltimore to assist in procuring these vessels, and should any application to your excellency be necessary on this subject, I persuade myself that the authority of the government or weight of its influence will be brought in aid of the quartermaster's endeavors to procure the shipping. I have also written to Mr. Calhoun to know what part of the specific supplies he has ready and what prospects for the remainder. He must bestir himself, as indeed must every person on whom the procuring of these articles depends.

While the demands for the campaign are constantly transmitted to me, and so much depends upon the measures I am constantly taking to economise the public funds and facilitate our military operations, your excellency will perceive that full, early, and accurate intelligence upon the various objects of my department is of the utmost importance. I must, therefore, reiterate my requests for it. To act from necessity and on the spur of the occasion is not only the source of waste and extravagance, but frequently defeats plans otherwise the best concerted, whil

on the other hand, that timely forecast and early provision which complete knowledge of circumstances can alone permit of will save much public money and go very far to insure victory to our arms.

I am, with great respect, &c.,

ROBERT MORRIS.*

Dana to J. Adams.†

ST. PETERSBURGH, *August* 28, 1781.

MY DEAR SIR: It is not through want of attention that I have omitted to this time to acquaint you of our arrival in this city. We reached it, after some perils, on the 27th of August, N. S., sufficiently fatigued, I assure you; for from Liepsic I began to travel day and night, and continued this practice all along the remaining distance. At Berlin we rested, or were rather stopped, nine days, by an unfortunate accident of our *voiture's* being overthrown and broken into pieces between Leipsic and Berlin the first time I attempted to travel in the night. I there bought a new one, which was warranted to carry us to St. Petersburgh and back again in the utmost safety. This, however, failed in essential parts, and required many repairs on the way. Notwithstanding the above accident, I found our advance so slow, through the abominable defects of German posts, that I resolved to risk all again and persist in traveling in the night; fortunately, nothing of the like kind happened to us. We rested afterwards a day or two at the following places: Dantzic, Konigsberg, Memel, Riga, and Narva, at most of which stages our *voiture* demanded repairs. This gave me an opportunity, perhaps not wholly unprofitable to our country, to make inquiries into the commerce of these towns, for they are all of them ports. On the whole, from Amsterdam to this city we were fifty-one days. Mr. Jennings gave me all August to get in; but for the accident to my first *voiture* and some detentions for the repairs of my second I should have accomplished my journey twelve or fourteen days sooner with equal fatigue.

After all *you* will not be surprised to learn I am told in effect that I am here *too soon*; that the proper time is not yet come. In the name of

---

* AUGUST 30.

Went out to meet his excellency General Washington, who arrived in this city about one o'clock amidst the universal acclamations of the citizens, who displayed every mark of joy on the occasion. His excellency alighted at the city tavern, received the compliments of many gentlemen who went out to escort him and of others who came there to pay him their respects, and then adjourned to my house with his suit, Count de Rochambeau, the Chevalier Chastellux, General Knox, General Moultrie, and others to dinner. The owners of several ships in the harbor ordered them out into the stream and fired salutes whilst we drank, "the United States," "his most Christian majesty," "his Catholic majesty," "the United Provinces," "the allied armies," "Count de Grasse's speedy arrival," &c., &c.--*Diary*.

† 7 J. Adams' Works, 461.

common sense, I was about to ask you what this gentry can mean? But I believe we are at no loss to answer this question. I am promised, however, in the most flattering terms, every assistance in matters touching the joint or common interests of the two houses; yet I am told not to expect it in matters that may be injurious to one without being advantageous to the other. Such frivolous reasons appeared to me to have been assigned, to show the time is not yet come, that I have presumed to question them. This, I imagine, may give offence, when I would not wish to do it. But must an implicit faith be put in all things that may come from a certain quarter? Happily all our communications have hitherto been in writing, so that they whose right it is to judge each of us may do it understandingly. I am not disappointed in this difference of sentiments upon my main business, yet I am somewhat shocked that I have been here twelve days, since he knew in a proper way of my being in town, and have not received the least mark of attention from our *friend*, except what may be contained in civil words only. The reason of this we may conjecture, and perhaps we shall not be far from the truth. I suspect *Ishmael* may have been a little instrumental in this conduct. It can not be without design. I think I have candidly, and I believe decently, given my own sentiments upon the subject, and told our friend what measures I intended to pursue to endeavor at least to come at the end in view. He received my letter on the evening of the 25th; but I have yet had no answer. It was a long one, it is true; and he, not understanding English, must have it translated; so that I do not absolutely conclude that he will not answer it. He communicated to me in confidence what had been communicated to me before in the same way touching a proposal made, to speak in plain English, by the mediators, agreeable to our utmost wishes. He did not tell me, as the other person had done, that the mediation was rejected on account of that proposition by the court of London. This I suppose to be the truth, though not a lisp of it is to be heard yet without doors here. I wish soon to receive a confirmation of it from your hand, when I can make that use of it I now want exceedingly to make of it. I take it to be a matter of great consequence to our interests, and I build many hopes upon it in aid of my business. It seems to open the real good dispositions of those sovereigns for our cause. I have made use of an argument of this sort to our friend in my last. Do not withhold from me *a moment* any information which you think can be improved to our advantage. Let no supposition that I may be otherwise informed of it stay your hand. What comes from you I shall think myself at liberty to make use of at my discretion. You must have gained information on your late tour which will be of importance to me. Your son is still with me at the Hotel de Paris. He is desirous of my procuring him a private instructor. I should like this very much, as I should be fond of having him with me; but I can not yet obtain proper information upon this head. I shall endeavor to do

he best with him. Your sentiments on this point may not be amiss. beg you to write me *under cover* to Messrs. Strahlborn & Wolff, banquiers à St. Petersburgh. I had like to have forgot our news of the ction between the Dutch and English; the former, it is agreed, have acquitted themselves most nobly. But why were they sent out o feeble upon so important a business?

My best regards to Mr. Thaxter and all our Amsterdam friends. Pray tell him he must write me all the public news, especially from our ountry. This is the finest city I have seen in Europe, and far surpasses ll my expectations. Alone, it is sufficient to immortalize the memory of Peter the First. More of the real grandeur of the city and empire hereafter. In the meantime I beg to assure you of the continuance of that igh respect and warm affection I have entertained for you long since.

Your friend, &c.

FRANCIS DANA.

Dana to Verac, French minister at St. Petersburgh.*

ST. PETERSBURGH, *August* 30 (O. S.), 1781.

Mr. Dana begs leave to acquaint his excellency the Marquis de Verac hat he has arrived in town, and proposes to do himself the honor of paying his respectful compliments to his excellency as the minister of he sovereign in alliance with this country at any hour which shall be nost agreeable to him.

Mr. Dana is silent at present with regard to himself, presuming that is excellency has been already informed by his excellency the Count le Vergennes of his intended journey to this place and of some circumtances which have opened the nature of his business.

Verac to Francis Dana.*

[Translation.]

THURSDAY, *August* 30 (O. S.), 1781.

The Marquis de Verac has the honor to present his compliments to Mr. Dana, and is very happy to hear of his arrival, which he had been prepared to expect by the Count de Vergennes. He will be flattered to make his acquaintance, and to assure him of his eagerness to render him any service in his power in this country.

---

* MSS. Dep. of State; 4 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 580.

Franklin to J. Adams.*

PASSY, *August* 31, 1781.

SIR: I duly received the letter you did me the honor of writing to me the 17th inst., enclosing a copy of one from Mr. John Ross, acquainting me with the presentation to you of fifty-one bills drawn in his favor the 22d of June last on Mr. Henry Laurens for the sum of 40,950 guilders, and desiring to know whether I will pay them.

I have already paid or provided for the payment of all the former Congress bills on Mr. Laurens, on Mr. Jay, and on yourself and me, drawn upon us when we had no funds in our hands to pay them. I have been exceedingly embarrassed and distressed by this business; and being obliged to apply repeatedly for aids to this court with one unexpected demand after another, I have given trouble and vexation to the ministers, by obliging them to find new funds for me, and thereby deranging their plans. They have by their minister at Philadelphia. complained of these irregular unfounded drafts to Congress, and I am told that he received a promise about the end of March last that no more should be issued. I have been obliged lately to apply for more money to discharge such of these bills as I had engaged for and were yet unpaid and for other purposes, and I obtained it on a promise not to accept or engage for any that should be drawn after the end of March if such should be drawn, which was not expected, as the Congress had promised not to draw but upon known funds. I have received no advice or orders relating to these bills of Mr. Ross. I can not conceive why they were drawn on Mr. Laurens, known to be a prisoner in the Tower. You will see by the enclosed copy of a letter from M. de V. that I am told very fairly and explicitly that if I accept any more such bills I am not to expect any assistance from him in paying them. I am, therefore, obliged to be as explicit with you. I can not accept nor have anything to do with the acceptance of them. I have obtained what you see mentioned in the count's letter, which I was almost ashamed to ask and hardly expected. I can not worry such good friends again for these new drafts. M. Ross' demand was near 20,000 £ sterling. I suppose these bills will be followed by more. You once wrote to me that you thought a few protests of such bills might be of service to our affairs in Holland. Perhaps none can arrive that may bear a protest with less inconvenience, and I think the practice will never cease if not stopped by protesting. The bills are not drawn upon you nor recommended to your care by Congress, and unless you have reason to believe that in the term of six months you may by earnest application obtain remittances to discharge them, I can not advise your accepting them.

I have the honor to be, with great respect, etc.

---

* Franklin, MSS. Dep. of State.

Lovell to J. Adams.*

PHILADELPHIA, *September* 1, 1781.

SIR: Enclosed you have some important instructions passed in Congress upon the 16th of last month. They will probably reach you first through our minister at Versailles, an opportunity to France having earliest presented itself. Should that not be the case, you will be careful to furnish copies to Doctor Franklin and Mr. Jay.

I remain, &c.,

JAMES LOVELL,
For the Committee of Foreign Affairs.

Dana to Verac, Ambassador from France.†

ST. PETERSBURGH, *September* 1, 1781.‡

SIR: I have the honor to acquaint your excellency that the Congress of the United States of America have been pleased to charge me with a commission as their minister at the court of St. Petersburgh, and that they have also particularly instructed me to make a communication of the general object of my mission to his most Christian majesty's minister at the same court. This last measure was doubtless the effect of that full confidence they have, not only in his majesty and his ministers in general, but in your excellency in an especial manner, and is strongly expressive of their earnest wish and persuasion that their negociations at this court may and will be conducted in perfect harmony with those of his majesty, and that they rest assured that his benevolence and friendship towards the United States and the general course of humanity are sufficient inducements to draw forth the most powerful aid and support of his majesty in the business of this mission, the general object of which is to engage her Imperial majesty to favor and support the sovereignty and independence of the United States of America, and to lay a foundation for a good understanding and friendly intercourse between the subjects of her Imperial majesty and the citizens of the United States, to the mutual advantage of both nations, and consistent with the treaties subsisting between his most Christian majesty and the United States.

Thus a foundation is laid in this quarter the more strongly to cement the interests and affections of our two countries. And I feel myself inexpressibly happy that it has fallen to my lot to be connected in this business with a person so distinguished as well for his benevolence of heart as for the eminence of his abilities; and I flatter myself your ex-

---

* MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 475; 7 J. Adams' Works, 465.

† MSS. Dep. of State; 4 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Cor., 580.

‡ Almost all Mr. Dana's letters from Russia were dated in the *old style*. In preparing them for the press the dates have been altered to *new style*.—SPARKS.

cellency will at all times be ready to afford me every assistance in your power which I may need in the execution of my mission.

I have the honor to be, with the highest respect, &c.,

FRANCIS DANA.

Verac to Dana.*

[Translation.]

ST. PETERSBURGH, *September* 2, 1781.

SIR: I have received the letter which you did me the honor to write to me yesterday, and I can not too strongly express to you how sensible I am of the mark of confidence which you have shown me in communicating the views proposed by the Congress of the United States of America when they decided to send you to the court of Russia as their minister plenipotentiary to the empress. You know, sir, the deep interest which the king takes in the cause of the United States, and you need not doubt that I shall be anxious to render you here all the services in my power and which the circumstances of place and persons will permit.

At this moment I can not better reciprocate your confidence than by making you acquainted with the general dispositions of her Imperial majesty in regard to the powers at war. From the commencement of hostilities this sovereign has made it a point of honor to hold the balance perfectly equal between the different parties, taking particular care not to manifest any kind of preference by carefully avoiding every advance which could indicate the slightest partiality in favor of either of the belligerent powers to the prejudice of the others. It is this equitable and perfectly impartial conduct which has determined the courts of the house of Bourbon, as well as that of London and the States-General, to accept the offers of this princess, when she proposed to terminate their differences by a mediation conjointly with that of the emperor;† and you are certainly not ignorant, sir, that her first plan of pacification has been sent to all the courts that are interested. I confide to you also that the United States of America are to take a part in it, and that these august mediators desire that your deputies may be admitted to the congress which shall regulate the pretensions of the belligerent powers, that they may there be able to debate and discuss their own interests. Thus you have in few words the state of things at the court of Russia, and you will readily comprehend that her Imperial majesty, not wishing to dissatisfy the court of London more than those of Versailles and Madrid, abstains with the greatest possible care from showing any particular inclination for the American cause.

---

*MSS. Dep. of State; 4 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 588.

†So far as this implies an acceptance of mediation (and not a mere recognition of the proposal) it is an error. Great Britain refused the mediation promptly, and the Bourbon courts after some deliberation.

Under these circumstances, sir, it is very doubtful whether the cabinet of her Imperial majesty will consent to recognize the minister of a power which has not as yet, in their eyes, a political existence, and expose themselves to the complaints which the court of London will not fail to make against an indication of favor so public. I ought, therefore, to desire you to reflect much before you display the character with which you are clothed, or make advances which will be more injurious than beneficial to the success of your views. It is not now as the minister of the king that I have the honor to speak, but as a man, whom the residence of a year in this place has furnished with local knowledge which you can not have acquired. If, however, you overcome this difficulty, if you commence a negotiation with the Russian minister, and will do me the honor to make me acquainted with it, you need not doubt that I shall strive most cheerfully to second you in everything which shall concern the common interest. Be persuaded, moreover, that on the occasions when I shall deem it my duty to remain inactive it will be because I am well satisfied that any advance on my part would be injurious to one without any advantage to the other.

I can add nothing to the sincerity of my wishes for the success of your mission, or to the distinguished sentiments with which I have the honor to be, &c.,

THE MARQUIS DE VERAC.

P. S.—I ought to inform you that the Count Panin and the Count d'Ostermann do not understand English; this will render your communications with these ministers difficult.

J. Laurens to the President of Congress.*

PHILADELPHIA, *September* 2, 1781.

Sir: Happy in this opportunity of renewing the assurances of my inviolable duty and attachment to the United States in Congress assembled, I have the honor of submitting to them a supplementary report of the negociation with which they were pleased to entrust me by their commission of the 23d of December, 1780.

Previous to my arrival in France the letter from Congress of the 22d of December to his most Christian majesty had been delivered, and the application for succors supported by our minister plenipotentiary, the result of which was a gratuitous donation from the king of France of six millions of livres, to be drawn for by General Washington at distant periods, and an offer to provide clothing and other supplies for the army, the expense to be deducted from the donation above mentioned. The disproportion between this sum and the necessities of the United States upon which their demand was founded, as well as the exceptionable

* MSS. Dep. of State.; 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 172.

manner of touching the money, determined me without delay to renew the negociation, in which I had the concurrence of our minister plenipotentiary and the advantage of his counsels.

After my first interview with the Count de Vergennes I presented in form of a memorial, a copy of which has been transmitted to Congress, an extract of a letter from General Washington, written in consequence of my conference with him by order of Congress, making such small additions as were suggested by the state of the business. The advantage of the General's credit in Europe made me prefer his letter to any common form of memorial, especially as he had treated the principal objects of my mission in a manner no less full and explicit than conformable to the ideas of Congress.

I accompanied it with the estimate of the board of war, after making a deduction of many articles, the demand of which I apprehended would throw an unfavorable cast over the whole business. A translated duplicate of the complete estimate had been long since delivered by Dr. Franklin. The Count de Vergennes exclaimed vehemently against the exorbitance of the demand, to which the strength of our army was so disproportioned, adding that duplicate cargoes of such value could not be afforded, and that the articles demanded would exhaust all our money; for he refused to understand, as I did, the intention of Congress to solicit the supplies in addition to the loan.

Argument and expostulation on this subject were fruitless. In pursuance of his definitive request I formed a reduced list, agreeable to No. 1, accompanied by a letter, copy of which has been transmitted. An allowance was made for the *La Fayette's* cargo, as well as a very imperfect sketch of it could enable me. This list was immediately referred to the war department. In all my interviews with the ministers I endeavored to represent in their strongest light the following important truths: That notwithstanding the unalterable determination of the United States to support their independence, notwithstanding the virtue and firmness of the citizens in general, the immense pecuniary resources of Great Britain and her constant naval superiority were advantages too decisive to be counterbalanced by any interior exertions on the part of the United States. That these must infallibly impose a term to the efforts of a nation whose extended maritime and inland frontier rendered her obnoxious to sudden descents and incursions on all sides; whose army was consequently exposed to excessive marches, attended with insupportable expense of money and waste of soldiers; that the exhausted state of their finances reduced Congress to the impossibility of calling the natural resources of the country into activity; that the aggravated calamities of a war which in its principles had been precautionary began now to produce dangerous uneasinesses and discontents; that we had concealed enemies to contend against; that the British left no measures unattempted either of open force or secret intrigue; and, finally, that unless instant succor were afforded, as solicited by Congress,

France was in danger of losing all the fruits of the part she had itherto taken in the contest; that if, instead of being actuated by a enerous and enlightened policy, the court of France had systematically rotracted the war, in order that Britain and America might mutually xhaust themselves, while she had reserved her power to decide only in he last extremity, this period with respect to America was arrived; hat the importance of the objects of the war on one hand, and the ischiefs of suffering Great Britain to reannex to herself the resources f America, demanded the greatest exertions; the honor of the king, s well as the national interest, was engaged; and that, considering he flourishing state of the French marine and finances, the succor so- cited was as easy as, considering our situation, it was indispensable.

I endeavored above all to hasten their determinations. The general anguage held by the ministry was that the demands of Congress were xcessive; that to induce succor from their ally there should be reater exertions on the part of the United States; that the king had he greatest good will toward them, but that the expenditures of the ar were immense; the necessity of supporting a maritime war in dif- erent quarters and the indispensable defence of his own colonies mited his power of giving assistance; that the public credit of France, owever good, had its limits, which it were dangerous to exceed; that he administration of the American finances was not calculated to in- pire confidence; that a dangerous wound had been given to our pub- c credit by the resolution of the 18th of March, 1780, a measure which, owever judicious it might have been in time of peace, was exceedingly ernicious in time of war; that the application of Congress was tardive, nd by its suddenness excluded expedients which might otherwise have een employed for our relief; that with regard to the national interest nd honor, France had been a great kingdom and the king a powerful ionarch, when America was composed of feeble colonies.

To this kind of discourse I answered by enlarging on the natural and olitical disadvantages of America in the present contest; the fertile esources of the British, their power and activity; the impossibility of ur supporting a paper credit without a foundation of specie, adding hat the Continental currency must have died a natural death if it had ot been checked at a late stage of depreciation by the act of Congress question; that persons who had clamored most on this subject had een instrumental in hastening the discredit of our paper by various ommercial speculations, but that the downfall of the currency must be ttributed principally to a want of funds for its support; for this object ongress were now renewing their application in the most pressing rms; that the King of France's glory could not but suffer if the Brit- h triumphed in the present dispute, as his consideration in Europe ould be lessened by it; that his interests besides, and those of his ingdom, would certainly be deeply wounded by a reaccession of Amer- a to Great Britain, and that the same fleet and army which would

prove decisive there would be at hand to possess themselves of the French islands.

The absence of the Marquis de Castries, minister for the marine department, on a vacation produced some delay. I waited on this minister immediately on his return to court, observed to him that the most important decisions relative to the common cause of France and America had been suspended on account of his absence; urged him particularly on the great point of a naval superiority, reminding him that the British marine was the principal instrument of their power; that the efforts of the allies to reduce this force could nowhere be made with such a prospect of success as on the American coast; that it would be very easy, after a decisive campaign in America, in which his personal glory was so much interested, to transport a sufficient force from the continent to reduce any British island; that in the mean time the French islands would be in the most perfect security. He repeated nearly what he had said at our first interview, with stronger assurances of his prospects of a naval superiority on our coast the ensuing campaign.

In a word, I used every argument of national interest and added such personal motives as I thought applicable to the different ministers.

On the 8th of April Count de Vergennes communicated to me his most Christian majesty's determination to become security for a loan of ten million of livres, to be opened on account of the United States in Holland; that he had immediately despatched a courier extraordinary to M. de la Vauguyon with a letter relative to this business; that I had reason to be satisfied with this, in addition to the donation of six millions and four millions that had been appropriated for the payment of bills drawn on Mr. Franklin. I pressed him by many arguments to leave an opening for the remaining five millions; exposed the false policy of incomplete succors; observed that Congress had solicited no more than was necessary; that there should be no other limits to the present succor than the invincible bounds of possibility; that it was not the condition on which the money was obtained, but the sum and opportuneness of remitting it, that were above all important; that in this point of view I would prefer converting the donation into a loan if it would make the advance more convenient to the French finances and facilitate the augmentation of the total sum destined for the United States. I repeated the same thing to the director-general of finance, but their answer was the king had passed his word and could not retract.

I entreated both M. de Vergennes and M. Necker not to abandon the United States to the operation of a loan, but to secure us from the finances of France the sum in question, and, above all, to make immediate arrangements for the remittance of it.

In the mean time I pressed the minister of marine on the subject of ships, but I found that it was far from the intention of the court to fur-

nish the means for remitting any considerable sum immediately. Count de Vergennes urged the imprudence of exposing such precious succors to a simultaneous risk, and the necessity of dividing the danger by successive remittances, adding besides that, as permission had been given to draw, an allowance was to be made on this account and a provisional sum for payment retained; that pursuant to these ideas it had been solemnly determined to send no more than two millions in a frigate with me. I observed that the first difficulty would be obviated by proportioning the escort to the value of the specie; with regard to the other objection, I gave it as my opinion that no bills would be drawn in consequence of the mode for touching the donation of six millions. The count said that I was not sufficiently impressed with what had been already done on our account, and appealed to our minister plenipotentiary. In addition to the warmest verbal remonstrances on the subject I presented the memorial No. 2.

In these circumstances I was induced to make an arrangement with Captain Gillon, of the frigate *South Carolina*, in order to secure an unexceptionable conveyance for a further remittance of specie as well as for other reasons to be mentioned hereafter. This conveyance being approved by the ministry, it was proposed by M. Necker that one million should be remitted by this opportunity, two in the frigate from France as above mentioned, and that an arrangement should be made with the Spaniards for a further remittance from Vera Cruz, agreeably to an offer from their agent in Paris. Unfortunately while this latter plan was in agitation the agent received intelligence that the whole of the Spanish treasure destined for Europe had arrived safe at the Havana, in consequence of which he changed the terms of his first proposal from an order payable at sight to bills at six months' date. This, joined to the disagreeable intelligence from Holland of the failure of the loan proposed on account of the United States, occasioned my giving the memorial No. 3, to the director-general, and insisting in several interviews with him on the necessity of something decisive in his department, adding that that administration could not pursue a better plan for securing the triumph of Great Britain than the present system of giving inadequate and dilatory succor to America.

All that I could obtain was an addition of half a million to the specie to be embarked at Brest and about the same sum to that in Gillon's ship. The director-general informed me that he had passed the sum of the proposed loan to the debit of the king's finances, and repeated his assurances that our further remittances should be made successively.

I have already informed Congress that the reduced list of supplies had been referred to the war department; there it had to undergo a recopying and more methodical distribution under several heads. I used my endeavors to hasten the decisions on this subject and to procure orders at least with respect to some particular articles, the pro-

viding of which obviously required more early notice than others; but he said no partial arrangement could be made, and that a decision must be definitively given in council upon the whole business previous to his engaging in the execution of his part.

On the 1st of April I received a letter from M. de Corney, provincial commissary [of which No. 4 is extract],* informing me that the Marquis De Segur had appointed M. de Viemerange, in conjunction with him, to confer with me on the objects of the estimate and the time and means of procuring them. I immediately repaired to Versailles for this purpose.

As the ancient administration for clothing the French troops was abolished, and each regiment in France makes its own contracts for habiliments and equipments, there exists no public magazine of supplies in this way either in the war or marine department, and there was no other resource for this article than the remainder of some supplies at Brest, which had been provided for General Rochambeau's army. It was proposed then to cede these to the United States, and continue the provision upon the same terms as had been settled for the king's service. The quantity was extremely inconsiderable compared even with the reduced list which I had delivered, the time proposed for augmenting it was long, and my prospects upon the whole were very discouraging; but the impossibility of doing better in present circumstances obliged me to yield. [No. 5 contains the memorandum of agreement on this subject with Sabatier & Co.]* The difficulties and delays, however, which occurred in this transaction, and a persuasion that it would not be so economical as I had at first been taught to expect, were powerful additional motives with me for accepting Captain Gillon's offer relative to the *South Carolina* frigate in order to avail myself of the supplies in his possession, and to complete his vacant tonnage by purchases in Holland, where the vicinity of the seaport and manufacturing towns insured despatch. Copies of all the papers relative to the supplies are in the hands of the minister plenipotentiary. I apprized him of the necessity of watching the punctual execution of the terms of Sabatier & Co.'s agreement, notwithstanding the superintendence of the war department. The artillery, arms, ammunition, and encamping supplies were to be collected at Brest from different arsenals in Brittany and elsewhere at the same rates on which they are provided for the national service.

When the subject of casting howitzers conformably to the British calibre came to be more minutely and definitively discussed, difficulties with respect to the scarcity of materials, the danger of errors in the proportion, the want of a proper person to inspect the business—in a word, objections of different kinds were started; these, added to the consideration of the facility of casting shells in America, determined me finally to substitute six-inch howitzers of French calibre. Experi-

* Not in Sparks' ed.

ce has proved, on a comparison of their effects with those of the ger sized howitzers, that the difference is negligible, and that the mer will answer all the purposes of the latter, while their proportions der them more manageable and economise ammunition. The French illerists, enlightened by this discovery, have determined the reform all their larger howitzers.

Upon my arrival at Brest I found the whole of the articles agreed be furnished for the first convoy were not yet arrived. In these cir-nstances I substituted some articles which I found in the magazine re, that there might not be any further loss of time, and that there uld be the least possible interval between our sailing and the em-kation of the specie, which, once commenced, could not be kept secret passing through a number of hands, and might be a temptation to erprises on the part of the enemy. The same motive determined not to shift the whole of the money into cases which would have en more portable. This precaution became indispensable, however, h respect to two of the casks, that had suffered too much from the lent shaking on the road to be embarked in that condition, and hough all the casks are double, I apprehend the most scrupulous e will be necessary in their debarkation and removal. No. 6 is the evalier de l'Angle's receipt for the specie on board the frigate *Resolue;* . 7, the copy of the treasurer's note at Brest; Nos. 8 and 9, invoices the cargoes on board the *Cibelle* and the *Olimpe.* Besides these, the ole of the surgical instruments, drugs, and tin and wire for camp ttles, agreeably to the board of war's estimate, are supplied upon the ne footing as the other articles. The drugs and tin I expect in the gantine *Active.* In addition to the list No. 5, I left a state of the erior demands, No. 10. These, in addition to the cargo expected by lon and the invoices already cited, include the total of the supplies. The deduction of money for their payment was incompatible with so ple a provision as prudence might otherwise have dictated. Neces-ted to confine myself to a reduced list of the most indispensable cles, in order to leave the sum for remittances as unimpaired as pos-e, I avoided every purchase and additional expense of workmanship t could be readily supplied by our artizans and manufacturers at ne, as the money expended here, besides accomplishing the primary ct, after descending in various channels to the encouragement of and animation of industry among ourselves, would return its con-ution to the great reservoir of public resources.

am sorry not to be able to give Congress a more satisfactory and nitive account of Captain Gillon's proceedings. The papers num-d as in the margin will show the measures I had taken and all the lligence I had received relative to this business previous to my rture. Relying on the zeal and activity of Captain Jackson, aided he counsels of the minister plenipotentiary in Holland, I can not rehend any improper delay.

Captain Jackson alone was intrusted with the secret of the specie t be embarked. I enjoined him not to communicate it to anyone unt the moment when it should become necessary to embark it, and, tha the bankers might not be apprized of its destination, I sent the orde for it enclosed to him.

I used every argument, at taking leave of the several ministers, tha I thought could influence, and, previous to my departure from Bres renewed my solicitations in writing. I imagine some further effort wi have been made relative to the loan in Holland, but, at all events, th ten millions are to be supplied from the King of France's finances. Th Marquis de Castries and M. Necker were to concert the future remi tances. They gave me fair promises on the subject, and Count de Ve gennes assured me he would press them. He likewise gave me son hopes of credit for the supplies of military stores. The naval superio ity, it is expected, will be established on the American coast for a suf cient time to enable us to enterprise something important.

[No. 17 is a note which an excess of precaution in Count de Vergenn induced him to put in cyphers, of which the Chevalier de la Luzern possesses the key.]*

Enclosed herewith is an answer from the most Christian king to m letter of credence. Count de Vergennes informed me that an answer t the other letter of Congress had been already despatched.

At taking leave of his most Christian majesty he desired me to rene his assurances of affection to the United States. The succeeding da his majesty honored me with the accustomed present of his portrai Republican strictness and the utility of the precedent lead me to ref it to the supreme representative of the majesty of the American peopl the organ of that sovereign will to which I am devoted.

The *Resolue* sailed from Brest with the *Cibelle* and *Olimpe* under h convoy the 1st of June. The judicious precautions and unwearied a tention of the Chevalier de l'Angle, commander of the frigate, relati to his convoy, during a passage in which we experienced every contr riety, deserves the highest applause.

I entreat the further orders of Congress, being exceedingly solicito to lose no time in rejoining the army.

I have the honor to be, with greatest respect, &c.,

JOHN LAURENS.

P. S.—My first intention was to have steered for Philadelphia, b learning from a vessel which we pursued for the purpose of intelligenc that Count de Grasse was not arrived, I judged it most prudent to ma a safe eastern port, and arrived at Boston the afternoon of the 25 ultimo.

J. L.

* Passage in brackets not in Sparks' ed.

Morris to the Governors of the States.*

OFFICE OF FINANCE, *September* 4, 1781.

SIR: I do myself the honor to enclose the plan of a national bank hich I laid before the United States in Congress assembled on the 17th ıy of May last, and which was adopted by them on the 26th. I have ow the pleasure to inform your excellency that an election for direct- s will be held in this city on the first day of November next.

It is important that the execution of this plan be facilitated as much s possible, and particularly that of it which relates to the currency of ıe bank notes. The inhabitants of the United States already suffer om the want of a circulating medium. Of consequence the taxes must oon press heavily on the people. My feelings conspire with my duty prompting me to alleviate those burdens. Therefore I pray the peedy attention of your legislature to that resolution by which the otes are to be receivable in payment of all taxes, duties, or debts due, that may become due or payable, to the United States.

I do not doubt either the credit or currency of bank notes, but I wish render them equally useful to America in the individual as well as llective capacity, and to supply the necessities of the husbandman as ell as the merchant. I shall not at present mention the other articles be attended to, nor will I adduce any arguments in favor of my esent proposition, as it is evidently calculated for the ease and bene- of the people you preside over. I hope, however, that your legisla- ıre will not only pass the proper laws to make bank notes receivable the manner mentioned in the resolution, but that it will be done on.

With all possible respect, &c.,

ROBERT MORRIS.†

---

* 6 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 332.

† *September* 5. The commander-in-chief having repeatedly urged, both by letter d in conversation, the necessity of advancing a month's pay to the detachment of oops marching to the southward under the command of Major-General Lincoln, d my funds and resources being at this time totally inadequate to make that ad- nce, and at the same time answer the various demands that are indispensable, I ade application to the Count de Rochambeau for a loan of twenty thousand hard llars for such time as his military chest could without inconvenience spare that m, promising repayment at the time he should name.

I was desired to meet the count at the Chevalier de la Luzerne's house, which I l on Wednesday, the 5th instant, where I met the said minister, Count de Rocham- au, and General Chastellux. They informed me of their strong desire to comply th my request, but that their treasury was at present not well filled, considering e daily drains upon it, and that although they had money arrived at Boston, it ould require six or eight weeks to get it from thence; that although they expected oney by the fleet of Count de Grasse, yet it was not then arrived, and of course that pply was less certain than the other; that the intendant and the treasurer were set t for the head of the Elk, and their consent was necessary: however, they concluded is subject with requesting that I should ride down to Chester, where we should

Franklin to Jay.*

VERSAILLES, *September* 4, 1781.

DEAR SIR: I received a few days since a very obliging letter fro you. I have it not with me here, and therefore can not mention th date. I shall answer it particularly by the next opportunity. Thi serves chiefly to cover the communication of two letters which I hav received, one from Mr. Adams relative to the proposed mediation, th other from some merchants who possess Congress drafts of a late dat I have declared my opinion of those drawn on Mr. Laurens, that w have nothing to do with them, †[and that I can give no expectations o their being paid. I believe I sent you a copy of M. le Comte de Ver gennes' letter, in which I am explicitly told that I shall not be assiste to pay any drafts made after the 1st of April. You will see that th promise of drawing no more upon you has not been kept; and you wi judge for yourself whether it will be right for you to accept these ne bills; but I ought to acquaint you that I see no prospect at present o my being able to help you in paying them.] I just now hear that M Adams is very ill. I think it would be of service if you and I coul meet. Can not you make a trip to Paris, or will you meet me at Bo deaux? Mr. Laurens is not likely to be at liberty to join us, and it i perhaps a question whether Mr. Jefferson will cross the seas. He refuse

---

overtake those gentlemen, and if it were possible on consideration of all circumstanc they would supply the money required.

General Washington was extremely desirous that the troops should receive the month's pay, as great symptoms of discontent had appeared on their passing throug this city without it. This affair being considered of great importance, I desired M Gouverneur Morris, my assistant, to accompany me, on account of his speaking fl ently the French language. We set out at three o'clock for Chester, and on the ro met an express from General Washington, who left us in the morning to join h troops at the head of the Elk, with the agreeable news of the safe arrival of Cou de Grasse and his fleet in the Chesapeake. This news I received with infinite sati faction on every account, and among the rest one reason was the facility it wou give the French treasury in complying with my views, and this I found was actual the case, as Count de Rochambeau very readily agreed at Chester to supply at t head of the Elk twenty thousand hard dollars to such person as I should appoint receive them. I engaged to replace the same sum in their treasury by the 1st day October next.

On Thursday forenoon I returned to this city about twelve o'clock, having be impeded in my journey by meeting the last division of the French army, their art lery, and baggage, on the road. On my return I immediately despatched Mr. Phi Audibert, deputy paymaster-general, to the head of the Elk, with orders to rece the money, pay the troops, &c.. agreeably to instructions given him in writing. the conferences with Count de Rochambeau and General Chastellux they ask whether, if upon any occasion their treasury should stand in need of temporary ai I thought they could procure loans in this city. I answered that money is ve scarce, that the people who have property generally keep it employed, and that certain dependence can be placed on any given sums; but that I knew the people be very generally disposed to assist our generous allies, and should such occasi

* MSS. Dep. of State; 2 Corr. and Pub. Papers of John Jay, 65.

† In letter book begins at bracket.

the appointment of coming with me, and I shall not wonder if Mr. Adams should return before the treaty commences, in which case the business will rest much with us two. I have many reasons for desiring to converse with you besides the pleasure it would give me.

With great and sincere esteem, I am, dear sir, &c.

Dana to Verac.*

ST. PETERSBURGH, *September* 4, 1781.

SIR: I have received the letter which your excellency did me the honor to write to me yesterday in answer to mine of the day before, communicating to you the general object of my mission.

It is impossible for me to express the obligations I feel myself under to your excellency for letting yourself so readily, and with so much frankness, into the state of affairs at this court, so far as I could have any concern in them, and for your confidential communication respecting the proposition for the admission of the American minister into the proposed congress—a proposition founded in eternal justice, and which can not fail to reflect immortal glory upon the august mediators. Although I had before been acquainted with this, and also that the court of London had rejected the mediation on that very account, yet I deemed it so very productive an event, and of so much importance to the interests of my country, that I had proposed, after being honored with your answer to my first, to write to your ex-

---

offer, I was certain they would exert themselves; and as to my own part, they might on every occasion command my utmost services, assistance, and exertions, both as a public officer and as an individual. I mentioned to them again the affair of exchange, showing that they had reduced the price below what it had been raised to by my measures, and requested that in future, when they expected to raise money by bills, they should in good time previously lodge them with the minister, and that, on his giving me timely notice, I would cause the most advantageous sale to be made of them, and deliver him the money without any other charge or deduction than the expense of the brokerage.

I observed that this mode of proceeding was now become essentially necessary, as there is no general market for bills of exchange to the southward, but that Philadelphia, in that respect, is as Boston to the eastern States. They answered that they expected to procure their supplies with money without occasion to draw bills, but if it happened otherwise they would pursue my advice. In regard to the articles of provisions, forage, wood, transportation, &c., necessary for their army, and which, when at camp, I had offered to procure for them on the same terms as for the Continental army, by contract, I proposed to postpone that matter, as it might be best to continue their present method of supplies during the active scenes they are likely to be engaged in, as their agents have given satisfaction, and are acquainted in the country where they are going, and that I could advertise for proposals to supply them the ensuing winter, and lay before them such offers or proposals as I should receive. This appeared very satisfactory, and here that subject rests for the present.—*Morris' Diary.*

* MSS. Dep. of State; 4 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 583.

cellency upon that subject, and also to request your sentiments and opinions upon the actual state of things at this court, but your goodness has anticipated my design.

You will not impute it to a proper want of respect for your sentiments and opinions if I presume to raise some doubts and to make some reflections upon them. For whether they come from the Marquis de Verac or from the minister of France, they make an equal impression upon my mind, and it is at present a matter of indifference to me. The wisdom of her Imperial majesty in making it, as you express yourself, "from the moment the first hostilities commenced, a point of honor to hold the balance perfectly equal between the different parties, taking particular care not to manifest any kind of preference by carefully avoiding every advance which could indicate the slightest partiality in favor of either of the belligerent powers to the prejudice of the others," cannot be too much admired. But it would be paying an ill compliment to that penetration for which her majesty is so justly celebrated to suppose that she did not also, from that very moment, clearly discover the importance of the American Revolution, at least to all the maritime powers of Europe, and that it was the only basis upon which could be erected her favorite and just system of equal freedom and commerce and navigation to all nations.

She might hope to obtain this great end and to acquire the glory of mediating between the belligerent powers at one and the same time. Upon this supposition that exact neutrality she has hitherto held was both wise and necessary. It was necessary, above all, that she should abstain with the greatest care, from manifesting a particular inclination for the cause of America. It seems her system of politics must have undergone an essential change, and that it has now become absolutely impossible for her Imperial majesty any longer to conceal her particular inclination for the cause of America, since she, in conjunction with the emperor, has proposed that the minister of the United States should be admitted into the congress for settling the pretensions of the belligerent powers, and there to debate himself and discuss their proper interests. This is to rank America (as in fact she stands) among the belligerent powers, and in a manner to acknowledge her independence. It is making a much larger stride towards it, I confess, than I expected would have been made in the first plan of pacification. That they must come to it at last I have been long firmly persuaded.

I must take the liberty to differ in opinion from your excellency when you say in the present circumstances it is very doubtful whether the ministry of her Imperial majesty will acknowledge a minister from the United States of America, more especially when I reflect upon the principal reasons you assign for this opinion. I can no longer consider myself as "the minister of a power which has not, as yet, in her eyes a political existence." It is difficult to conceive upon what ground her

Imperial majesty could propose that a minister, appointed for the express purpose by the United States of America in Congress assembled, should be admitted into a congress to be held for settling the pretensions of the belligerent powers, if she did not admit the political existence of that body and consider it as a complete sovereign. The fact is indeniably true, and no fallacy of our enemies can invalidate it, that the United States of America have been, ever since the 4th of July, 1776, a free, sovereign, and independent body-politic. Your illustrious sovereign made this declaration in the face of the whole world more than three years since; and I flatter myself the time has now come when other sovereigns are prepared to make the same, if properly invited to do it. Neither can I imagine that her Imperial majesty will now give herself much concern about any groundless complaints which the court of London may make against such a public mark of respect for my sovereign as my open reception in the character of its minister would be. I can not but consider her Imperial majesty's line of conduct in this respect decided by the above proposition, which she made as mediator between the belligerent powers. No one could more deeply wound the court of London. She must have contemplated as probable, at least, what I think might have been almost certainly predicted, namely, the rejection of her mediation by the court of London on account of that very proposition, and have resolved upon her measures in consequence of it. She could never have committed the honor and dignity of her imperial crown to so improbable a contingency as the court of London accepting her mediation upon the terms upon which it was tendered.

Having seen Britain in vain attempting for more than six years the reduction of the United States without being able in all that time to conquer one of them; finding them to continue inflexibly firm through all their variety of fortune in the war and still in full possession of their independence; seeing several of the principal powers of Europe long involved in the contest; having observed between them the strictest neutrality to this moment; and having at last freely tendered her good offices to bring about a general pacification upon the most reasonable and just grounds and principles, which the court of London has thought proper to reject, still keeping up their absurd claims over the United States, it would seem, after all this, that there now remained but one step for her Imperial majesty to take, consistent with her dignity (for I presume the mediators can not withdraw their proposition), which is to acknowledge the independence of America as the most probable means, if not the only one, now left to restore peace to both Europe and America, and effectually to establish freedom of commerce and navigation to all nations.

If the sovereigns of Europe do not see this to be the proper moment for putting the finishing stroke to so glorious a work, when is it to be expected the critical moment will arrive? How long are they likely to

wait before they presume to form political connexions with, and enjoy the profitable commerce of, the New World? Will they stay till the pride and arrogance of Britain shall be so far humbled as voluntarily to give up her chimerical claims over the United States, and to invite them into this political connexion?

These are the sentiments and opinions of a man who feels the want of experience in the business of courts and of that local information both of which your excellency possesses in so eminent a degree. It is, therefore, with much diffidence I venture to differ from yours. I have endeavored to follow that example of frankness you have set me in your communication; and I hope I have treated your sentiments and opinions with all that decency and respect which everything which may come from you demands of me. If I am wrong, I trust you will have the goodness to set me right. I have already reflected upon this subject, but I shall most certainly attend to your friendly caution, and reflect again upon it before I open the character with which I am clothed, and be careful to avoid engaging myself in any measure which may become more prejudicial than advantageous to the success of my views. On the other hand, when I see no difficulty in adopting the measure I shall presently mention, it becomes my indispensable duty to adopt it, because it appears to me to be betraying the honor and dignity of the United States to seclude myself in a hotel, without making one effort to step forth into political life; besides, I think I owe this also to her Imperial majesty, who, it is possible, may have matured her political plan to the utmost gratification of my wishes. If otherwise, I presume I shall, nevertheless, be treated in such a manner as will reflect no dishonor upon the sovereign authority of the United States or upon myself individually considered. If the experiment is not made, the United States can never be satisfied that in a juncture apparently so favorable it would not have succeeded, and their minister would find it extremely difficult to justify before them a state of absolute inaction.

At present I should be puzzled for reasons to vindicate such a conduct, while they seem to crowd in upon me in support of a contrary one. The United States trust to the justice of their cause and the rectitude of their intentions to open the way for them into the affections of the sovereigns of Europe. They have no sinister, no dishonorable propositions to make to any of them, but such only as they are persuaded will essentially promote the great interests and well-being of all. The measure I propose to take is to make a confidential communication of my public character to the proper minister of her majesty and of the general object of my mission, and perhaps to accompany those with a short memorial to her majesty. I shall ask and conform to his advice, if he is pleased to give it to me, as to the proper time of presenting the memorial or taking any other step in the business of my mission, and ask him in the mean time to assure me of the protection

of her majesty. I shall acquaint him that I have not yet assumed any public character, or made it known to any person but to your excellency, (in obedience to my instructions) that I am invested with one; and that I shall not do either without his approbation.

As I have done in this instance, so your excellency may be persuaded I shall in future make you fully acquainted with any negociation I may enter upon with the Russian ministry, because I rely upon the support you have been pleased to assure to me in everything that I may undertake which may concern the common interests of our two countries, and which you should not think injurious to the one without being beneficial to the other. I must crave your excellency's pardon for the length of this letter, and hope you will impute that to the desire I have to impart to you fully my sentiments and intentions touching the subject of it.

I have the honor to be, with sentiments of the highest respect, &c.,

FRANCIS DANA.

Washington to Morris.*

HEAD OF THE ELK, *September* 6, 1781.

DEAR SIR: Every day discovers to me the increasing necessity of some money for the troops. I hope by this time you are provided to give a month's pay. I find it of the last importance to hasten forward myself to join the Marquis de la Fayette as soon as possible. I may leave this in a few hours; I cannot do it, however, without entreating you in the warmest terms to send on a month's pay at least with all the expedition possible. I wish it to come on the wings of speed.

I am, dear sir, &c.,

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

Morris to Washington.†

CHESTER, *September* 6, 1781.

DEAR GENERAL: Permit me most sincerely to congratulate you on the arrival of the French fleet, and to express my warmest wishes for the success of your future operations.

As soon as I arrive at Philadelphia I shall give directions for the deputy paymaster to repair to the Head of the Elk and make the payment of a month's pay in specie to the detachment under the command of General Lincoln. I wish the States had enabled me to do more, but it is to be lamented that the supineness of the several legislatures still leaves the servants of the public to struggle with unmerited distresses. It shall, however, be a part of my business to rouse them into exertion,

---

* 6 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 335.

† 6 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 334.

and I hope soon to see the army better paid than heretofore, and I confide that your excellency will, with every other public officer, exert your influence to aid me in this necessary task.

With the greatest respect, &c.,

ROBERT MORRIS.

Morris to Rochambeau.*

OFFICE OF FINANCE, *September* 6, 1781.

SIR: In consequence of the conversation I had the honor to hold with your excellency yesterday, and your promise to supply the United States with the sum of twenty thousand dollars for an immediate purpose, to be replaced on the 1st day of October next, I have directed Mr. Philip Audibert, the bearer of this letter, to wait upon you. I shall be much obliged to your excellency if you will be pleased to direct that the above sum be paid to Mr. Audibert, and that duplicate receipts be taken of him, one of which I pray may be transmitted to me. I will take care that the money be replaced at the time agreed upon.

With every wish for the most brilliant success to the allied arms, and for your own personal glory, I am, very respectfully, &c.

ROBERT MORRIS.

J. Laurens to the President of Congress.†

PHILADELPHIA, *September* 6, 1781.

SIR: In consequence of the desire of the committee of conference on the subject of my mission to France, I do myself the honor to communicate to Congress all the information I am possessed of relative to the present situation of the Hon. Henry Laurens, and the prospect of his enlargement or exchange. It appears from the letter of a gentleman in London, who had access to him under certain restrictions, that though the rigor of his confinement was in some degree abated, he still labored under several interdictions and restraints as unprecedented as illiberal, and that the British court still affected to consider him as amenable to their municipal laws, and maintained the idea of a future trial.

After I had finished the general business with which Congress had charged me, I consulted the several ministers at the court of France upon the proper measures to be taken when such a flagrant violation of the laws of nations had been offered in the person of a public minister, and solicited their intervention and assistance. They all declared that however anxious they were to restore to his country a citizen so valuable by his services, they had not the least hope that any benefit

*6 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 333.

†MSS. Dep. of State; 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 180, with verbal changes.

would be derived from their interference, the British court being as little disposed to gratify the court of France as they were to gratify the United States; and the unanimous opinion of these gentlemen further was, that nothing would determine the British to pursue a reasonable conduct in the present case but the most exact retaliation on the part of Congress. For this purpose they advised that one or more British prisoners of sufficient note and importance to cause a sensation by their own complaints, or those of their friends, to their court, should be held as securities for the safety of Mr. Laurens, and that their mode of confinement and treatment should invariably follow the rule of the conduct of the British Government towards him.

In addition to the report which I had the honor to make the 2d instant, I take the present opportunity of enclosing to Congress the duplicate * account of the frigate *Alliance's* disbursements by Messrs. Gourlade and Moylan, of L'Orient. The misfortune of Mr. Palfrey left us without other resource than an application to a mercantile house. The persons above mentioned offered their services, and were recommended. The sum total appeared both to the minister plenipotentiary and myself very considerable for the short stay of the vessel in port and the charge of advanced officers' pay unprecedented; but a Captain Barry had signed the original account, and M. Moylan's house had advanced the money, and offered every authentic voucher. I thought myself obliged to write from Brest requesting Dr. Franklin to order payment after the necessary security.

I found myself under the necessity of drawing, under the authority of Congress, for three hundred and fifty louis on the minister plenipotentiary at the court of France. Fifty of these were given to Mr. Jackson on his departure for Holland. On my arrival at Boston I borrowed on my private credit forty guineas, twenty-five of which have been paid for the purchase of saddles, the expense of the journey, including that of an express with the despatches from France for the French minister and army, and that of an escort of dragoons, which it became prudent on account of my papers to take from Danbury to a few miles distance on this side of the North River.

I had recourse to the State of Rhode Island for horses, &c., the particular account of which will be given to the board of war.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest veneration, &c.,

JOHN LAURENS.

Washington to Morris.†

HEAD OF THE ELK, *September* 7, 1781.

DEAR SIR: I have received your two favors of yesterday. I find myself so pressed by circumstances that it will be impossible for me to stay at this place till the payment of the money committed to Mr. Audi-

* Missing.

† 6 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 335.

bert can be effected. I must leave the head of the Elk this afternoon or early to-morrow morning. I shall, however, leave instructions with General Lincoln to do all that is necessary on the occasion.

The sum of twenty thousand dollars will fall much short of the sum necessary.

The five hundred guineas on my own account I have received.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

Luzerne to the President of Congress.*

[Translation.]

PHILADELPHIA, *September* 7, 1781.

SIR: The undersigned, minister plenipotentiary of France, has the honor of communicating to Congress the commission of M. de l'Etombe as consul-general of France in the States of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut. He requests Congress to be pleased to pass an act, or four different acts, in order to procure for the said consul the *exequatur* in each of the States to which his functions are to extend.

LUZERNE.

Morris to the President of Congress.†

OFFICE OF FINANCE, *September* 8, 1781.

SIR: I received last evening an act of the United States in Congress assembled of the 7th instant, by which it is resolved that until an agent of marine shall be appointed by Congress all the duties, powers, and authority assigned to the said agent be devolved upon and executed by the superintendant of finance.

There are many reasons why I would have wished that this burthen had been laid on other shoulders, or that at least I might have been permitted to appoint a temporary agent until the further pleasure of Congress.

As it is I shall undertake the task, however contrary to my inclinations and inconsistent with the many duties which press heavily upon me, because it will at least save money to the public. But on this subject I have to observe that true economy, according to my ideas of it, consists in employing a sufficient number of proper persons to perform the public business. I wish the accounts of the marine department may be speedily settled. I am sure I need not hint to Congress my anxiety to see measures taken and steadily pursued for adjusting all

---

* 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 747.

† MSS. Dep. of State.

the public accounts. I am sure they must participate in every sentiment of concern which I feel on that occasion. I am sure that it will meet with every expeditious attention which the importance of it can demand.

I am sir, with all possible respect, your excellency's most obedt. and humble servant,

ROBT. MORRIS.

Morris to Washington.*

OFFICE OF FINANCE, *September* 10, 1781.

DEAR SIR: The sole intent of this is to acknowledge the receipt of your two letters of the 7th instant; that which related to the month's pay you would see was answered by the steps previously taken, but I am a good deal disappointed and put to inconvenience by the money at the Elk falling short of the object, which obliges me to send money thither that was absolutely necessary to fulfil my engagements here. I must struggle through these difficulties, but the doing so requires that attention and time which ought to be bestowed upon greater objects.

The letter respecting the criminal was too late: the poor fellow was gone; I am sorry for it; and remain your excellency's most obedient, &c.,

ROBERT MORRIS.†

Luzerne to the President of Congress.‡

[Translation.]

PHILADELPHIA, *September* 10, 1781.

SIR: The undersigned, minister plenipotentiary of France, has the honor of communicating to Congress the commission of M. Holker as consul-general of France in the States of Pennsylvania, New York, New Jersey, and Delaware. He requests Congress to pass an act, or four different acts, in order to procure for this consul the *exequatur* in each of the States to which his functions are to extend.

LUZERNE.

---

* MSS. Dep. of State; 6 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 336.

† *September* 18.—Several members of Congress and others called on me last evening, desirous to know the reasons for my writing to Mr. Jay a letter of the 15th of August last, which, being intercepted, Rivington has published and graced with his remarks, wherein I direct Mr. Jay to protest certain bills of exchange drawn by authority of Congress. The explanation is easily given, as the ship on board which I had remitted these bills was taken. The moment I knew her fate I judged it proper to stop payment of the bills, lest the enemy, with their usual cunning, might attempt to procure the money; but I am now of opinion that the captain sunk them when captured.—*Diary.*

‡ 6 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 3.

Franklin to Morris.*

PASSY, *September* 12, 1781.

DEAR SIR: I have received your letters of July 13th, 14th, 19th, and 21st, all at once, by way of L'Orient. The originals of those you mention to have sent by Major Franks are not yet come to hand, nor have I heard of his arrival in Spain.

Your letters of June 6th and 8th were remarkably lucky in getting to hand. I think I have received seven of the copies you had the precaution to send of them. I enclose copies of my answers.

I have now the pleasure to acquaint you that I have obtained a promise of the sum I wanted to pay the bills I had accepted for the purchases made in Holland, so that your supplying me with remittances for that purpose, which I requested, is now unnecessary, and I shall finish the year with honor. But it is as much as I can do, with the aid of the sum I stopped in Holland, the drafts on Mr. Jay and on Mr. Adams much exceeding what I had been made to expect.

I had been informed that the Congress had promised to draw no more bills on Europe after the month of March last till they should know they had funds here, but I learn from Mr. Adams that some bills have been lately presented to him drawn June 22d on Mr. Laurens, who is in the Tower, which makes the proceeding seem extraordinary. Mr. Adams can not pay these bills and I can not engage for them, for I see by the minutes of Congress you have sent me that though they have stopped issuing bills drawn on the ministers at Madrid and The Hague until they shall be assured that funds are provided for paying them, they have left open to be sold those drawn on their minister at Versailles, funds or no funds, which, in the situation you will see I am in by the letters of the Count de Vergennes, terrifies me, for I have promised not to accept any drafts made on me by order of Congress, if such should be after the time above mentioned, unless I have funds in my hands or in view to pay them. After its being declared to me that such bills could not be provided for, and my promise not to engage for them, it will be impossible to ask for the money if I should accept them, and I believe those bills of Mr. Ross must go back protested.

The projected loan in Holland has of late some appearances of success. I am indeed told it is agreed to by the States, but I do not yet think it so certain as to venture, or advise the venturing, to act in expectation of it. The instant it is assured I will send you advice of it by every opportunity, and will, from time to time, send parts of it in cash by such ships of war as can conveniently take it.

I can not write to you fully by this opportunity. I will not, however, delay acquainting you that, having the fullest confidence in your assurances of enabling me to pay them, I shall cheerfully accept your bills for four hundred thousand livres.

---

*6 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 336.

Captain Gillon has sailed from Holland without taking under his convoy the two vessels that were freighted to carry the goods purchased by Captain Jackson in Holland. There has been terrible management there, and from the confusion in the ship before and when she sailed it is a question if she ever arrives in America.

They are hard at work here in providing the supplies to replace those lost in the *Marquis de la Fayette.*

With best wishes of success to you in your new employment, and assurances of every aid I can afford you, I am, dear sir, &c.,

B. FRANKLIN.

Verac to Dana.*

[Translation.]

ST. PETERSBURGH, *September* 12, 1781.

SIR: In the letter which I had the honor to write to you on the 2d instant I made only a passing mention of the article of the plan of pacification proposed by the courts of Vienna and Petersburgh which stipulates for the admission of deputies from the United States at the Congress. Persuaded, as you appear to have been, that the American minister would be admitted in the same manner as if their public character were recognized at the moment of their arrival not only by the belligerent powers, but also by the mediating powers, your reasoning is perfectly just when you say that one can not admit and recognize the minister of a power without recognizing the independence and political existence of that power; and hence you conclude it is very possible that the court of Petersburgh may be in a disposition to recognize voluntarily the character with which you are clothed. This reasoning is equally an evidence of the justice of your views and of your knowledge in the matter of public right. I alone have been wrong not to enter more into detail concerning the article which you have erected into a principle. But, in truth, I refrained from this, because I supposed you were already perfectly acquainted with it. I can not better repair my omission than to transcribe the article as it has been sent to the courts of Versailles, Madrid, and London: "There shall be a treaty at Vienna, under the mutual direction of the two imperial courts, concerning all the objects of the reëstablishment of peace," &c. "And there shall, at the same time, be a treaty between Great Britain and the *American Colonies* for the re-establishment of peace in America, *but without the intervention of any other belligerent parties, not even that of the two imperial courts, unless their mediation shall be formally asked and granted for this object.*"†

---

* MSS. Dep. of State; 4 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 588.

† See the articles of pacification at large, as far as they relate to America, J. Adams to the President of Congress, July 11, 1781 *supra.*

By this the mediating courts intend that your deputies shall treat simply with the English ministers as they have already treated with them in America in the year 1778; that the result of their negociations shall make known to the other powers upon what footing they ought to be regarded; and that their public character will be acknowledged without difficulty from the moment the English themselves interpose no opposition. This plan has been conceived for the purpose of conciliating the strongly opposing pretensions. Have the goodness, sir, to observe that I do not say that I approve this scheme. I merely say that the august mediators have adopted it in rendering to you an account of the reasons by which they are guided. It is, therefore, clear that their design is to avoid compromitting themselves by acknowledging the independence of the United States till England herself shall have taken the lead.

You perceive, sir, that nothing is more conformable to my wishes than to see Russia acknowledge the independence of the United States. If it depended on me to draw from her this acknowledgment, you would immediately have grounds to be perfectly contented with my efforts. In a word, you can not doubt that the minister of his most Christian majesty in Russia takes a warm interest in your cause. But the more I desire your success the more I feel myself obliged to forewarn you of the difficulties which you have to surmount; and I should betray my duty if I were voluntarily to leave you in ignorance on so important a point. Invested, as you are, with a public character on the part of a power whose rights and perfect independence it is my duty to recognize it does not pertain to me to guide your advances. But the alliance of this same power with the king, my master, invites me to acquaint you with all the knowledge which I have acquired respecting this country that can be useful to you. It is with the greatest pleasure, sir, that I fulfil this duty in repeating to you what I had the honor to say to you in my first letter, that when you shall have succeeded in surmounting the difficulties which you may meet in causing your public character to be recognized at this court, you will find me entirely disposed to second you in everything which shall regard the common interest of our countries when it shall be probable that my intervention will be agreeable to the ministers of her Imperial majesty.

You are too enlightened, sir, to need my counsels, and much less my approbation. I shall confine myself, therefore, to communicating such facts as shall come to my knowledge and which may interest you, leaving to your intelligence and discernment the task of combining them and drawing from them the plan of conduct which you shall think most suitable, being well persuaded that whatever course you may pursue will be for the best and most conformable to your interests. I ought to confide to you, therefore, that we are daily expecting the answers of France and of Spain concerning the plan of pacification. When these arrive we shall know what is intended as to the article relating to the

leputies of Congress, and shall see how these observations will be re-eived at St. Petersburgh. It is for you to judge, sir, whether you hink this circumstance ought to withhold you or not from making known here your political character.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

THE MARQUIS DE VERAC.

P. S.—I ask pardon for the delay of this answer. It has been owing o the embarrassment of translating your letter; the Marquis de la Coste, my son-in-law, being the only person in my family who can read a little English.

Dana to Verac.*

ST. PETERSBURGH, *September* 13, 1781.

SIR: On my return home last evening I found myself honored with your excellency's letter of yesterday. No apology could be necessary for the delay of it. It is not to be expected that M. le Marquis de la Coste should make a task of translating my letters, or suffer them to interfere with his engagements or avocations. It is with extreme repugnance I write to your excellency because of the trouble I know that it must give him, and nothing but an opinion of the necessity of doing it has given your excellency or the marquis any trouble of that sort. It may not be amiss to acquaint your excellency that just before my departure from Holland, by an unforeseen accident, I was unexpectedly deprived of the assistance of a gentleman who both speaks and writes the French language well, and was to have accompanied me hither.

Your excellency may be assured I shall very readily wait some time before I enter upon the measure mentioned in my last, in hopes of being favored with the answers of the courts of Versailles and Madrid to the plan of pacification as soon after you may receive them as shall be convenient to you. It is my earnest wish to form my conduct upon the fullest informations I can possibly obtain, and to avoid any step which may have the least tendency rather to injure than to promote the interests of either country.

Your excellency will be pleased to accept my warmest thanks for your attention to the business of my mission, your wishes for the success of it, as well as for the assurances of your personal zeal to promote the general interests of the United States.

I have the honor to be, with sentiments of the highest respect, &c.,

FRANCIS DANA.

*MSS. Dep. of State; 4 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 590.

Franklin to R. Bache.*

PASSY, *September* 13, 1781.

DEAR SON: I received yours of June 20th. It gave me great pleasure, as it informed me of the welfare of yourself and the dear family.

I have read Mr. Wharton's pamphlet. The facts, as far as I know them, are as he states them. Justice is, I think, on the side of those who contracted for the lands (the Indiana grant); but moral and political rights sometimes differ, and sometimes are both subdued by might. I received and thank you for several copies of the Indian *spelling book.* I received also the German and English newspapers.

Among my papers in the trunk which I unhappily left in the care of Mr. Galloway were eight or ten quire or two-quire books of rough drafts of my letters, containing all my correspondence when in England for near twenty years. I shall be very sorry if they too are lost. Do not you think it possible, by going up into that country and inquiring a little among the neighbors, you might possibly hear of and recover some of them? I should not have left them in his hands if he had not deceived me by saying that, though he was before otherwise inclined, yet that, since the king had declared us out of his protection, and the Parliament by an act had made our properties plunder, he would go as far in the defense of his country as any man; and accordingly he had lately with pleasure given colors to a regiment of militia and an entertainment to four hundred of them before his house. I thought he was become a staunch friend to the glorious cause. I was mistaken. As he was a friend of my son's, to whom in my will I had left all my books and papers, I made him one of my executors and put the trunk of papers into his hands, imagining them safer in his house (which was out of the way of any probable march of the enemy's troops) than in my own. It was very unlucky.

My love to Sally and the children. I shall soon write to all my friends. At present I am pinched in time, and can only add that I am ever your affectionate father,

B. FRANKLIN.

Franklin to Lovell.†

PASSY, *September* 13, 1781.

SIR: Immediately on the receipt of your respected letter of May 9 I wrote to a friend in London to supply Messrs. Curson & Gouverneur with what money they might have occasion for; and he writes to me that he has accordingly made them the offer. Their liberty is not at present obtainable. I should be very glad if I had it in my power to effectuate their exchange, but I have no English here in my hands

---

* 9 Sparks' Franklin, 78; 7 Bigelow's Franklin, 293.
† MSS. Dep. of State.

ll our privateers who come upon the coast of Europe have of late dis-harged their prisoners at sea upon their insignificant though written aroles of returning an equal number of our people, which is never re-arded; and out of more than 500 such paroles which have been sent e not a single man has ever appeared here in consequence of them, or was there ever a man obtained in exchange for those sent to ngland in two flays from Boston. There seems not to be a spark of onor left in that corrupted nation. Near 500 of our unhappy coun-rymen are now confined in their prisons under commitments for high reason, and unless an equal number are sent to me here from America shall not be able to procure their liberty. I wrote to the same friend elating to young Dr. Witherspoon and have the pleasure to learn that e is now at liberty, and has been furnished by my orders with what noney he requires to enable him to return home.

Mr. Gerard has been absent ever since I received your letter of May 7, so that I have not learnt what has been done by him in the affair f Dr. Putnam; but I shall attend to it.

I thank you much for the newspapers you have from time to time ent me. I enclose some of the latest we have here. A great quantity o directed to the President.

I am, etc.

Franklin to the President of Congress.*

PASSY, *September* 13, 1781.

SIR: I duly received the two letters your excellency did me the honor f writing to me, both dated the 19th of June, together with the letter ldressed to the king and the three commissioners, with the instruc-ons relative to the negociations for peace. I immediately went to ersailles and presented the letter, which was graciously received. I mmunicated also to Count de Vergennes a copy of your instructions, ter having decyphered them. He read them while I was with him, d expressed his satisfaction with the unreserved confidence placed in s court by the Congress, assuring me that they never would have use to regret it, for that the king had the honor of the United States heart, as well as their welfare and independence. Indeed this has ready been manifested in the negociations relative to the preliminaries, d I have had so much experience of his majesty's goodness to us, in e aids afforded us from time to time, and of the sincerity of this right and able minister, who never promised me anything which he d not punctually perform, that I can not but think the confidence ell and judiciously placed, and that it will have happy effects.

I have communicated to Mr. Adams and to Mr. Jay the purport of ur despatches. Mr. Adams already had received the same. By the

* MSS. Dep. of State; 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 171, with verbal changes; 7 Bige-w's Franklin, 290.

first safe conveyance I shall acquaint the Congress with the steps that have been taken in the negociation. At present I would only say that the settling of preliminaries meets with difficulty, and will probably take much time partly from the remoteness of the mediators, so that any relaxation of our warlike preparations in expectation of a speedy peace will be imprudent, as it may be pernicious.

I am extremely sensible of the honor done me by the Congress in this new appointment. I beg they would accept my thankful acknowledgments, and since they judge I may be serviceable, though I had requested leave to retire, I submit dutifully to their determination, and shall do my utmost to merit in some degree the favorable opinion they appear to have of me. I am the more encouraged in this resolution, as within the last three months I find my health and strength considerably re-established.

I wish, however, that a consul-general may soon be appointed for this kingdom; it would ease me of abundance of troublesome business to which I am not equal, and which interferes with my own important functions.

The king having graciously complied with my request of replacing the supplies lost in the *Marquis de la Fayette*, many hands are employed in providing them, who work hard to have them ready and shipped, so that they may arrive before winter.

With the highest respect, I have the honor to be, &c.,

B. FRANKLIN.

P. S.—The copying machine for Mr. Secretary Thomson is in hand, and will soon be finished and sent to him.

Dana to the President of Congress.*

ST. PETERSBURGH, *September* 15, 1781.

SIR: In my letter from Berlin I did myself the honor to give your excellency an account of my route as far as that city. A duplicate of that letter will accompany this. I was detained there nine days, the first part of which time was lost by my illness and the rest in waiting for my carriage. I set off from thence the 2d of August, and arrived here, travelling day and night, on the 27th (New Style), having stopped in this route (sometimes to recruit a little and sometimes to make the reparations to my carriage necessary in so long a journey) at the following places, viz: Dantzic, Konigsberg, Memel, Riga, and Narva, all of which are ports of consideration, and lay in my way.

I made, during my short stay in them, as full inquiry into the nature of their commerce as circumstances would admit of. I do not find that the exports from any of them, Riga excepted, are calculated for our

* MSS. Dep. of State; 4 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 591.

arkets, or that we can derive any advantage from them till we engage
n circuitous voyages and become their carriers. The great article of
Riga is cordage of all sorts, which I am told is the best in all these
ountries. They export considerable quantities of hemp likewise, to
ay nothing of articles similar to our own, but this article can perhaps
e better purchased at St. Petersburgh than anywhere else. I expect
o receive shortly a minute account of all the exports and imports of
Riga, with their prices current, &c. Being no merchant, my account of
hese things, it is to be expected, will be defective, but this being made
part of my duty, I shall endeavor to execute it in the best manner I
m able.

It is to be observed that the Dantzickers, the Prussians, and the
Russians are improving the present opportunity which the Dutch war
ffords them of increasing their own navigation with the utmost in-
ustry; and the great rise of freights enables them to do it with much
dvantage. What effect this may have upon the sovereigns of the two
ast countries to slacken their pace towards the acknowledgment of the
ndependence of ours, which would lead to a speedy peace, I can not
ay. The subjects of the emperor are reaping the same advantages
rom the war.

An opportunity by water from hence to Amsterdam now presents
tself, and this being the safest way, I shall send my despatches under
over to the care of Mr. Adams, and shall desire him to break them up
nd read them before he forwards them for America, as the best means
f making him fully acquainted with all that has yet taken place here,
specially with the sentiments of the French minister, which appear to
ne to deserve our particular attention. Though I am no better satisfied
vith the reasons given in support of his opinion in his second letter
han I was with those in his first, yet I thought it not prudent to press
im any further with my opposition to them, and that it was quite suffi-
ient to give him to understand that I still intended to adopt the meas-
re mentioned in my second letter.* He possibly may have other rea-
ons for his opinions, which he chooses to keep to himself; but surely
uch can not serve as rules by which to regulate my conduct while I
emain ignorant of them, nor can I imagine it to be my duty or the ex-
ectation of Congress that I should blindly fall into the sentiments of
ny man, especially when I think this backwardness to give proper sup-
ort to our cause at the courts of Europe may be accounted for on
ther principles. That it does actually exist I can now no longer

*The difficulty was that Dana did not understand French and wrote to Verac in
nglish, while Verac (whose son-in-law translated Dana's letter) answered in French.
ad Dana been master of French he would have seen that Verac's position, that the
roposition of the imperial courts for mediation did not recognize the independence
f the United States, was well taken. Verac knew also, what we know now, an ap-
lication for reception at that time by Dana would have been answered by a humili-
ing refusal, and this Verac desired to avoid. See on this point Luzerne to Congress,
eptember 21, 1781.

doubt. However, Congress will make up their own judgment upon this point from the letters of the minister himself and from other facts with which they are much better acquainted that I can be.

I confess that, had the proposition of the mediators been laid before me to form my opinion upon, unaccompanied with the strictures of the French minister, I should have laid my finger upon three words only in it, viz., *en méme tems*, and considered the others, to which he meant to draw my particular attention by underscoring them, as merely colorable terms, and a specimen of that finesse from which the politics of Europe can never be free. I should, therefore, have drawn from it a conclusion very different from that of the French minister, viz: "*It is therefore clear that their design is to avoid compromitting themselves by recognising the independence of the United States till England herself shall have done it;*" for if, as he would have me to understand, the mediators do in fact still consider the United States as British colonies, and that neither the belligerent powers or themselves ought to interfere in settling the war between them and Great Britain without being invited by both parties, how comes it to pass that, as mediators between the belligerent powers—meaning not to comprehend America under that predicament—they should go on to annex, in the nature of condition of their mediation, that "there shall be *at the same time* a treaty between Great Britain and the American Colonies respecting the re-establishment of peace in America," thereby prescribing to a sovereign state *the time* when it shall enter upon the settlement of a dispute existing between the sovereign of that state and a part of his subjects, in which they mean not to intermeddle; and, according to the French minister, even the manner of doing it. For, says he, "the mediating courts intend thereby that your deputies shall treat simply with the English ministers in the same manner as they have already treated in America with the commissioners from Great Britain in the year 1778." I could have set him right in matter of fact here, but it would have answered no good purpose.

This measure, I am told, has been proposed "to conciliate opposing pretensions," and "that the result of their negociations will make known to the other powers on what footing they ought to be regarded, and that their public character will be acknowledged without difficulty *from the moment that the English interpose no opposition.*" If such were the designs of the mediators, why not leave Great Britain to compose her internal troubles in her own time and in her own way, and proceed to the great business of composing those of the nations of Europe? How are we to account for the court of London rejecting the mediation if they conceived the proposition in that very inoffensive light which he supposes it to be meant, and if it was so clear from it that the mediators would not interfere in our particular negociation unless invited to do it, and were determined never to acknowledge the independence of the United States until Great Britain herself had done it, or

at least till the moment in which she shall cease to oppose it? Could a more favorable occasion be presented to great Britain for negociation?

My present opinion upon this matter is, that the mediators do in fact consider the United States as an independent sovereign power; that upon that principle they wished to extinguish the flames of war in both countries at the same time; that they do not flatter themselves they can restore peace to Europe during the continuance of the war in America, or that the United States will treat with Britain upon any other ground than that of an independent power; that, to bring about a general pacification in a manner the least offensive to any of the belligerent powers of Europe, particularly Britain, they have framed their propositions in the terms in which it is conceived; and although they declare in it that the other belligerent powers, or even themselves, ought not to interfere in our particular negociations, yet it seems to be their intention that the negociations between the European powers should proceed but with equal pace with our particular one.

I can not but think the mediators expected the court of London would reject this first plan of mediation on account of the proposition respecting America (as I am told by a public minister here, who ought to be well informed upon the point, they certainly have done), although it is worded in a manner as little offensive to their feelings as the nature of things would admit of; and that having tried this measure, the mediators will next proceed to another, in which their sentiments in favor of the United States will be less ambiguous.

After all, the French minister may be perfectly right touching the dispositions and resolutions of the mediating powers towards the United States, but I think his conviction must arise from other facts and principles than those he has chosen to expose to me. I feel myself, however, on that supposition at no great loss to determine what ought to be my own line of conduct. I think it ought to be exactly the same in both cases so far as respects the proposed communication of my public character to this court. If her Imperial majesty has really resolved upon such a strange system of politics, the sooner Congress obtain the best evidence of it, the better on many accounts, and this is to be had only by making this experiment. They will, among other things, then consider whether it is worth while for the United States to be at the expense of supporting a minister at a court which is resolved to defer the acknowledgment of their independence till Great Britain shall have done it herself, or at least to the moment she shall cease to oppose it. At this period, if it should ever arrive, the United States, I suppose, would feel themselves as much indebted to the sovereign who should offer to acknowledge their independence as I should to the French minister here, who has told me "that when you shall have succeeded in surmounting the difficulties which you may meet in causing your public character to be recognized at this court you will find me entirely disposed to second you in everything which shall regard the common interest of our countries," for any assistance he may then give me.

It is evident from hence that I am not likely to receive from him the least assistance in the business of my mission. I must proceed in it, therefore, by myself or be totally inactive. I thought it advisable to assure the French minister that I would wait some time for the answers of the courts of Versailles and Madrid, lest he might think I treated his opinions with disrespect. In doing this I think no injury will happen to our interests, for besides the possibility that some important information may be obtained from them, and the effect they may have at this court, I am told Count Panin will shortly return to court, and that he has the most favorable sentiments of the United States of any of her Imperial majesty's ministers. Should this information be just, an advantage is to be expected by the delay. Congress will doubtless consider the difficulty of my situation, standing alone upon new ground, and will make every allowance for it I ought in reason to expect.*

I am, with the highest respect and most perfect esteem, &c.,

FRANCIS DANA.†

*The French Government seem to have considered the proposition of the mediating powers by which England and the United States were to treat separately as impracticable and inadmissible. In their answer they say:

"His majesty thinks it his duty to say that he has allies with whom he has inviolable engagements; that he should betray them in abandoning the American cause; and that it would be abandoning this cause for him to negociate a separate peace. The high mediators have seen the impossibility of such an attempt, since they have themselves perceived the impossibility of proceeding at an equal pace with the negociation of the king and that of the United States. But even admitting that the king could separate his affairs from those of America, that he could consent to pursue only his personal interest, and leave to the Americans the task of coming to an accommodation with their ancient metropolis, what would be the result of this conduct? It would evidently be an illusory peace, a mere creation of the brain. Indeed, if (as there is the strongest evidence) the Americans persist in refusing to return to obedience to the British crown the war will continue between England and her ancient colonies, and the king will then be obliged, as he is now, to assist them."—*Flassan*, vol. 7, p. 319.

Again, the French Government say in their answer:

"The two imperial courts can not flatter themselves with the hopes of bringing their mediation to a happy issue if they do not prevent the subterfuges and false in-

†In a despatch of Harris to Stormont, Oct. 21 (Nov. 1,) 1781, the arrival at St. Petersburgh of "Silas Deane," as American agent, is announced, and it is then stated that Harris at once protested against his recognition in any capacity. To this Besberodko, the Russian minister, replied, "that Silas Deane could not employ his time more uselessly than in remaining in her (Catharine's) dominions," and that "her majesty never could hear of any proposals coming from the quarter of the rebels; that he was sure that no one of her subjects would dare to make them to her." Dana's name gave some trouble. When he arrived at St. Petersburgh "Dana" was changed into "Deane," and subsequently, as we shall see, he was spoken of as "Dina." But the empress, averse as she was to rebels, was not blind to the mistakes of Great Britain. Thus, in a dispatch from Harris to Stormont, July 14 (25), 1781, the Russian minister is reported to have told Harris "that on the perusal of these papers she had talked of our haughtiness, and of our being intractible, but that those words were the effect of a momentary warmth." He stated, likewise, that she expressed her doubts of our being ever able to subdue America, and that if we could not, we might, in the event, end by making much worse conditions for ourselves than these now tendered to us. (This passage is omitted in the Malmesbury Papers, vol. 1, p 378.)

Luzerne to the President of Congress.*

[Translation.]

PHILADELPHIA, *September* 18, 1781.

SIR: The undersigned, minister plenipotentiary of France, has the honor of informing Congress that he has received despatches from his court containing important details relative to the communications which have taken place between the belligerent and mediating powers. He wishes that Congress would be pleased to appoint a committee to whom he shall communicate them and with whom he shall confer upon the present state of affairs. He has also received orders from his court relative to the advances made on account of the thirteen States and concerning their finances. He will have the honor of communicating them to Congress through a committee.

LUZERNE.

---

terpretations which either of the belligerent powers may avail themselves of to explain, according to their views, the preliminary propositions, which will certainly happen if they do not previously ascertain the sense of the expressions which relate to America.

"The court of London will elude as much and as long as she possibly can the direct or indirect acknowledgment of the independence of the United States, and will avail herself of the terms that are used in speaking of them to maintain that she is not obliged to treat with her ancient colonies as with a free and independent nation. From whence it will follow that when the mediation is in force, and they shall be about to enter upon the negociation, they will dispute the character in which the American plenipotentiary shall be received. The King of England will consider him as his subject, while Congress will demand that he shall be received as the representative of a free people, by means whereof the mediation will be stopped at the first outset.

"To prevent this inconvenience it should seem that previous to any other measure the character of the American agent ought to be determined in the most precise and positive manner, and Congress should be invited to confide its interests to the mediation. This invitation is so much the more interesting, as the negociation relative to America should go hand in hand with that of the courts of Madrid and Versailles, and by consequence the negociations, although separate, should commence at the same time. But who will invite the Congress to treat with England? The king (of France) can not, since the first article excludes him from the negociation. This task, then, can only be executed by the mediators themselves. All that the king can do, and that he will do with zeal and fidility, is to invite the Americans to the peace, and to facilitate it by every means which they believe compatible with their essential interests. But that the king may take this step with safety and the hopes of success, and with the certainty of not rendering himself suspected by the Americans, it is necessary that he should first know the determination of the mediators upon the observations now made to them, and that this determination should be such as to secure to the United States their political existence."—SPARKS.

* 6 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 3.

Lovell to W. Lee.*

PHILADELPHIA, *September* 20, 1781.

SIR: The decision of Congress respecting your letter of April 12th, which came to hand only the 4th of this month, is herewith transmitted. The period of payment will perhaps be more distant than you wish; but I am at liberty to assure you from the superintendent of our finances that it is his intention to take the earliest possible opportunity to close this business.†

With much regard, I am, &c.,

JAMES LOVELL,
For the Committee of Foreign Affairs.

Jay to the President of Congress.‡

ST. ILDEFONSO, *September* 20, 1781.

SIR: Your excellency's favor of the 5th of July last, with the papers therewith enclosed, were delivered to me on the 29th ultimo, by Major Franks, whom the procrastination of the minister still obliges me to detain.

The new commissions with which Congress have honored me argue a degree of confidence which demands my warmest acknowledgments, and which, so far as it may be founded on an opinion of my zeal and integrity, they may be assured will not prove misplaced.

At the commencement of the present troubles I determined to devote myself during the continuance of them to the service of my country in any station in which she might think it proper to place me. This resolution for the first time now embarrasses me. I know it to be my duty, as a public servant, to be guided by my own judgment only in matters referred to my discretion, and in other cases faithfully to execute my instructions without questioning the policy of them. But there is one among those which accompanies these commissions which occasions sensations I never before experienced, and induced me to wish that my name had been omitted.

So far as personal pride and reluctance to humiliation may render their appointment contra-agreeable, I view it is a very unimportant circumstance, and should Congress on any occasion think it for the public good to place me in a station inferior and subordinate to the one I now hold, they will find me ready to descend from the one and cheerfully

---

* MSS. Dep. of State; 1 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 642.

† *September* 12, 1781.—The committee to whom was referred a letter of the 12th of April last from Mr. William Lee report:

That upon principles admitted by Congress in the settlement of an account similar to that transmitted by Mr. Lee there appears to be due to him a balance of 42,189 livres tournois; whereupon,

Ordered, That the account be referred to the superintendent of finance, to take order for payment of the balance, with interest at the rate of six per cent. per annum from this day, as soon as the state of the public finances will admit."

‡ MSS. Dep. of State; 4 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 329, with verbal changes.

undertake the duties of the other. My ambition will always be more gratified in being useful than conspicuous; for in my opinion the solid dignity of a man depends less on the height or extent of the sphere allotted to him than on the manner in which he may fulfil the duties of it.

But, sir, as an American I feel an interest in the dignity of my country, which renders it difficult for me to reconcile myself to the idea of the sovereign independent States of America submitting, in the persons of their ministers, to be absolutely governed by the advice and opinions of the servants of another sovereign, especially in a case of such national importance.

That gratitude and confidence are due to our allies is not to be questioned, and that it will probably be in the power of France almost to dictate the terms of peace for us is but too true. That such an extraordinary extent of confidence may stimulate our allies to the highest efforts of generous friendship in our favor is not to be denied, and that this instruction receives some appearance of policy from this consideration may be admitted.

I must, nevertheless, take the liberty of observing that however our situation may in the opinion of Congress render it necessary to relax their demands on every side, and even to direct their commissioners ultimately to concur (if nothing better could be done) in any peace or truce not subversive of our independence which France determined to accede to, yet that this instruction, besides breathing a degree of complacency not quite republican, puts it out of the power of your ministers to improve those chances and opportunities which in the course of human affairs happens more or less frequently to all men. Nor is it clear that America, thus casting herself into the arms of the King of France, will advance either her interest or reputation with that or other nations.

What the sentiments of my colleagues on this occasion may be I do not as yet know, nor can I foresee how far the negociation of the ensuing winter may call for the execution of this commission. Thus circumstanced, at such a distance from America, it would not be proper to decline this appointment. I will therefore do my best endeavors to fulfil the expectations of Congress on this subject; but as for my own part, I think it improbable that serious negotiations for peace will soon take place. I must entreat Congress to take an early opportunity of relieving me from a station wherein in character of their minister I must necessarily receive (and almost under the name of opinions) the directions of those on whom I really think no American minister ought to be dependent, and to whom, in love for our country and zeal for her service, I am sure that my colleagues and myself are at least equal.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

JOHN JAY.

P. S.—I had an interview last evening with the minister. Nothing was promised or denied. A person is to be named on Sunday to con-

fer in earnest, as it is said, with me about the treaties. I do not despair, though having so many bills to pay and no money perplexes me extremely. The treasury of Spain is very low; much of the money for the expenses in this war costs them between thirty and forty per hundred by bad and mismanagement and want of credit. This ought not to be public. His excellency still looks at your ships on the stocks, but I shall, without refusing, not consent to their changing masters.

J. J.

Morris to Luzerne.*

OFFICE OF FINANCE, *September* 20, 1781.

SIR: His excellency the Count de Rochambeau having generously made me a very considerable advance of money, I was thereby enabled to give the detachment of our army under General Lincoln one month's pay, which was earnestly pressed upon me by the commander-in-chief. I promised M. de Rochambeau that I would replace the sum borrowed on the 1st of next month, wherever the army should then be.

The movement which lately took place to the southward has been attended with a variety of expenses which have been very heavy and have absorbed all the money I could command, notwithstanding which many demands still remain unsatisfied, so that I can not obtain the sums necessary for the service from any ordinary means.

As it is probable that the moneys which the Count de Grasse has brought will prevent any immediate want by the fleets or armies of his most Christian majesty in the States of Maryland and Virginia, I am induced to believe that no inconvenience would arise from delaying the payment until the money in Boston shall be brought forward, which will be speedily, as a very active person has gone for it, who will lose no time in the business committed to him.

Should your excellency be of this opinion, I shall be glad if you will signify it to me, and, if that be in your power, that you will extend the time when payment is to be made. But if you think the money must be forwarded to Virginia immediately, you may depend that I will instantly endeavor to procure it, and although that can not be done but with great difficulty and much loss; yet nothing shall deter me from complying with my engagements.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

ROBERT MORRIS.

---

* 6 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 338.

Morris to the President of the Council of Pennsylvania.*

OFFICE OF FINANCE, *September* 20, 1781.

SIR: I am honored with your excellency's letter of this date, and most sincerely wish my situation was such as to justify a promise of aid equal to the present necessities—I mean the necessities that will be created by the call of the militia at this time; but unluckily the late movements of the army have so entirely drained me of money that I have been obliged to pledge my personal credit very deeply in a variety of instances, besides borrowing money from my friends and advancing to promote the public service every shilling of my own. In this situation I was preparing an application to the honorable council and assembly for relief from my advances from the State of Pennsylvania, and this will be the more necessary, as this alarm, whilst it lasts, will cut off all possibility of recruiting the Treasury. Those who possess hard money will keep it, and those who have demands will become more eager for payment; therefore all I can promise is the use of my credit and an exertion of any influence I may have in favor of such measures as may be deemed necessary. At the same time I do not recede from my first opinion, that the enemy do not meditate any attack on this city.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

ROBERT MORRIS.†

Communications of Luzerne to Congress.‡

IN CONGRESS, *September* 21, 1781.

The committee [consisting of Mr. Duane, Mr. Randolph, and Mr. Mathews]§ to whom was referred the memorial of the minister plenipotentiary of France, dated the 18th instant, requesting a conference, report:

That they have this day held a conference with the said minister plenipotentiary, and received the following communications, contained

---

* 6 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 339.

† *September* 21.—At one o'clock I waited on the president of the State of Pennsylvania at his house in Market street, and met there Mr. Peters and Mr. Cornell, of the board of war; General St. Clair, General Irvine, and General Irwin, of the militia. This conference lasted a considerable time, and in its consequences took up the rest of the day. I gave it as my opinion that Sir Henry Clinton did not intend for this city; nevertheless, as the inhabitants are alarmed and uneasy, I agreed to the propriety of being prepared, although I lamented the expense such preparations would put us to. I advised the placing a garrison at Mud Island and putting that place in a posture of defence, and mentioned the plan proposed to me by Mr. Paine, of collecting immediately one quarter's rent from all the houses in Philadelphia, in order to have an immediate supply of money to defray the expenses, &c.—*Diary.*

‡ MSS. Dep. of State; 6 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 4, with verbal changes.

§ This report was presented in loose slips, without exact regard to the dates of the letters cited.

in sundry despatches from Count de Vergennes, minister for foreign affairs to his most Christian majesty, viz.,

[From a letter of the 19th of April.]

That count de Vergennes had transmitted to the minister the details respecting the proposed mediation of the courts of Vienna and Petersburgh. [The minister observed that this had already been communicated to Congress through a committee. He repeated for our recollection that the acceptance on the part of France of the proposed mediation depended entirely at that time on the concurrence of the United States; and that, with respect to Spain, its conduct would be determined by the dissolution of the negociation with Mr. Cumberland. That the court of Spain had informed the court of London on the first proposal of the mediation of the imperial courts that, as a direct negociation with the King of Great Britain was opened through Mr. Cumberland, a mediation was unnecessary.]

That affairs since that time had taken a different turn. Mr. Cumberland has been recalled; and the Catholic king, being now entirely at liberty, has accepted the mediation of the two imperial courts. That the king our ally had done the same; but that both kings had declared at the same time to the two mediators that the mediation could not possibly have any activity without previously establishing some fundamental preliminaries. Of this observation the two mediating courts had already felt the propriety. That France was then (viz., the 19th of April) expecting the effect which this communication would produce on the court of London. That the first question proposed by France related to *the admission of an American plenipotentiary;* and that the object of the second was to know *upon what footing the King of England intended to treat with the United States.* The court of France, not knowing that the United States had agreed to accept the mediation, again invite us to it.

[The minister here observed that Congress would judge by the questions proposed to the mediating powers by the king, his master, of the principles by which his majesty was actuated with respect to the United States. He assured us that his majesty is invariably resolved to abide by those principles, and will enter into no negociation whatever before he shall receive a satisfactory solution of those two questions. He added, that the French minister trusted that this conduct would more and more convince the United States, and would cause them to imitate the example of the king, and to feel that their honor and their interest call for their constant attachment, their friendship, and unreserved confidence towards him.]

The Count de Vergennes observes that it is plain from these circumstances that the negociation for peace will be full of difficulties, and that it will probably be necessary, in pretensions as well as proceedings, to

be very cautious, and to act so as to remove those difficulties, and everything which might increase the acrimony to which the English plenipotentiaries may be naturally inclined.

[From another letter of the same date.]

That when this letter was written the court had received information of the sentiments of the court of London with respect to the United States. The Count de Vergennes mentions that in the act by which the court of London accepts the mediation of Russia, and requests the mediation of the emperor, she declares that she is ready to make peace *as soon as the league between France and her revolted subjects shall be dissolved.* That this pretension had met from the court of France the contempt which it deserved. She on her part has declared that if this proposition contained the last determination of England it would be in vain to think of peace; and she has desired the English ministry to give a positive answer on the two questions above mentioned. That this declaration had been exactly transmitted by the court of Vienna to that of London; and the result of the answer made by that court to the Imperial majesty is, "*that in all points to be agitated in a future congress England will behave with great equity and condescension; but the dependence of her rebel subjects in America must be pre established, and that this matter must be left entirely to the care of Great Britain.*" That it is easily to be perceived that while things remain in this situation there can be no possibility of a mediation or peace.

The Count de Vergennes remarks that Congress will be finally convinced that it is only by arms and the most vigorous exertions that our independence can be extorted from the court of London, and not at all by negociation or persuasion. That the court of France will transmit to the court of Vienna the sentiments of the king on the British answer. That if these sentiments should be forwarded to the court of London without any commentary it is probable they would make but a slight impression; but it may be hoped, from the justice of his Imperial majesty, that they will be supported by such reflections as to make a greater impression on the British court; although it is not to be expected that the Austrian court will fully enter into the views of his most Christian majesty until the matter shall be more perfectly explained. The count, nevertheless, urges the necessity of sending forward proper instructions and powers for the mediation.

[From a letter of the 11th of May.]

That the affair of the mediation has made no progress, and that it is very probable that the mediators will not be soon enabled to begin the negociation; that the admission of an American plenipotentiary presents the greatest difficulties. That the count, however, will take every measure in his power to have this admission decided in favor of the

United States before the regular opening of the mediation. The count urges the Chevalier de la Luzerne to observe to Congress that the best manner of removing these obstacles would be a *decisive victory* gained by the United States in the present campaign.

[From a letter of the 27th of July.]

Count de Vergennes observes on an opinion which prevailed in America respecting the friendly disposition of the powers of Europe towards the United States, that as yet not one court had taken the least step which manifests their disposition towards the United States. That the courts of Vienna and Petersburgh, having assumed the character of mediators, can not be too reserved; for by a different conduct they would become obnoxious to one or other of the belligerent powers and lose the important and glorious part with which they are entrusted. That it results from these observations that the United States ought to look upon themselves as being still separated from all other powers; and that they have but one professed friend, which is France, and that the United States ought to rely principally upon their own resources.

The Count de Vergennes observes that he has talked circumstantially with Mr. Adams on these subjects, who appeared to be satisfied with what had been done in favor of his country. That he had communicated to Mr. Adams the preliminary overtures made by the two imperial courts, as well as the intended answer of his most Christian majesty. That the great or only difficulty concerns America. That France will do all in her power to remove that obstacle, upon which depends the activity of the mediation. That as soon as it shall be removed or proved to be insurmountable proper instructions will be forwarded to the Chevalier de la Luzerne concerning the conduct which the state of affairs will require from Congress. That the court of France had received with great satisfaction information that Congress were disposed to trust their interest to the two mediating powers. The Chevalier de la Luzerne is directed to inform Congress that no use shall be made of this disposition in the present state of affairs, and that it shall be communicated only when it can be done consistently with the dignity of the United States.

[From a letter of the 19th of April.]

That Mr. Dana has communicated to Count de Vergennes his appointment, and requested his advice concerning the conduct which circumstances demanded on his part. That it gave the count great pleasure to observe this proof of the confidence which Congress and their ministers reposed in the friendship and advice of his court. That the count informed Mr. Dana that he would run the risk of exposing his person and the dignity of the United States if he assumed any character whatsoever in Russia while the empress had not acknowledged the independence of the United States and expected to act the part of a

mediatrix, which demanded the most perfect impartiality. That Mr. Dana felt the propriety of the observation, and proposed to the count that he should appear in Russia in the character of a common traveller, keep his commission a secret, and avoid with the greatest care to speak of business, unless requested so to do by the Russian ministry. That the count fully approved of this prudent scheme, and apprized Mr. Dana of all the difficulties he would meet with. He had him recommended to the Marquis de Verac, envoy extraordinary at the court of Petersburgh; and the Chevalier de la Luzerne is directed to assure Congress that the Marquis de Verac would do all in his power for Mr. Dana's best reception, and with pleasure assist him with his counsels as often as he should have recourse to them. That the Marquis de Verac had communicated to the Russian ministry the resolution of Congress concerning the principle of the declaration made by the Empress of Russia to the belligerent powers. That this envoy informs the Count de Vergennes that the contents of this resolution had afforded great satisfaction to Count Panin, minister of foreign affairs, who intended to submit it without delay to the perusal of the empress. That the Marquis de Verac did not doubt but that she would be pleased with the readiness of Congress to adopt that principle; and that correspondent resolutions will have been taken respecting the navigation of the neutrals.

[From a letter of the 29th of June.]

That the accession of the State of Maryland to the general confederation, in the opinion of the court of France, presents very great advantages; among which is this, that Congress having at last acquired that power which the act of confederation has assigned them, it is to be expected that their orders will be fully and exactly executed, and that they will take advantage of the resources of their country to give to American patriotism new energy. The minister is directed to inform Congress of the satisfaction the king has received on that account, and to tell them at the same time that there is the most pressing necessity to take more effectual measures than heretofore to drive the British out of this continent. It is thought needless to enter into details about the circumstances which render this measure necessary. The king entreats the United States, as his friends, not to lose a moment in acting as vigorously as possible against the common enemy. That Congress can not be particularly acquainted with the different burdens which France has upon her hands. She wishes to be in a situation to continue as effectual assistance to the United States as at this moment; but future events may happen in a manner different from what we may expect, though nothing can change her unalterable resolution to support the independence of her ally. The Count de Vergennes observes that he shall not speak any more of the non-arrival of the second division, having reason to believe from orders given to Count de Grasse that the delay will be judged of greater utility to the United States than if the

announced reinforcement had been sent in the time expected. He adds that the Chevalier de la Luzerne had been already informed of the causes which had prevented a compliance with the expectation which he had been authorised to give.

[From a letter of the 11th of May.]

That the Count de Vergennes had been informed by the Duc de la Vauguyon, ambassador to the United Provinces, of the intention of Mr. Adams to display his character as a minister of the United States in Holland. That the duke gave him no assistance on that occasion, knowing the application would have no favorable issue. The Chevalier de la Luzerne is directed to inform confidentially a committee, or Congress themselves, of these circumstances, in order that they may transmit to their said minister plenipotentiary such instructions as they may think proper. France is too much interested in the fate of the United States not to give them such counsels as would have for a principal object their advantage and their dignity.

SEPTEMBER 24, 1781.

The same committee reported that since the communication which they laid before Congress on the 21st they resumed the conference with the said minister, and that the substance of the further communication is as follows, viz:

[From a letter of the 19th of April, 1781.]

That Count de Vergennes remarks that, on the application of Chevalier de la Luzerne and his representation of the distresses of the United States, measures had been taken for our aid when Colonel Laurens arrived. That it being impossible for the king to comply with all Colonel Laurens' demands, he took the resolution to offer his guarantee for ten millions of livres tournois, to be borrowed in Holland for account of the United States. That the king was sensible of the wants and distresses of Congress, and wished to relieve them; but that it ought to be considered that the French squadron and troops are in America for our immediate assistance. That Count de Grasse's expedition to America will occasion great expense; and that all those things collected together would go far beyond even the expectation of Congress. That the most essential manner of showing the gratitude of the United States would be by making all the exertions in their power to co-operate in a glorious and effectual manner with the king's forces for their own speedy deliverance.

The Count de Vergennes observes that a part of the six millions of livres would be employed in purchasing the different articles contained in a list delivered by Mr. Laurens. That three millions would be given by installments to Dr. Franklin for the payment of bills of exchange

drawn by Congress. That a fourth million would be reserved for unforeseen emergencies, and particularly to pay for the supplies embarked in the ship *La Fayette*. That Count de Vergennes had been Dr. Franklin's security for a part of those supplies, amounting to four hundred and seventeen thousand livres. That he is unacquainted with the measures which had been taken to effectuate the loan of ten millions in Holland, that affair being in the province of M. Necker, who probably would settle that matter with Mr. Laurens, or with Mr. Adams, who at that time was still in Holland to fill up a loan of a million florins which he had opened several months before.

[From a letter of the 11th of May.]

That Count de Vergennes informs the Chevalier de la Luzerne that orders had been given by the king to have the loan of ten millions on account of the United States negociated; that the Duc de la Vauguyon had received orders to propose it to the States of Holland, but met with insuperable difficulties, not only because the United States had no credit in Holland, but also because that province was afraid of exposing itself; and that, indeed, granting a loan to the United States would be the same thing as countenancing their independence, which would be contrary to the obligations entered into by the republic with the neutral powers; that in order to remove this difficulty the king had presented himself as a principal borrower, and as being alone accountable for the sums which were to be furnished.

The count adds, that he thinks these proceedings need no commentary, and that a mere exposition of them will be sufficient to excite the gratitude of the United States, and to engage them at last to make all the exertions in their power. The count flatters himself that the measures which have been taken by his court will enable Congress to put their finances in the best order. That the Chevalier de la Luzerne had often written to him that the most certain way to effectuate so happy an event would be to put Congress for a while out of their distressing situation, and to enable them, by an external relief, to take internal measures without precipitation and with solidity. That these considerations determined the king; and that from affection he has done more for his ally than mere prudence would perhaps have suggested to him. That the council of the king have no doubt but this resolution will be productive of the good effects which the Chevalier de la Luzerne had announced. The count exhorts Congress to take hold of the present circumstances for the common advantage. He thinks it his duty freely and openly to declare that the moment is come not to spend the time in expectation, deliberation, and useless exhortations; that though he would wish to avoid every disagreeable intimation, friendship and common interest oblige France to speak without reserve and with perfect sincerity. That the king has done on this occasion what he can do no more; that Congress, if well informed of the situation of his maj-

esty's affairs, would be sensible that an exertion like the present can not be repeated; and that the court would feel the deepest concern if it was under the disagreeable but indispensable necessity of refusing the demands of an ally whose cause is now become its own.

[From a letter of the 14th of May.]

The Count de Vergennes observes that Colonel Laurens had taken leave of the king, and that he ought to be satisfied with the success of his mission, although he had not obtained all that he demanded. That the court of France hopes these demands will not be renewed, for, how disagreeable soever to refuse allies whom the king sincerely loves, necessity would oblige him to reject pecuniary demands of any kind whatsoever.

[From a letter of the 27th of July.]

That the Chevalier de la Luzerne observed that in March last he informed Congress that the court no longer pay the bills drawn upon France, upon which declaration he believes Congress stopped all drafts on Dr. Franklin. That he informed the court of that resolution of Congress. The court in the mean time had resolved to grant a subsidy of six millions, to be employed in purchasing arms, ammunition, and clothing, to be sent from France to the United States, and the remainder of the sum to be employed in paying the drafts of Congress, or of any person they might appoint. Mr. Morris being appointed superintendent, the minister, according to his instructions, authorised him to draw for half a million of livres, and informed M. Necker of this measure; accordingly funds were prepared for a regular payment. The Chevalier de la Luzerne had agreed with the superintendent that he might draw in the whole for a million and a half, including the half million above mentioned; of all which he had informed Count de Vergennes. Colonel Laurens being in the mean while arrived in France, it was found from his representation that the mode of drawing was prejudicial to Congress, and that if the specie was imported there would be no loss; and it was agreed that he should bring over two millions and a half out of the six millions in specie. In consequence of this measure Count de Vergennes acquaints the Chevalier de la Luzerne that he hopes the superintendent will not have drawn more than the before-mentioned half million of livres. He wishes it the more earnestly, as bills for a greater sum would embarrass the finances of France in a great degree, the goods delivered to Colonel Laurens exceeding already the sum remaining out of the six millions, and the goods taken on board the *Marquis de la Fayette* being not yet replaced.

For a fuller explanation the Chevalier de la Luzerne communicated to the committee an account of the sums already furnished and to be furnished from this time to the end of the present year for the service of the United States. That he had orders to take

hold of this opportunity to repeat to Congress that the king for the next year can not continue any supplies to the United States even of a much less nature. That it is time for them to relieve his majesty from the heavy burdens in a war which he had undertaken and carries on for their sakes. That the Count de Vergennes expects that Congress will not have drawn more bills of any kind after the 1st day April last; that firmly relying on this, he had engaged the king to procure the necessary sums to answer the bills drawn before that period, and desired Dr. Franklin to accept no more, if he had no other means of paying them; that this resolution could not be altered by any circumstances whatever.

The Count de Vergennes proceeds to state how far the abuse of the king's benevolence had been carried, he supposes against the will and instructions and without the knowledge of Congress. That the bills drawn upon Mr. Jay, Mr. Adams, and Mr. Laurens had been sent back to Dr. Franklin—that is, in effect, to the court of France. That the republic of Holland had been unwilling to hear of any loan, even under the guarantee of the king, when it was known that the money was intended for the use of the United States; and that to remove this obstacle, as he had before observed, the king was induced to present himself as the principal borrower. The court was still unacquainted with the effect of that proposition.

[To this is appended, in the original, a statement of payments made by France to the United States.]

Livingston to the President of Congress.*

CLERMONT, *September* 23, 1781.

SIR: Having yesterday been favored by Mr. Duane with a copy of the resolutions for organizing the office of foreign affairs, I embrace the earliest opportunity to communicate through your excellency to Congress my determination to accept the place they have honored me with. Confiding that in the discharge of the important duties committed to my care I shall meet with those allowances which I am but too sensible my want of experience in the business of so extensive a department will render necessary, I shall repair to Philadelphia with as much expedition as the settlement of my affairs here and the removal of a family will admit.

I have the honor to be, with great respect and esteem, your excellency's most obdt. humble servt.,

R. R. LIVINGSTON.

---

* MSS. Dep. of State.

Luzerne to the President of Congress.*

[Translation.]

PHILADELPHIA, *September* 24, 1781.

SIR: The undersigned, minister plenipotentiary of France, has the honor of communicating to Congress a memorial which has been sent to him by Don Francisco Rendon. He entreats Congress to take it into consideration, and he has no doubt that the resolution which that body shall pass upon the subject will be as advantageous to the subjects of his Catholic majesty as justice will allow.

LUZERNE.

MEMORIAL OF DON FRANCISCO RENDON TO THE MINISTER OF FRANCE.

[Translation.]

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY: Don Francisco Rendon, resident in this city, *encargado de negocios* for the court of Spain, with all due respect informs your excellency that, in consequence of the articles of capitulation granted to the troops and inhabitants of his Britannic majesty at the reduction of Pensacola by Don Bernardo de Galvez, commander-in-chief of the forces of his Catholic majesty, permission was granted by the governor of the place to Captain Jahleel Smith, with his vessel called the *Sally*, her crew and passengers contained in the passport, to go to New York, six of the passengers being prisoners on parole, to be exchanged for an equal number of Spanish prisoners; that in his passage the said flag was captured by an American vessel called the *Betsy*, Captain Eno, belonging to the State of Pennsylvania; that in consequence thereof the said J. Smith has presented to me a petition and an account, which I herewith enclose, praying me to obtain for him an indemnification and payment for the damages he has sustained, and that liberty may be granted him by the supreme authority to pass freely to the place of his destination, agreeable to the permission of the generals of the king, my master.

I therefore entreat that your excellency would be pleased to present this memorial, with the documents accompanying it, to the honorable Congress, and pray them to order payment to be made to the captain of the flag for the delay and damages occasioned by this capture, and grant the said prisoners of his Catholic majesty mentioned in the passport free permission to go to New York, in order to discharge their parole and obtain their exchange.

I am induced by your excellency's goodness to hope for this favor, and am, &c.,

FRANCISCO RENDON.

McKean, President of Congress, to Luzerne.†

PHILADELPHIA, *September* 25, 1781.

SIR: The United States in Congress assembled, ever desirous to observe good faith and maintain the rights of neutrality, and sincerely disposed to cultivate the friendship of his Catholic majesty, have referred the memorial presented by your excellency in favor of Jahleel Smith, master of the schooner *Sally*, to a committee of Congress, who now have it under consideration.

---

* 6 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 13.

† MSS. Dep. of State; 6 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 14.

To form a right judgment of the transaction it is conceived necessary that an authentic copy of the capitulation granted by his Catholic majesty's general to the British officer lately commanding at Pensacola, and referred to in the memorial of Don Francisco Rendon, residing in this city, *encargado de negocios* for the court of Spain, should be communicated to the United States. In the mean time it requires no deliberation to assure your excellency that the laws of the land are competent for redressing every injury perpetrated by vessels of war commissioned by the United States or under their authority, although the security for the good behavior of the officers and crews may not be adequate to the damages claimed.

THOMAS MCKEAN,
President.

Morris to Luzerne.*

OFFICE OF FINANCE, *September* 25, 1781.

SIR: I received last night your excellency's billet requesting to be informed of the amount of the bills drawn by me, as superintendent of the finances, on Messrs. Le Couteulx & Co., of Paris, under the sanction of your engagements.

This communication I intended making to your excellency in consequence of the conversation that passed between us a few days since; but it was only yesterday that I completed the delivery of such bills as had been sold previous to that conversation, which amounted to fifty-seven thousand seven hundred and eighty livres; and now, on summing up the whole, I find that I have drawn one hundred and eighty-one sets of bills, all at sixty days' sight, in favor of various persons to whom they have been sold, amounting to nine hundred and one thousand and eighteen livres, four sous and eight deniers tournois. Of these bills, three hundred and seventy-six thousand one hundred and twenty-two livres, ten sous have been sold at five shillings and six pence for five livres, and five hundred and twenty-four thousand eight hundred and ninety-five livres, fourteen sous eight deniers at six shillings for five livres; by which it appears the discount does not exceed sixteen and five-eighths per cent. on the value in Europe; and were this money to be imported I suppose the freight and insurance might amount to nearly the value of that discount; if so, this mode of bringing it into use is not a bad one. Besides, I must again observe that, by a union of management in the sale of bills drawn for the service of his most Christian majesty's fleets and armies and those drawn for account of the United States, still better prices might be obtained; nay, I should not despair of trying to raise the price of exchange to par by means of partial importations of money and passing bills before the expenditure thereof, so that necessity might not have any influence in fixing the price.

---

* 6 Spark's Dip. Rev. Corr., 340.

What your excellency has said to me respecting the advances made this year by his majesty to the United States has left on my mind those impressions you intended to make. You may depend, sir, that it is my wish, and shall be a part of my study, to render these States as little troublesome to his majesty as possible, and I shall probably have many opportunities to convince you that it is a fixed point with me that the United States, to become truly independent, must trust more to their own exertions, and lean but lightly on their allies. But, sir, you must remember the situation in which I found their affairs; you are not ignorant that, although I have cut off entirely many sources of expense and curtailed others, yet that I have not been able to obtain either supplies of money or permanent revenue from the States; which, however, I attribute chiefly to the recess of the several legislatures during the greatest part of the time that I have been in office, for I hope and expect that they will severally attend to the calls upon them when they shall come to know their real situation.

But, in the mean while, what am I to do if the means of supplying indispensable wants are cut off? The important operations now carrying on by General Washington depend so materially on the performance of my engagements, that the most fatal consequences may ensue from any breach of them. Your excellency well remembers that you thought yourself justifiable in giving me assurances that Messrs. Le Couteulx & Co. should be supplied with 1,500,000 livres tournois, to answer my drafts to that extent, the produce whereof to be employed in the service of the present campaign. You will also recollect that, previous to my journey in August to camp, I judged it necessary to know whether that sum was the whole on which I could place dependence, because, as the General's operations would in a great measure depend on the aids I could afford him, it was absolutely incumbent on me to be informed of their extent in every channel through which I expected them to flow.

Your excellency, convinced of the propriety of my observations and of the actual necessities of our situation, ventured the assurance of another million of livres. Therefore, whilst I was at camp, during the consultations on the measures, I gave his excellency reason to believe that the amount of 2,500,000 livres of bills on France, in conjunction with the resources provided by Congress, should be brought to the support of his operations. Counting upon this as certain, General Washington has taken his measures accordingly.

It has been my study to make the bills as productive as circumstances would permit, and to apply the money to the purposes for which it was granted, under the most scrupulous and assiduous attention to the principles of economy; and I may hazard the opinion that no money has been more frugally or usefully expended by the United States during the war without the least danger of being put in the wrong.

You are sensible that the money which arrived with Colonel Laurens although landed on the continent, cannot be brought into use until it

arrival here; and although I have sent for it, yet it is but now on the road, and the General cannot stop his operations, nor can I refuse or defer compliance with my engagements, until its arrival. The ruinous consequences that would follow must appear too strong and clear to a gentleman of your reflection and information to need any other demonstration than the bare mention of the facts. Consequently, your excellency will be well convinced of the absolute necessity of permitting me to draw to the extent agreed upon, and I hope his majesty's ministers will be too strongly impressed with apprehensions of the fatal consequences that would follow any neglect of my bills to suffer the least inattention to them; and as the sum in total will not be of such magnitude as to occasion great inconvenience, I hope his majesty will find cause to applaud your zeal and attention upon the occasion.

A committee of Congress have laid before me the communications your excellency has lately made to Congress, which will claim my utmost attention, and your excellency will do me the justice to believe that my most strenuous endeavors shall be to promote what is so strongly urged by his majesty's ministers—the most spirited exertions of these States to drive the enemy from our country—and that my affection for and gratitude to France are unalterably fixed, as is also my respect and esteem for your excellency's person and character, being sir, your most obedient, &c.,

ROBERT MORRIS.

P. S.—Upon a more exact calculation of the sale of bills, a few of which were sold a little higher than the rest, I find that nine hundred one thousand and eighteen livres, four sous eight deniers produced fifty-two thousand two hundred and eleven pounds, ten shillings and nine pence, Pennsylvania currency, which is equal to one hundred twenty-five thousand three hundred and seven French crowns and seven-tenths of a crown, at eight shillings four pence, Pennsylvania currency, for a crown; and the same number of livres reduced into crowns, at six livres each crown, is one hundred fifty thousand one hundred sixty-nine and four-sixths crowns. Consequently the discount is little more than sixteen and a half per cent.

Carmichael to the Committee of Foreign Affairs.*

ST. ILDEFONSO, *September* 28, 1781.

GENTLEMEN: Since my letter of the 14th instant † the minister has notified to Mr. Jay the king's intentions of naming a person to treat with him. There is reason to think his nomination and instructions will have his majesty's approbation on Sunday next, though possibly

* MSS. Dep. of State; 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 57, with verbal changes.
† Missing.

it may not be formally communicated until the court is at the Escurial to which place the royal family goes the 10th of next month.

M. Del Campo, whom I mentioned in my last, is the person who proba bly will be chosen. I repeat his name, lest that letter should miscarry He is first under secretary for foreign affairs and acting secretary of the council of state, and has the reputation of possessing great abilities and application to business, and I believe he merits what is said of him He has also the entire confidence of the Count de Florida Blanca. His residence in England as secretary of the embassy there and his atten tion to Mr. Cumberland and family while here occasioned some to believe him secretly inclined to the interests of that country, but I believe without foundation, for I know that Mr. Cumberland left this country much chagrined, and I believe he was the dupe of this gentle man's policy. I have had the satisfaction of being on very good terms with him for several months past, and have often expressed to him my hopes and wishes that he might prove another M. Gerard in our affairs His being employed in this negociation is so far favorable to us as it successful issue interests his own reputation, and will be probably a step to further honors and employments, to which, as mentioned in my last, the public opinion destines him. I hope the court is now seriou in its intentions to conclude the negociations, but it is still not improb able this business may be delayed until the fate of the campaign i known, unless it should be accelerated by the confirmation of news received from Cadiz last week of the arrival of Count de Grasse's squad ron on the coast of Virginia, the consequent critical situation of th army of Lord Cornwallis, and the defeat of Lord Rawdon by Genera Greene.

I shall seize every opportunity of informing the committee of th progress made in this important business, and am happy to find by letter I have just had the honor to receive from Mr. Lovell, dated th 15th of June, that my correspondence has contributed in any degree t the satisfaction of Congress; but am surprised that so few of my letter have reached the committee; for on reading the list of those receive and comparing it with my letter book, I find several missing whic were sent by vessels from Bilboa and elsewhere, which I know arrive in safety in America, particularly my answer to Mr. Jay's instruction to me at Cadiz, of which he sent only the state of the revenues and ex penses of this country in the year 1778.

I am informed by letters from Holland that Mr. Adams has had nervous fever, but that he is now in a fair way to recover. The *Sout Carolina* frigate sailed from thence, with the ships under her convoy the 19th ultimo. I hope their safe arrival will convey to Congres ample information of the situation of their affairs in that quarter. am afraid the loan does not fill fast, because I have letters from a hous at Hamburg which mention that Congress bills to a large amount tha they had presented for acceptance had been protested. The republ

an party gains ground, and the Duke of Brunswick, though not emoved, is obliged to act with more caution, and the stadtholder with nore vigor and activity. I am informed that the court of France has onsented to replace the cargo lost in the *Marquis de la Fayette*, but Dr. Franklin is not enabled to accept any more of Mr. Jay's bills, even or our salaries.

The rumors of a general negociation subside, owing it is said to the bstinacy of Great Britain and the demands of this court. The im- erial minister has just received a courier from his court charged with ts excuses for the detention of a Spanish courier, who, after delivering is despatches to the Spanish ambassador at Vienna, on his journey rom thence to Petersburgh was stopped in Hungary, and not permit- ed to proceed until released by order of the imperial court. The min- ster named to the court of Berlin from hence will soon go thither; his nomination is still a secret. The Spanish squadron has returned to Cadiz. Major Franks will leave this next week. I must do this officer he justice to observe to the committee that he has conducted himself vith great discretion and economy here, and I hope that Congress will e induced by the success and expedition with which he delivered their espatches to Mr. Jay to send in future such as are important in a sim- lar way.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

WILLIAM CARMICHAEL.

Morris to the Speaker of the Assembly of Pennsyivania.*

OFFICE OF FINANCE, *September* 28, 1781.

SIR: As the honorable house of assembly are now sitting, and have efore them the several letters which I had the honor to write during heir recess to his excellency the president in council, I shall now en- eavor to state, in a short manner, the situation of accounts depending etween Pennsylvania and the United States, and propose such meas- res as I think will lead to a speedy and satisfactory settlement of them.

In the treasury books of the United States there is an account cur- ent open for transactions commencing with the Revolution and con- inuing to the 18th of March, 1780, wherein the State of Pennsylvania tands charged with advances made at different periods during that ime to the amount of four millions four hundred and forty-four thou- and and seven hundred dollars, and has credit to the amount of one undred and thirty-six thousand and ninety-eight dollars. Most of these dvances were made whilst money was valuable; but I expect that the xpenditures of the State on behalf of the United States kept pace with he advances made, and that, probably, when this account comes to be ettled, there may be no great balance either way; but in this respect do not pretend to speak with certainty. However, I must here observe

* 6 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 343.

that every State in the Union has an account of the same sort depend-ing; wherefore, I propose that Congress should fix such general prin-ciples as will tend to do justice on the settlement of the whole, and appoint immediately auditors to go through the whole; so that when the balance of each shall be justly ascertained, it may be paid or re-ceived according as the same shall happen to be due to or from the United States, and this will put every State on an equal footing so far.

You will find by the resolution of Congress of the 22d of November, 1777, Pennsylvania is called on to pay, in four quarterly payments commencing on the 1st day of January, 1778, the sum of six hundred and twenty thousand dollars. By the resolutions of the 3d and 5th of January, 1779, Pennsylvania is called on to pay, during that year, the sum of one million nine hundred thousand dollars. By the resolution of the 21st of May, 1779, Pennsylvania was called on to pay, by the 1st of January, 1780, the sum of five million seven hundred thousand dol-lars. By the resolutions of the 6th and 7th of October, 1779, a monthly tax of fifteen millions is called for, of which the proportion of Pennsyl-vania is two millions three hundred thousand dollars, making for the two months payable the 1st of February and the 1st of March four millions six hundred thousand dollars. Thus the whole of these requisitions appears to have amounted to twelve millions eight hundred and twenty thousand dollars, of which there appears to have been paid on different drafts to the amount of six millions four hundred and fifty-four thousand one hundred and fourteen dollars and two-thirds, leaving a balance still due of six millions three hundred and sixty-five thousand eight hundred and eighty-five dollars and one-third of the old emissions.

By the resolution of the 10th of March, 1780, the fifteen millions of monthly taxes is continued so as to include thirteen months, making for the proportion of Pennsylvania twenty-nine millions nine hundred thousand dollars; of which sum ten millions six hundred thousand dol-lars have been paid into the loan office; of consequence there remains due nineteen millions three hundred thousand dollars.

By the resolution last mentioned new money was to be issued at the rate of one for every twenty of the old; of which new money Congress had reserved four-tenths to their disposal, and the treasury board have already issued warrants to the amount thereof. The State paper being of equal value with the new emission, and the former not bearing in-terest, I have thought it most for the benefit of this State and of the United States to draw from the treasurer a sum of the new State paper equal to the balance of those four-tenths, and have accordingly done so.

By the resolution of the 26th of August, 1780, the States are called on to pay into the treasury by the last day of December then next ensuing three millions of dollars, of which the quota of Pennsylvania is four hundred and sixty thousand dollars.

By the resolution of the 4th of November, 1780, Pennsylvania is called upon to pay two hundred and seventy-three thousand eight hundred

and thirty-two dollars and two-thirds, in quarterly payments, commencing the 1st day of May last; and by the resolution of the 16th of March, 1781, Pennsylvania is called upon to pay one million and fifty-nine thousand eight hundred and sixty-three dollars, in quarterly payments, commencing the 1st day of June last. All these are payable in the new emission or specie. Thus the whole of the requisitions will, on the 1st day of March next, amount to one million seven hundred and ninety-three thousand six hundred and ninety-five dollars and two-thirds. Of this sum there appears to have been paid seventeen thousand seven hundred and forty dollars; wherefore there will still remain a balance of one million seven hundred and seventy-five thousand nine hundred and fifty-five dollars and two-thirds.

By a note from David Rittenhouse I find that he has in his hands one hundred and thirty-eight thousand nine hundred dollars of the new emission and fourteen millions one hundred and forty-five thousand six hundred dollars of the old, in which latter sum, nevertheless, is included some State money received at seventy-five for one, the amount of which can not be determined until it is sorted and counted; wherefore the old emission may be estimated at about fourteen millions.

On this state of things I take the liberty of proposing to the honorable house that all the old money be immediately paid in and the new taken out, which will be about seven hundred thousand dollars, and that, with what is now in the treasurer's hands, will make eight hundred and thirty-eight thousand nine hundred dollars. I further propose that this be paid to me, as superintendent of finance, on account of the above balance of one million seven hundred and seventy-five thousand nine hundred and fifty-five dollars and two-thirds, which will then be reduced to nine hundred and thirty-seven thousand and fifty-five dollars and two-thirds. I further propose that the remaining sums of old Continental due from the State be collected and paid as soon as possible, which, besides discharging that demand, will also enable the State to receive the further sum of two hundred and sixty thousand dollars of the new emission, and that, being paid in as before, will still further reduce the balance against the State to six hundred and seventy-two thousand and fifty-five dollars and two-thirds. There are at present in circulation of the new emission three hundred and ninety-one thousand one hundred dollars, which ought certainly to be brought in as soon as possible and applied to the same purposes already specified, by which means the eventual balance payable in specie would be two hundred and eighty thousand nine hundred and fifty-five dollars and two-thirds; to which must be added thirteen thousand three hundred and thirty-four dollars required by Congress on the 8th of January last to be paid in specie; being together one hundred and ten thousand three hundred and fifty-eight pounds twelve shillings and six pence. To explain all which more fully I enclose the accounts (No. one, two, and three), to which I pray leave to have reference.

The specific supplies will still remain to be provided for in order that all the demands of Congress may be fully answered; but I hope that the specie tax now collecting will go a great way towards the accomplishment of this necessary object, and, at any rate, as the state of paper, notwithstanding every effort, has not yet appreciated to par, I would propose that no more of it be issued from the treasury except as equal to gold and silver, and then the collection of the present taxes will at least prevent any depreciation, and in the mean time the fund on which it was emitted become more productive. The next assembly will be able to take such additional measures as may be necessary further to raise the value of it. This can only be done by holding it up from circulation on the one hand, and on the other by raising taxes, in which the public receive it as equivalent to the precious metals.

It is my determination, as superintendent, to deposit all the money of the new emission which shall be received from the several States in the Continental treasury, and not to issue one shilling of it unless compelled by absolute necessity, which I hope will not be the case if the States take measures to pay in the eventual balances.

Whether the house will find it consistent with the situation of their constituents to lay an additional tax this session is for them to determine; but it is my duty to mention it, which I do from a conviction that it is necessary. They will perceive that very great arrearages are due, and they must be sensible that taxation alone can support the public credit or enable government to carry on the war.

With the greatest respect, I have the honor to be, &c.,

ROBERT MORRIS.

Franklin to Jay.*

PASSY, *September* 29, 1781.

DEAR SIR: I received yours of the 10th instant, and have given orders that you should have the credit you require for October and November, viz., 16,157 dollars. Please to let me know if this sum includes the balance of the 25,000 dollars. I begin to have hopes of the loan in Holland, in which case I shall be able also to pay your next year's salaries. But in that case the drafts should be quarterly, and if you think anything can be saved by it you may dispose of your bills on me as you think proper. Please to explain this *saving*. I was told there was none. By a line in Mr. Carmichael's letter I have the hopes of seeing you. He mentions your intention of sending some papers by the courier. They are not come. I have only received your good reasons for refusing payment of certain bills. I can now only add that I am ever, with great esteem, dear sir, your most obedient and most humble servant,

B. FRANKLIN.

[I can not now write to Mr. C.] †

---

* MSS. Dep. of State. † Not in letter book.

Morris to Rochambeau.*

OFFICE OF FINANCE, *October* 1, 1781.

SIR: This being the day agreed upon for repayment of the moneys your excellency was so kind as to advance me, I do myself the honor of assigning to you the reasons why it is not done. I had determined to make every effort and every sacrifice for the sake of complying with my engagements. But his excellency the minister of France, perceiving that it would be very inconvenient to me, and being convinced that you were not in immediate want of it, was so kind as to assure me that he would write to you on the subject, and that in the mean time I might delay the payment until the arrival of money from the eastward. I shall then take care to have your advance replaced.

Being convinced, sir, that M. de la Luzerne has already made the proper representations to you upon the subject, I should not have troubled you with reading this letter but that I feel a pleasure in seizing every opportunity to express my wishes for your success and glory, as well as to assure you that I am, &c.,

ROBERT MORRIS.

Dana to Livingston.†

ST. PETERSBURGH, *October* 1, 1781.

SIR: In the project of a treaty which France proposes to Russia there is an article to this effect:

When the subjects of France shall carry in their own vessels French goods into Russia and shall exchange them for Russian goods, in such cases there shall be a drawback of the duties, both of importation and exportation, paid by the subjects of France.

France, to induce Russia to grant this, says:

France will want great quantities of Russian goods, which after the war France will not be obliged to take of Russia, for France can have the like from America, and though perhaps not so cheap, yet it will be the interest of France, if Russia should not grant this, to pay America 15 or 20 per cent. more for the same articles, for this would enable America to take off more French goods and to pay France for them.

Hemp is particularly mentioned.‡

I pray you to keep this to yourself, and I have the honor to be, &c.,

FRANCIS DANA.

---

* 6 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 347.

† MSS. Dep. of State; 4 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 596.

‡ This draft treaty is elsewhere noticed as an attempt of France to favor Russia in preference to the United States. But it has, as Livingston at once said, no such meaning.

Jay to the President of Congress.*

ST. ILDEFONSO, *October* 3, 1781.

SIR: My letter of the 25th of April last, by Mr. Toscan, informed Congress that on the 30th day of January preceding I had the honor of receiving their letters of the 6th and 17th of October, 1780, the latter of which states particularly and ably the right of the United States to the free navigation of the river Misissippi, and enumerates the various reasons which induce them to decline relinquishing it.†

Among these reasons is the guarantee contained in the treaty with France. I hinted to Congress that it was more than probable that the contents of this interesting letter were well known to the French court before it came to my hands. I am well persuaded that this was the case. Shortly after receiving it I took occasion to converse generally with the ambassador on the subject of the Spanish pretensions to that navigation, and remarked, as it were inadvertently, how unreasonable it was for them to expect that we should relinquish a territorial right which both justice and the guarantee of France enabled us to retain. The thought did not appear new to him, but he strongly combatted this construction of the treaty, and endeavored to explain it away by observing that the guarantee could not comprehend claims whose objects we had never possessed, &c., &c. I mention this only to show how improper it would have been for me to have communicated this part of your excellency's letter to the Spanish minister. It could have answered no good purpose, because, as France would have disputed this construction, Spain could with propriety have refused to admit the force of any argument drawn from it, and it might have done much mischief, not only by bringing on an unseasonable explanation between France and us, but also between Spain and France.

If I had given the Spanish minister a copy of every other part of this letter except those paragraphs which contain the reasoning in question, the omission might in future have been urged by France, who I verily believe has a copy of that whole letter, as an argument for my having yielded that point as not tenable; and though my opinion might not be of much consequence, it appeared to me most prudent to avoid doubts about it. For my own part I really did and do think that this guarantee does comprehend the navigation in question, though I also think that no question should be raised about it at present. So circumstanced, I thought it most advisable to make no written communications of any parts or part of this letter, but from time to time to press every argument contained in it in the course of conversations with the Spanish minister except those drawn from the guarantee.

The minister, however, did not at any time enter into the merits of these arguments, nor appear in the least affected by them. His answer

* MSS. Dep. of State; 4 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 329, with verbal changes.

† See these letters, *supra*. The latter was drawn up by Mr. Madison.

to them all was, that the King of Spain must have the Gulf of Mexico to himself; that the maxims of policy adopted in the management of their colonies required it; and that he had hoped the friendly disposition shown by this court towards us would have induced a compliance on the part of Congress.

As to a free port below the northern limits of West Florida, or anywhere else in the vicinity, the minister sometimes wished certain regulations, some middle line might be devised to reconcile the views of both parties, but he did not see how it could be done. The king had always been accustomed to consider the exclusive navigation of the Gulf of Mexico as a very important object to Spain, more so indeed than even Gibraltar, and he was persuaded that his majesty would never be prevailed upon to change his ideas on that subject. At other times he spoke clearly and decidedly against it, saying that it was their desire to exclude all nations from the gulf, and that it made little or no difference whether they admitted all nations or only one.

In my letter of the 25th of April last I informed your excellency that on the 25th of March preceding the minister sent me word that the money necessary to pay the bills due in April could not be advanced to me. The constant inconsistency I experienced between the minister's promises and conduct often surprised as well as embarrassed me. This last instance appeared to me to be really cruel; for if he had intended to withhold the necessary supplies he ought to have given me notice of it, and not by keeping up my expectations to within a few days before the holders of the bills were to call upon me for their money (and the bills of April amounted to eighty-nine thousand and eighty-three dollars) reduce me to such imminent danger of being obliged to protest them. Speaking on this subject with the French ambassador, he intimated that the court expected I should have made them some further overtures respecting the Mississippi. I told him I had no authority to make any others than what I had already made. He replied that the minister believed I had. At that time I had received no letters, public or private, which gave me the least reason to suspect that Congress had passed the resolution of the 15th of February last,* and it was not before the 18th of May that a letter I then received from Mr. Lovell enabled me to understand the reason of the minister's belief. I then recalled to mind his frequent assurances of frankness and of his speaking without reserve, often adding that he was well informed of our affairs and had minute information of what was passing at Philadelphia. There can be no doubt but that some copies of the President's letters to me have fallen into his hands, and that he supposed I had received others, though this was not in fact the case. Hence it appears that the double miscarriage, if I may so call it, of these letters had an unfavorable influence on our hopes of pecuniary aids; for it is highly probable that in this instance they were so critically withheld

* See this resolution *supra*, under date mentioned.

on purpose to extort overtures from me, which the minister, though mistaken, had reason to believe I was in a capacity to make.

Your excellency will perceive from this how important it is that your letters to and from your ministers be transmitted in a manner not subject to these inconveniences.

It was not, as I said before, until the 18th of May that Mr. Lovell's letter, enclosing a copy of the resolution of Congress of the 15th of February, reached me. It was brought to Cadiz by the *Virginia*, and it is remarkable that none of the journals or gazettes nor the letter from Congress which Mr. Lovell gave me reason to expect ever came to my hands. But as all the papers brought by the *Virginia* passed through the hands of the governor of Cadiz, and afterwards through the post-office, the suppression of some of them may be easily accounted for.

As Mr. Lovell's letter did not appear to be official, nor the copy of the instruction of the 15th of February authenticated, I was much at a loss to determine how far it was to be considered as a measure finally concluded upon; and this difficulty was increased by another, viz., whether my having no letter on the subject from the President was to be imputed to the miscarriage of it or to a reconsideration of the instruction in question; for I recollected that resolutions had in some former instances been reconsidered, and either altered or repealed a few days after their date; for these reasons it appeared to me imprudent immediately to hazard overtures on the ground of this instruction.

The next day, the 19th of May, I thought it expedient to wait upon the minister, and again renew the subject of our proposed treaty, expecting that, if he was acquainted with the contents of my letter, something might drop from him in the course of conversation which would lead me to judge of what he might or might not know on that subject and others connected with it.

He received me with more than usual cordiality. The conversation turned at first on the situation of the southern States, the late combat between the fleets in the Chesapeake, and General Greene's retreat. He appeared to apprehend much danger from what he called the delicate situation of our army there and the blockade of the reinforcement intended for it under the Marquis de la Fayette. I endeavored to remove such of his fears as appeared to be ill-founded, and (though without leaving room to suppose that the operations of Spain were indispensable to our safety) represented to him the good policy and probable success of France and Spain's seriously turning their attention and force to the expulsion of the enemy from America. I then repeated what I had often before remarked to him respecting the influence which the hesitations and delays of Spain in forming a treaty with us must naturally have on the hopes and fears of Britain. I announced to him formally the completion of our confederation by the accession of Maryland, and after dwelling on the advantages which the States and their allies might expect from it, I endeavored to impress him with an opinion that

a cordial union between France, Spain, Holland, and America, supported by vigorous measures, would soon reduce the enemy to the necessity of listening to reasonable terms of peace.

The count replied, generally, that he was very minutely informed of the state of our affairs. That the good dispositions of Congress towards Spain had not as yet been evidenced in a manner the king expected, and that no one advantage had hitherto been proposed by America to Spain to induce the latter to come into the measures we desired. That the views of Congress were such as would not permit his Majesty to form a treaty with the States; but that the king was an honest man, and I might again and again assure Congress that he would never suffer them to be sacrificed to Britain, but, on the contrary, would with constancy maintain the friendship he had professed for them. That Britain had in vain attempted to deceive Spain; that Mr. Cumberland had been sent here for that express purpose; but that, however possible it might be for Britain to vanquish, she would never be able to deceive, Spain; that he wished Congress had been more disposed to oblige the king. He knew, indeed, that opposition in sentiments must necessarily prevail in public bodies, but that he hoped for the best. That I ought to preach to them forcibly, for that he thought a good preacher (*un bon prédicateur*) would do much good; thereby intimating, as I understood it, that Congress were not sufficiently apprized of the importance of Spain and the policy of complying with her demands.

To all this I briefly remarked that his excellency's knowledge of American affairs must convince him that it was not in their power to give his majesty other proofs of their attachment than what they had already done, and that if he alluded to the affair of the Mississippi, I could only add one remark to those which I had often made to him on that head, viz., that even if a desire of gratifying his Majesty should ever incline Congress to yield to him a point so essential to their interest, yet it still remained a question whether new delays and obstacles to a treaty would not arise to postpone it.

The count smiled, said he always spoke frankly, and that whenever I should announce to him my having authority to yield that point I might depend on his being explicit and candid, but that as matters stood at present he could say nothing on that head. He then informed me that M. Gardoqui would set out for America the beginning of June. He said it might be in my power to furnish some useful hints and observations relative to the objects and conduct of his mission, adding that he reposed full confidence in me, *and wished that I would also consider whether there were any particular reasons which might render it advisable either to hasten or retard his going.*

I suspected there was too much meaning in all this to admit of my entering into these discussions without time for further reflection; and therefore, without seeming to avoid it, I told the count I was happy to hear that M. Gardoqui was so near his departure. That I considered

myself much honored by his requesting my remarks relative to it, and that I was sure Congress would draw agreeable conclusions from his mission. That I should write by him to Congress, and as they would expect to learn from me the precise character in which they were to receive and consider him, it became necessary that his excellency should favor me with that information as well to enable me to transmit the proper advices to Congress as to make the remarks which he had done me the honor to request. That I conceived this to be the more indispensable, because if M. Gardoqui should carry no public testimonials from this court to Congress he could only be considered by them as a private gentleman, and all his intercourse with Congress would of consequence be subjected to all the inconveniences resulting from it.

This topic carried the conversation off the delicate ground to which the count had led it. He admitted the propriety of my being exactly apprized of the nature of M. Gardoqui's commission, said that as yet it was not decided, and therefore for the present could only give me his opinion of what it would *probably* be.

He observed that circumstances did not render it proper that he should go as *minister*, though perhaps it might be proper to give him *contingent powers*. That it was the common practice, where courts sent to each other persons charged with their affairs in a character below that of minister, to give no other credentials than a letter of advice from the minister of the court sending to the minister of the court receiving the person in question. That the same practice was about to be pursued by Spain towards Prussia, and had been observed in other instances; therefore he believed the like method would be adopted in this case. That if it should, he proposed to give M. Gardoqui a letter, authenticating his being an agent of Spain, either to the President or to the secretary of Congress, and asked me which of the two would be the most proper.

Whether he really was uninformed on this point or whether he asked the question merely to try my candor, can not easily be determined. I told him honestly that Congress had no secretary or minister of state for general purposes, nor for foreign affairs particularly, and that neither the President nor secretary of Congress could regularly be considered in that light. That there was a committee of Congress, whose appointment came near to that of secretary for foreign affairs, but that I had heard Congress were about establishing a more proper and regular mode of conducting the affairs committed to that committee, and had perhaps already done it. That therefore it was difficult for me to give his excellency a clear and decided opinion on the subject, and the more so as the letters which I daily expected to receive from the President, and which probably contained exact information relative to this very matter, had not yet come to my hands. He seemed very well satisfied, and extended his civilities so far as to say that if at any time the warmth of his temper had led him into any harshness of expression he hoped I

would forget it. I told him, and that was the fact, that I did not recollect any part of his behavior to me which required that apology. He desired me to wait upon him again on the Wednesday next.

As to the instructions of the 15th of February, I had every reason to wish that it had been a secret to the ministry. The propriety of them is a subject without my province. To give decided opinions of the views and designs of courts always appeared to me hazardous, especially as they often change, and as different men will often draw different conclusions from the same facts. This consideration has constantly induced me to state facts accurately and minutely to Congress, and leave them to judge for themselves and be influenced only by their own opinions.

I could not, however, forbear seeing the danger to which the proviso contained in that instruction exposed me. I have no reason to flatter myself that, more fortunate than others, the propriety and policy of my conduct will not be drawn, at least impliedly, into doubt. If I should, on a persuasion that this cession would be unalterably insisted upon by Spain, yield that point, I am certain that many little half-created doubts and questions would be cast into and cultivated in America. If, on the other hand, I should be of opinion that this point could be gained and the event prove otherwise, it would soon be whispered what rich supplies and golden opportunities the United States had lost by my obstinacy.

I permitted my mind to dwell on these considerations merely that I might by the utmost degree of circumspection endeavor to render the uprightness and propriety of my conduct as evident as possible.

My only difficulty arose from this single question: Whether I could prudently risk acting on a presumption either that Spain did not already or would not soon be acquainted with the contents of this instruction. If such a presumption had been admissible, I should, without the least hesitation, have played the game a little further, keeping this instruction in my hand as a trump card, to prevent a separate peace between Spain and Britain, in case such an event should otherwise prove inevitable. Had Spain been at peace with our enemies, and offered to acknowledge, guaranty, and fight for our independence, provided we would yield them this point (as once seemed to be the case), I should for my own part have no more hesitation about it now than I had then. But Spain being now at war with Great Britain to gain her own objects, she doubtless will prosecute it full as vigorously as if she fought for our objects. There was and is little reason to suppose that such a cession would render her exertions more vigorous or her aids to us much more liberal. The effect which an alliance between Spain and America would have on Britain and other nations would certainly be in our favor, but whether more so than the free navigation of the Mississippi is less certain. The cession of this navigation will, in my opinion, render a future war with Spain unavoidable, and I shall look upon my subscribing to the one as fixing the certainty of the other.

I say I should have played this game a little further if the presumption before mentioned had been admissible, because it has uniformly been my opinion that if after sending me here Congress had constantly avoided all questions about the Mississippi, and appeared to consider that point as irrevocable, Spain would have endeavored to purchase it by money, or a free port, but as her hopes of a change in the opinion of Congress were excited and kept alive by successive accounts of debates and *intended* debates on that question, and as Congress by drawing bills without previous funds had painted their distress for want of money in very strong colors, Spain began to consider America as a petitioner and treated her accordingly. But as by the intervention of Dr. Franklin our bills for near six months were safe, and as after this resolution of the 15th February there was reason to expect that the subject of it would not soon be resumed in Congress, I should, in case I could have depended on this instruction's being and remaining a secret, have thought it my duty to have given the United States a fair trial for the Mississippi, or at least for a free port near it. With this view I should have appeared to give myself no concern about the bills, applied for no aids, made no offers, and on all proper occasions have treated an alliance with Spain as an event which, though we wished for, was not essential to our safety, and as the price demanded for it appeared to us unreasonable, it was not probable we should soon agree. I think we should then have been courted in our turn, especially as the minister was very desirous of having our men-of-war on the stocks, and that thus dealing with them on terms of equality would have produced some concessions on their part as inducements to greater ones on ours. I am persuaded in my own mind that prudent self-respect is absolutely necessary to those nations who would wish to be treated properly by this court, and I have not the least doubt but that almost any spirit will prosper more here than that of humility and compliance. I had no doubt but that this plan of conduct would have been perfectly consistent with that part of the instruction which orders me to make every possible effort to *obtain from his Catholic majesty the use of the river aforesaid, &c.* For whatever might have been or may be my private sentiments, they shall never in mere questions of policy influence me to deviate from those of Congress.

But, on the other hand, there being abundant circumstantial evidence to induce a firm persuasion that the ministry were well acquainted with the contents of this instruction, this plan would have been idle. The moment they saw that the cession of this navigation was made to depend upon their persevering to insist upon it, it became absurd to suppose that they would cease to persevere. All that remained for me, therefore, to do was in the next conference to break this subject as decently as possible, and in such a manner as would account for my not having mentioned this instruction at our last meeting.

On Wednesday evening, the 23d of May, I waited upon the count agreeably to his appointment. The count seemed a little hurried in his spirits, and behaved as if he wished I had not come. He asked me rather abruptly if I had any thing particular to communicate to him, and whether I had received any further letters. I told him I had received some private ones from L'Orient, but that none from the President of Congress had as yet reached me, though I had reason to expect one by that opportunity as well as by the vessel lately arrived at Cadiz. I informed him of my having received from Mr. Harrison a copy of his memorial to the governor of Cadiz, complaining that letters brought for him by the *Virginia* from Philadelphia had been stopped at the gates on pretence that they must, agreeably to an ordinance for that purpose, be put into the post-office, and charged with the like postage as if brought from *Spanish America*. He said he had not yet received a copy of the memorial, but that there was such an ordinance, and that it was highly proper the admission of letters into the kingdom, especially in time of war, should be under the direction of government. That letters from North America rendered new regulations necessary, and that he would turn his thoughts to this subject, and do what should appear equitable. This was another proof of what I before suspected, and looked like an *indirect apology* for opening my letters.

It surprised me a little that he said nothing of the remarks he had desired me to make on M. Gardoqui's going to America, especially as he had appointed this meeting for that purpose. To give him further time I started a new subject, and begged that he would take the earliest opportunity of completing the business of the *Dover* cutter. Notwithstanding all that had before passed between us about this affair he affected to be very ignorant of it, and asked me a number of questions. I recapitulated the circumstances of the capture, my several applications to him on the subject, his promise finally to order the prize to be appraised and the value to be paid to the captors, the arrival of one of them at Madrid, &c. He replied with some degree of quickness and perplexity that it was not a lawful prize, the crew not having authority to do what they did; that he had sent to the Canaries for particular information respecting the value, &c.; that two of the packet boats had been taken; that he would pay some gratuity to the captors, and wished I would give him another state of the whole case in writing to refresh his memory, which I promised to do, and have since done.

He then resumed the subject of the letter which I expected from Congress. He expressed his regret at its not having arrived; said he was preparing instructions for M. Gardoqui, who would certainly depart in June; and that until I could give him precise information of the dispositions of Congress he could not enter into any further conversations on the subject of the proposed treaty. I joined in regretting the miscarriage of my public letter, and the more so as my private ones

gave me reason to expect instructions which would enable me to comply so far with his Majesty's views as that I hoped no further delays would intervene to prevent a perfect union between Spain and the United States; that my correspondence had given me to understand that Congress viewed the speedy accomplishment of this union as very important to the common cause; and therefore, if Spain would consent forthwith to come into it, in that case they would gratify his majesty by ceding to him the navigation of the Mississippi below their territories on reasonable terms.

He replied that he earnestly desired to see all difficulties on this point removed, but that the treaties subsisting between Spain and other nations, as well as the particular policy and determination of Spain, rendered it necessary that she should possess the exclusive navigation of the Gulf of Mexico. After a variety of other remarks of little importance he made a very interesting observation, which will help us to account for the delays of the court, viz: That all these affairs could with more facility be adjusted at a general peace than now, for that such a particular and even secret, treaty with us might then be made as would be very convenient to both. That he nevertheless wished to know exactly the views and intentions of Congress, but that I must wait for the arrival of my letters, and that he would in the mean time finish M. Gardoqui's instructions, whose going to America he did not doubt would make a useful impression on the English court. I was beginning to reply to what he said when he interrupted me by mentioning his not having time at present to prolong the conference.

Throughout the whole of this conversation the count appeared much less cordial than in the preceding one; he seemed to want self-possession, and to that cause I ascribe his incautiously mentioning the general peace as the most proper season for completing our political connexions. I had, nevertheless, no reason to suspect that this change in his behavior arose from any cause more important that those variations in temper and feelings which they who are unaccustomed to govern themselves often experience from changes in the weather, in their health, from fatigue of business, or other such like accidental causes.

As I had not as yet received any letter from the President either by the *Virginia* or the vessel lately arrived at L'Orient, nor by Colonel Laurens, who, I was informed, had brought letters for me, I concluded it would be most prudent to wait ten days or a fortnight before I proceeded to act on the copy of my instruction received from Mr. Lovell, expecting that such other letters as might then have arrived in France or Spain for me would reach me in the course of that interval, if at all. And I determined, in case I should receive none, to proceed, without further loss of time, to make a formal overture to the minister for a treaty on the ground of this instruction. It happened, however, that the minister was so occupied during the remaining time that the court staid at Aranjues by the expedition preparing to sail from Cadiz, under

the Duke of Crillon, and other matters, that it was impossible to engage a moment of his attention to American affairs. The removal of the court to Madrid necessarily consumed some time, and as soon as they were well settled there I wrote the count the following letter—none of the letters expected from America having come to my hands:

TO THE COUNT DE FLORIDA BLANCA.

MADRID, *July* 2, 1781.

SIR: When Congress were pleased to order me to Spain, with the commission of which I have had the honor of presenting a copy to your excellency, I left my country with the most sanguine expectations that the important objects of it would be speedily accomplished. The proofs they had received of his majesty's friendship for them, the interests of a common cause, and the information they had received from persons whom they conceived in capacity to give it, all conspired to infuse these hopes.

On my arrival your excellency gave me to understand that the realizing these expectations would turn on one point, and I have uniformly since been informed that this point was the navigation of the Mississippi below the territories of the United States, in which Congress desired to retain a common right, but of which the maxims of policy adopted by his majesty required the exclusive use.

I have now the honor of informing your excellency that Congress, in order to manifest in the most striking manner the sincerity of their professions to his majesty, and with a view that the common cause may *immediately* reap all the advantages naturally to be expected from a cordial and permanent union between France, Spain, and the United States, have authorised me to agree to such terms relative to the point in question as to remove the difficulties to which it has hitherto given occasion.

Permit me, therefore, to hope that his majesty will now be pleased to become the ally of the United States, and for that purpose authorise some person or persons to adjust with me the several points of compact necessary to form a union, which, by being founded on mutual interest, may be no less satisfactory than it certainly will be important to both countries.

Your excellency will oblige me exceedingly by putting it in my power to give Congress early, explicit, and, let me add, agreeable information of his majesty's pleasure and intentions on the subject of this letter.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

JOHN JAY.

Although it was sufficiently evident that the court of France could not, for the reasons assigned in my letter to Congress of the 6th of November, 1780, openly and warmly interpose their good offices to bring about this treaty, it nevertheless appeared to me most prudent to behave on this occasion towards the ambassador as if I knew nothing of those reasons, and therefore sent him a copy of the aforegoing letter to the minister, enclosed in one of which the following is a copy:

TO THE COUNT DE MONTMORIN.

MADRID, *July* 2, 1781.

SIR: I have the honor of transmitting to your excellency herewith enclosed a copy of a letter I have this day written to his excellency the Count de Florida Blanca. I have thereby informed him of my being authorised to remove the objections hitherto made by the court of Spain to a treaty of alliance with the United

States, and again requested that the measures necessary for the purpose may no be taken.

Permit me to request that the favorable interposition of our kind and generou ally with his Catholic majesty may be exerted to commence the proposed negociatio and bring it to a speedy and happy conclusion.

The confidence justly reposed by America in the amity and assurances of his mos Christian majesty forbid me to urge this request by any arguments (persuasive being indelicate when not warranted by doubts of inclination). I am happy i reflecting that his instructions on this subject are committed to the execution of minister from whose attachment, as well as from whose talents and address, ti American cause may expect to derive advantage.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

JOHN JAY.

The instructions above alluded to are those which Count de Ver gennes, in his letter to me of the 13th of March, 1780, assures m should be sent to their ambassador here. I must confess to Congres that I very much doubt his ever having received any other instruction than generally to favor the treaty, and to manage his interference i such a delicate manner as, without alarming the pride of Spain, to giv both parties reason to think themselves obliged.

The French ambassador sent me no answer to this letter, which, i my opinion, gives a greater degree of probability to my conjectures. must, nevertheless, do him the justice to say that I have great reaso to believe him to be in sentiment and with sincere attachment a frien to our cause, and that he considers the honor and interest of Franc deeply concerned in the support and success of it.

On the 11th July, having received no answer from the minister, waited upon him. He told me he had received my letter, but that the shor time the court would remain at Madrid and the multiplicity of busines that he was obliged to despatch would not admit of his attending to ou affairs till after the arrival of the court at St. Ildefonso. He then in formed me that a vessel had arrived at Cadiz which had brought de patches for me, and that his courier had brought them to Madrid. H then delivered me a number of letters, among which was one from hi excellency the President of the 28th May last.*

I need not observe that all these letters bore evident marks of in spection, for that has uniformly been the case with almost every lette I have received.

I do not recollect to have ever received a letter that gave me mor real pleasure. When I considered that almost the whole time since left America had afforded me little else than one continued series painful perplexities and embarrassments, many of which I neither e pected nor ought to have met with; that I had been engaged in intrica and difficult negociations, often at a loss to determine where the line prudence was to be found, and constantly exposed by my particula situation to the danger of either injuring the dignity and interest of m country on the one hand or trespassing on the overrated respectabilit

*See *supra* under date mentioned.

nd importance of this court on the other—I say, sir, that on consider-
ng these things, the approbation of Congress gave me most singular
nd cordial satisfaction.

I was also happy to perceive from this letter that the plan of my late
etters to the minister and French ambassador of the 2d of July, above
ecited, happens to correspond exactly with the views of Congress re-
pecting the manner of conducting this negociation.

It appearing to me that the communication I was directed to make to
his court could not be better made than in the very words of this letter,
which seemed exceedingly well calculated for the purpose, I recited them
n a letter which I wrote two days afterwards to the minister, viz:

TO THE COUNT DE FLORIDA BLANCA.

MADRID, *July* 13, 1781.

SIR: I have now the honor of communicating to your excellency a copy of certain
nstructions I have just received from Congress, dated the 28th of May, 1781, and
hich were included in the despatches which your excellency was so obliging as to
eliver to me the evening before the last, viz:

"It is their instruction that you continue to acknowledge on all suitable occasions
he grateful impression made on these States by the friendly disposition manifested
owards them by his Catholic majesty, and particularly by the proofs given of it in
he measures which he has taken and which it is hoped he will further take for pre-
rving their credit and for aiding them with a supply of clothing for their army.

"You are also authorised and instructed to disavow in the most positive and ex-
licit terms any secret understanding or negociation between the United States and
reat Britain; to assure his Catholic majesty that such insinuations have no other
ource than the insidious designs of the common enemy; and that as the United States
ave the highest confidence in the honor and good faith both of his most Christian
nd his Catholic majesty, so it is their inviolable determination to take no step which
hall depart in the smallest degree from their engagements with either."

It gives me pleasure to observe that these instructions confirm, in the fullest man-
er, the assurances and professions I have heretofore made to your excellency re-
pecting the sentiments and dispositions of the United States, and I flatter myself
hat his majesty will be pleased to consider the assurances they contain as receiving
nquestionable proofs of sincerity from the offer I have already made to confirm them
y deeds no less important to the interests than, I hope, consistent with the views
nd desires of his majesty.

I can not omit this occasion of presenting my congratulations on the success of his
ajesty's arms at Pensacola. This event can not fail of being followed by important
onsequences to the common cause, and may perhaps induce the enemy to expect
reater advantages from concluding a reasonable peace than continuing to protract
n unrighteous war.

Having understood, shortly after receiving my letters from your excellency, that
he court had also received despatches from Philadelphia, I presumed that the com-
unication of any gazettes from thence, which indeed contain all the intelligence I
ave, would be useless, and therefore did not send them; but on considering that it
as possible that the papers I had might be of later date than those which your ex-
llency might otherwise receive, I now take the liberty of enclosing two, which
ontain accounts somewhat interesting. If they should be new to your excellency, I
g that their not being sooner sent will receive an apology from the above-mentioned
rcumstance; and that your excellency will remain assured of the perfect respect
nd consideration with which I have the honor to be, &c.,

JOHN JAY.

I also took the earliest opportunity of mentioning to the ambassador of France that my letters from America gave me reason to believe that our union was daily growing more warm and intimate, and that Congress, in writing of their affairs here, had expressed themselves in the strongest terms of attachment to his most Christian majesty, and not only approved of my communicating freely and confidentially with his ambassador here, but also directed me in express terms to endeavor, in the course of my negociations, to include and promote the interests of France.

The ambassador was much pleased. He told me his letters assured him that the best understanding subsisted between the French and American troops, and that much good might be expected from the increasing harmony and intercourse between the two countries.

The court removed to St. Ildefonso without the minister's having either given any instructions to M. Gardoqui, answered my above-mentioned letters, or taken the least notice of my late representations to them about the *Dover* cutter, &c.

The events of the campaign were as yet undecided, and little money in the treasury.

On the 21st July the minister wrote me the following note, in which there was ample field left open for procrastination:

[Translation.]

The Count de Florida Blanca presents his compliments to Mr. Jay, and has the honor of acquainting him that he has duly received his two letters of the 2d and 13th instant. The short stay of the court at Madrid allowing time to despatch only the most pressing business, the Count de Florida Blanca has not been able to take into consideration the points which form the object of the above-mentioned letters. He proposes, therefore, to do it at present, in order to render an account thereof to the king; and in the meanwhile he has the honor to repeat to Mr. Jay the assurances of the most perfect esteem and consideration.

St. Ildefonso, *July* 21, 1781.

On the 4th of August I arrived here. I did not see the minister till the 8th, he being, as I was told, from home. He had made no communications to the king. He had been sick; he had been busy, and was so still. I requested to be informed when it would be most convenient to him to confer with me on the subject of my late letters, and to give me such information relative to his majesty's intentions as he might be prepared to communicate to me. He answered that he could not then fix a time, being exceedingly hurried by pressing business. He asked how long I proposed to stay. I told him till the court removed. He then promised to take an early opportunity of conferring with me on the subject of our affairs, and promised to send me word when he should be ready to receive me.

I remained in this state of suspense and expectation until the 18th August, when, having been for a week past very much indisposed with

a fever and dysentery, and fearing lest that circumstance might become a ground of delay, I wrote the count word "that my health would permit me to wait upon his excellency at any time and place he might do me the honor to name." He replied *two days* afterwards in a manner which indicated his supposing I had gone to Madrid and had returned. He must have known better, for none of my family had been absent from hence, and one or other of them were almost daily about the palace and gardens:

[Translation.]

The Count Florida Blanca is charmed to learn that Mr. Jay has sufficiently recovered from his last indisposition to have made the journey from Madrid to this place, and thanks him for his attention in communicating it to him.

The two pressing business with which he finds himself at present surrounded do not permit him to fix the day for a conference with Mr. Jay; but the moment he shall be a little disengaged he will have the honor to advise Mr. Jay of it.

St. ILDEFONSO, *August* 20, 1781.

On the 22 I sent him a note enclosing a newspaper which contained an account of General Greene's operations, the capture of Fort Watson, &c.

The count answered this note by another, expressing his thanks for the intelligence, but not a word of a conference.

On the 30th of August Major Franks arrived here with interesting despatches, of which I must not here take notice lest I interrupt the thread of this letter, which I devote particularly to the affair of our negociations for a treaty.

There was, indeed, among these despatches a very sensible letter from Mr. R. Morris to me about money matters,* &c., excellently well calculated for being shown entire to the minister.

I consulted with the French ambassador on the propriety of giving the minister a copy of it. He advised me to do it, and much commended the letter. As it might have suffered from being carelessly translated, I had it put into very good French.

I was very glad to see the Major. The nature of the despatches he brought, being a secret, occasioned speculation, and gave me an opportunity of drawing further advantages from his arrival. His accounts of American affairs were favorable to us, and the manner of his behavior and conversation has not done discredit to himself nor prejudice to his country.

The ambassador of France having assured me that the minister had really been a good deal indisposed, I thought it would be best to write him a letter in a style somewhat adapted to his situation. He certainly appears to be fatigued and worn down by business. He looks as I have seen some members of Congress do after two years' attendance.

* See Morris to Jay, July 13, 1781, *supra*.

TO THE COUNT DE FLORIDA BLANCA.

ST. ILDEFONSO, *September* 3, 1781.

SIR: When I consider that the delicate state of your excellency's health demands a greater degree of leisure and relaxation than the various business of your office will permit, it is with great reluctance that I can prevail upon myself to remind your excellency that since our conference at Aranjues the affairs of the United States at this court have made no progress.

The short residence of his majesty at Madrid, I am persuaded, made it necessary to postpone the discussion of these affairs to this place; and since my arrival here on the 4th of August last I have daily flattered myself with being enabled to communicate to Congress his majesty's pleasure on the important subjects which by their order I have had the honor of laying before your excellency.

It has also for some time past been my duty to have requested your excellency's attention to some other objects which, though of less public importance, are nevertheless interesting to individuals as well as to the commercial intercourse of the two countries, but it did not appear to be consistent with the respect due to your excellency to solicit your attention to new objects while the former remained undespatched for want of time.

It would give me great pleasure to have it in my power to regulate all my applications by your excellency's convenience, and though I am happy to see the connection between our two countries daily increasing, yet as that circumstance will naturally render necessary applications to government more frequent, I fear the duties of my situation will often press me to be troublesome to your excellency.

On Friday evening last I received some important despatches from Congress, which I shall do myself the honor of communicating at any time which your Excellency may be pleased to name. The gentleman who brought them will, after passing on to Paris, return immediately to Philadelphia, and will with pleasure execute any orders which your excellency may honor him with for either of those places. His stay here will be but short. As soon as I can ascertain the day of his departure your excellency shall have immediate notice of it. As Congress will naturally expect to receive by him particular information respecting their affairs here, I can not forbear expressing how anxious I am to make him the bearer of welcome tidings; and permit me to hope that your excellency's sensibility will suggest an apology for the solicitude which appears in this letter.

I have the honor to be, with great respect, &c.,

JOHN JAY.

On the 5th I received the following answer, viz:

[Translation.]

The Count of Florida Blanca has been much mortified not to be able to receive the visit of Mr. Jay, not only on account of the too pressing business which has engaged all his time, but also by reason of the indisposition he has suffered and still suffers.

Although he be not in a situation to engage in long and serious conferences for the reasons above mentioned, he will, nevertheless, be charmed to converse a moment with Mr. Jay one of those leisure evenings when there is no business with the king; in which case Mr. Jay may, if he thinks proper, bring with him the officer in question.

WEDNESDAY, *the 5th of September.*

Saturday, for instance, towards 8 o'clock, the interview may take place.

Your excellency will be pleased to observe that the minister in the above note intimates a desire that I should bring Major Franks with

me. I thought it best to do so; but lest his presence should be a check upon business, and as it was natural to suppose that the count would begin by asking him questions about our affairs, I desired the Major to relate to him the impression made in America by that article in the capitulation of Pensacola which permitted the garrison to go to New York. I also desired the Major to retire into the antechamber, and leave me alone with the minister, as soon as the latter should appear to have finished with him.

At the time appointed, viz., the evening of the 8th of September, we waited upon the minister.

The count received us very politely. He spoke much of his want of health, and how greatly it incapacitated him for business. He then asked the Major several questions about our military operations. The Major answered them clearly, and, in speaking of the proposed siege of New York, very naturally introduced an account of the surprise and apprehensions occasioned by the permission given to the Pensacola garrison to join that of New York. The count confessed it was ill done; said it was very unexpected, and that they ought to have been sent to Europe; that the like should not happen in future, and that proper orders upon that subject should be despatched to their generals. He then observed that our fears were not altogether well founded, for that those troops were restrained by the capitulation from taking arms against the allies of Spain till exchanged, and could not operate against our troops without also operating against those of France, who were joined with them, and who, it was well known, were the allies of Spain. The Major replied, that it was feared that the enemy would attempt to evade this reasoning, by insisting that the French troops in America were only to be considered as auxiliaries to the United States, and that though that argument might be fallacious, yet, that in matters affecting America, the enemy had invariably neglected good faith whenever they found it convenient.

The count asked how long the Major would stay here. I told him that I only detained him in expectation of being soon enabled by his excellency to write something decisive by him to Congress on the subjects under his consideration. He said he hoped in the course of next week to enter into serious conferences with me on those subjects, and that he would give me notice of the day. He offered to give the Major letters to the Spanish ambassador at Paris, and to do him any other services in his power. He then rose from his chair in a manner indicating indisposition, said he was unable to do business, and that M. Campo should inform me when it would be convenient for him that I should see him again. I expressed my regret at his illness, and gave him the French translation of Mr. Morris' letter, adding, that I had intended to offer him some remarks on the subject of it. He said he would read it with pleasure. He spoke of Mr. Morris' appointment, and after conversing a few minutes about the good consequence ex-

pected from it and of the services done by that gentleman to Spain in some business they had committed to his care, we parted.

Thus this conference ended as fruitless as the last.

Eight days elapsed. I heard nothing from the minister. He was daily at court and every evening took his ride.

I repeatedly mentioned and complained of these delays to the French ambassador. He regretted them, promised to speak to the minister on the subject; but I believe did not. I appeared much dissatisfied though not with him; and told him that if Major Franks returned to America with no other intelligence than that of repeated delays it was more than probable that Congress would be much hurt, as well as much disappointed. He had the same fears, and advised me to detain the Major.

It became in my opinion important that the minister, as well as the French ambassador, should be seriously apprehensive of my dismissing the Major with letters that would render Congress very little disposed to make sacrifices to this court. The manner of doing this required some caution. I could think of nothing better than to prepare a letter to the minister and send the ambassador a fair copy of my draft for his consideration and advice.

The following are copies of that letter and of the one I sent with it to the ambassador:

TO THE COUNT DE MONTMORIN.

ST. ILDEFONSO, *September* 16, 1781.

SIR: The paper herewith enclosed is the draft of a letter which I think of writing to his excellency the Count de Florida Blanca.

The subject, as well as the occasion, demand that dexterous and delicate management of which they only are capable who possess accurate judgment and much experience in affairs of this kind.

I am happy, therefore, that on such occasions I can avoid the risk of committing errors by recurring to your friendly advice.

Without compliment, but with sincerity, I am, sir, &c.,

JOHN JAY.

TO THE COUNT DE FLORIDA BLANCA.

SIR: Whatever may be the issue of the American Revolution, whether that country shall continue independent or be doomed to reunite her power with that of Great Britain, the good will and affection of the people of North America cannot in either case be unimportant to their neighbors; nor will the impressions made upon their minds by the benefits or injuries which they may receive from other nations in the course of their present struggles ever cease to have a certain degree of influence on their future conduct.

Various circumstances led Congress at an early period to suppose that the court of Spain had wisely and generously determined to take a decided part in their favor. The supplies granted to them by his Catholic majesty, soon after the British armies became numerous in America, spoke this language in strong terms, and the assurances repeatedly given me by your excellency that his majesty would firmly sup-

port their cause and never consent to their being reduced to the subjection of Britain left no room to doubt of his friendly disposition and intentions towards them.

Many obvious considerations prompted Congress to desire that an intimate connexion might speedily be established between the two countries by such treaties as would take from the enemy every prospect of success, and secure to Spain and the United States the permanent enjoyment of mutual advantages and reciprocal attachment. With this view Congress were pleased to send me to Spain, and the first letter I had the honor of receiving from your excellency gave me reason to believe that the object of my mission was not displeasing to his majesty; unavoidable and long delays were, nevertheless, created by differences respecting a certain important right which America wished to retain. So strong, however, was the reliance of Congress on his majesty's assurances of support, and such was their disposition to render the proposed treaties consistent with his inclinations, that they have since agreed to remove the only obstacle which seemed to prevent his majesty from realizing those assurances by substantial aids and an open declaration of his intentions.

But, unfortunately for America and perhaps for the general cause, the delays in question have not ceased with the cause to which they were ascribed, and although the confidence reposed by Congress in his majesty's assurances will not permit them to doubt of his determination to support their independence, yet the silent inattention with which their offers to remove the former obstacle to a treaty have long lain unanswered, must appear to them as being very singular. Your excellency has indeed repeatedly promised me to name a time when I should have an opportunity of conferring with you on that and other subjects submitted to your consideration, but it constantly happened that the expectations excited by these promises proved abortive.

Knowing that Congress would expect to receive by the return of Major Franks particular information respecting their affairs here, I was anxious to send them some intelligence more welcome than I have reason to think a detail of delays and procrastination would be, at a season when they would be indulging the most flattering expectations from the measures they had taken to gratify his majesty. For this reason I informed your excellency that I should detain Major Franks for the present, and your excellency promised me, on the 8th instant, that you would appoint some time in the ensuing week for entering into a serious conference about these matters, and that M. Del Campo should give me notice of it. That week, however, has passed away without having been witness to any such notice or conference.

I think your excellency will do me the justice to acknowledge that the utmost respect, delicacy, and patience have been observed in all my transactions with your excellency, and therefore I can not forbear hinting that my constituents are at least entitled to that species of attention which the most dignified sovereigns usually pay to the friendly propositions of such States as solicit either their aid or alliance in a decent manner, viz: a candid answer.

I am sensible that Spain possesses a higher degree on the scale of national importance than the United States, and I can readily admit that the friendship of this court is of more immediate consequence to America, than that of America to the Spanish Empire. But, as his Catholic majesty and his ministers doubtless extend their views beyond the present moment, it would ill become me to remark how essential it is to the happiness of neighboring nations, that their conduct towards each other should be actuated by such passions and sentiments only, as naturally tend to establish and perpetuate harmony and good will between them. Most certain it is, that, in whatever manner the negociations between Spain and North America may terminate, various good or evil consequences will in future naturally and necessarily flow from it to both.

There is good reason to believe, that the apparent indecision of Spain, relative to an open acknowledgment of the independence of the United States, has inspired other nations with doubts and conjectures unfavorable to the American cause, and, on the other hand, it is more than probable that, if his Catholic majesty would be pleased to

declare to the world that the United States were his allies, and that he had given his royal word to support their independence, Holland and many other nations would follow his example.

On such an event, also, it might not be difficult to form a permanent alliance between France, Spain, the Dutch, and the United States, and thereby not only prevent a separate peace between the Dutch and English, but effectually reduce the latter to reasonable terms of general pacification.

The limits of a letter forbid my enlarging on these topics. The eyes of America, and indeed of all Europe, are turned towards Spain. It is in the power of his Catholic majesty to increase his friends and humble his enemies. I will only add my most sincere wishes, that the annals of America may inform succeeding generations that the wisdom, constancy, and generous protection of his Catholic majesty, Charles the Third, and of his minister, the Count de Florida Blanca, are to be ranked among the causes that insured success to a revolution which posterity will consider as one of the most important and interesting events in modern history.

JOHN JAY.

The ambassador called upon me in the evening to answer my letter. He observed that the delays of which I complained were not singular, but that others, and even himself, experienced the like. That he had reason to believe this court were really disposed to treat with us, though the time when might be doubtful. That the remarks made in the draft of my intended letter were but too just; that he feared they would give offence; that, at any rate, he thought I had better postpone it, and for the present write one less pointed and more laconic. We had much conversation on the subject unnecessary to repeat. It ended in my consenting to pursue his advice.

It is observable that he did not offer to return me the draft of this letter, though I had agreed to suppress it.

The letter which, agreeable to the ambassador's advice, I substituted in the place of the other is in these words, viz:

ST. ILDEFONSO, *September* 17, 1781.

SIR: A reluctance to despatch Major Franks without transmitting by him to Congress the information they expect to receive on the subject I have had the honor of submitting to your excellency's consideration has induced me hitherto to detain him, especially as I was encouraged to hope that your excellency would have found leisure last week for entering into serious conference with me on those important points. The same reluctance prevails upon me to detain him another week, and I think it my duty to inform your excellency that he will set out on Saturday next.

I need not remark to your excellency that, if the letter I may then write by him should not contain the desired intelligence, Congress will naturally be led to apprehend that their expectations of forming an intimate union with Spain were not well founded.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

JOHN JAY.

On the 19th I received the following answer from the count:

[Translation.]

The Count de Florida Blanca would have been charmed to have had it in his power to have had a long conference with Mr. Jay if his ordinary indispositions had not prevented him; he will therefore have the honor to see him this evening about 8

o'clock, if Mr. Jay will give himself the trouble of waiting on him, either alone or with Major Franks; and in communicating to the king the result of their conference, he will endeavor to prevail on his majesty to name some other person to confer with Mr. Jay in case of need, in order to avoid, as much as possible, the embarrassments which Mr. Jay has hitherto experienced.

WEDNESDAY, 19*th of September*, 1781.

I waited upon the count at the time appointed. The following is a copy of my notes at that conference:

NOTES OF A CONFERENCE HELD AT ST. ILDEFONSO, ON WEDNESDAY EVENING, THE 19TH DAY OF SEPTEMBER, 1781, BETWEEN HIS EXCELLENCY THE COUNT DE FLORIDA BLANCA AND MR. JAY, AGREEABLE TO THE APPOINTMENT OF THE FORMER.

The count introduced the conference by asking for Major Franks, and why Mr. Jay did not bring him with him. Mr. Jay answered that as Major Franks was not charged with the transaction of any business with his excellency, and had at a former interview answered such questions relative to American affairs as the count had thought proper to ask him, Mr. Jay did not think his attendance on this occasion necessary, as he supposed his excellency meant to enter at present into the discussion of the matters referred to in Mr. Jay's last letter.

The count then proceeded to enumerate the various obstacles arising from his ill health, the multiplicity of business, which had so long subjected Mr. Jay to the delays he had hitherto experienced, and which, for his part, he could not but regret; that agreeable to his promise made to Mr. Jay soon after his arrival, and frequently afterwards repeated, he had attempted to commit to paper his sentiments on the various points on which the proposed treaties must turn, and although he had made some progress in it, he had, for the reasons above mentioned, been obliged to leave it imperfect; that daily experience convinced him that his official business was too extensive and various to admit of his application to other objects, especially as his indisposition often rendered it impracticable for him to pay a due attention to it; that he therefore conceived it necessary that some person, duly authorised to confer with Mr. Jay on these subjects, should be appointed by his majesty; that he intended on Sunday next to recommend this measure to the king, to whom he would at the same time communicate the copy of Mr. Morris' letter to Mr. Jay, which the latter had given him; that in order to the putting of this matter in proper train it would be expedient for Mr. Jay previously to commit to paper his ideas of the outlines of the proposed treaties, and particularly to state the propositions he might think proper to make relative thereto; that he had been informed that the treaties between France and America had been preceded by the like measures; for that the American commissioners had first offered a plan and propositions, and then M. Gerard was appointed to confer with them before those treaties were drawn into the state they

now appear, and finally concluded. That the like proceedings were rendered particularly necessary in this case by the variety and importance of the points necessary to be adjusted between Spain and America; that in forming political connexions between nations constant regard must be had to their reciprocal interests, and care taken by previous arrangements to avoid the inconveniences which would result from any clashing of interest; that three great points presented themselves as requiring great attention in forming the proposed connexion between Spain and America.

1st. The aids requested by America, as stated in Mr. Morris' letter were very considerable; that it would be necessary on the part of Spain to determine what pecuniary aids it might be in their power to grant either by loan or subsidy, as well as the time, place, and manner of payment; for that great punctuality was requisite in such transactions, as well that the royal engagements might be properly fulfilled, as that Congress might not be subjected to inconveniences and disappointments; that on the part of America it must be ascertained what compensation they should make, as well as the time and manner of doing it; and that it might be well to consider how far such compensation might be made in ship timber or other productions of that country; that a compensation would be indispensable, for that the king, being only the guardian of his dominions, would not think himself justifiable in dispensing with the just rights of his people.

2dly. That the commercial concerns of the two countries was another point which would call for very accurate and important regulations. That so far as this commerce would respect the United States and Old Spain the difficulty would not be very great; for that such commerce, being in a considerable degree permitted to other nations, America ought also to participate in the benefits of it. But that with respect to the Spanish dominions in America, as all other nations were excluded from any direct commerce with any part of them, the United States could not reasonably expect to be on a better footing than other nations, and particularly the French, who were the near allies of Spain.

3dly. That with respect to the proposed treaty of alliance, Mr. Jay must be sensible that the several engagements which would thereby be rendered necessary between the parties, the matters of boundary, and the navigation of the Mississippi, would give occasion to several important articles, which ought to be maturely considered and well digested. To this end he wished that Mr. Jay would immediately turn his thoughts on these subjects, and offer him such a set of propositions as might become the basis of future conferences between him and the person whom he expected his majesty would appoint.

The count then took occasion to observe that he had long wished Mr. Jay had offered him such propositions, but that his court had as yet received from Congress nothing but good words and fair assurances, and that though his majesty had given them some little aids, yet they

had discovered no disposition, by acts, to acknowledge them. Mr. Jay reminded his excellency of his having at a very early day undertaken to commit to paper the outlines of the proposed treaties, and that the constant expectations of his perfecting it had restrained Mr. Jay from offering anything of the like nature on the subject. That he could conceive of nothing in the power of Congress to do which could more fully evidence their disposition to gratify his majesty than their having offered to recede from their claims to the navigation of the Mississippi, though the preservation of it was deemed of the highest importance to their constituents. The count admitted the propriety of both these observations, and said he hoped that the delays which had so long embarassed Mr. Jay would soon be terminated.

Mr. Jay expressed his anxiety to be enabled to communicate to Congress some decided intelligence respecting the aids they might expect from this court; to which the count replied, that the sum requested was great, the expenses of the kingdom very extensive, and the means of obtaining the sums necessary to defray them subject to many difficulties; that he would, as he had before mentioned, communicate Mr. Morris' letter to the king, and until that was done could not be in capacity to say anything further on the subject; that as the appointment of a person to confer with Mr. Jay would rest with his majesty, he could not say who in particular it would be, but he hoped and was persuaded that it would be some person well-intentioned towards America; that he was the more confirmed in this expectation from the friendly disposition which the king had early and constantly manifested towards that country; that he would again repeat what he had before told Mr. Jay, to wit, that the king, when acting in capacity of mediator for a peace, had refused to permit that country to be sacrificed; that since the rupture with Britain, tempting and advantageous offers had been made to him to withdraw his protection from America and conclude a separate peace; that he had rejected these offers, and still continued determined to support the States; that this conduct ought to be viewed as extremely generous, as no political connections or engagements did then or do as yet subsist between the two countries. Mr. Jay assured his excellency that the magnanimity of this conduct had made a deep impression on the people of America; that nothing but want of opportunity would ever prevent their expressing it more strongly than by words, and that the sense they entertained of it had greatly influenced the late measure they had taken to comply with his majesty's desires. The count then pressed Mr. Jay again to send him the paper above mentioned before Sunday, adding that he sincerely wished nothing might be wanted to put the business in a proper train; that for his part he had the best disposition towards America as well as personal regard for Mr. Jay, and after adding some complimentary expressions relative to the character of the latter, concluded.

I was a little surprised that the count should expect to receive from me in the course of three days formal propositions on the several points stated in this conference. But it would not have been proper for me to desire further time.

On the 22d of September I sent him the following letter and propositions:

ST. ILDEFONSO, *September* 22, 1781.

SIR: I have the honor of transmitting, herewith enclosed, the propositions requested by your excellency on Wednesday evening last.

I have endeavored to render them as short and simple as possible, and I flatter myself that the unreserved frankness with which they are written will be no less agreeable to your excellency than I am sure it is consistent with the desire and disposition of my constituents.

As the issue of this measure will in a great manner ascertain the expectations which Congress entertain from their negotiations here, and as they flatter themselves with receiving information on this subject by the return of Major Franks, they will doubtless excuse my detaining him another week, unless your excellency should sooner be enabled to communicate to me his majesty's pleasure relative to the proposed treaty.

Permit me to entreat your excellency, therefore, to enable me to transmit by him such intelligence to Congress as may relieve them from their present distressing doubts and uncertainties.

I sincerely hope it may be such as may make them happy in a prospect of soon seeing an intimate and lasting union established between France, Spain, and the United States; a union which, by being raised on the solid foundation of mutual interest and reciprocal advantages, may secure to each the blessings of uninterrupted tranquillity. This generous policy pervades the treaties already formed between his most Christian majesty and the United States, and I am happy in being persuaded that the magnanimity of his Catholic majesty's conduct towards my country on this and other occasions, will furnish materials for some bright pages in the American annals.

I have the honor to be, sir, &c.,

JOHN JAY.

The propositions alluded to and sent enclosed in the preceding letter to the Count de Florida Blanca.

ST. ILDEFONSO, *September* 22, 1781.

As the time allowed Mr. Jay for offering such propositions as may become the basis of the proposed treaty between his Catholic majesty and the United States of North America is very short, he should fear the consequences of haste and inaccuracy if he was not persuaded that the candor with which they will be received will secure him from the inconveniences to which these circumstances might otherwise expose him.

Mr. Jay presumes that it is not expected he should offer a plan of a treaty drawn at length, but only *general propositions*, which may be so modified and enlarged as on due consideration and discussion may appear expedient. With this view he begs leave to present the following as a basis of a treaty of amity and alliance, viz:

PROPOSITIONS.

I. There shall forever subsist an inviolable and universal peace and friendship between his Catholic majesty and the United States and the subjects and citizens of both.

II. That every privilege, exemption, and favor with respect to commerce, navigation, and personal rights which now are, or hereafter may be granted by either to any the most favored nation, be also granted by them to each other.

III. That they mutually extend to the vessels, merchants, and inhabitants of each other all that protection which is usual and proper between friendly and allied nations.

IV. That the vessels, merchants, or other subjects of his Catholic majesty and the United States shall not resort to or be permitted (except in cases which humanity allows to distress) to enter into any of those ports or dominions of the other from which the most favored nation shall be excluded.

V. That the following commerce be prohibited and declared contraband between the subjects of his Catholic majesty and the United States, viz:

All such as his Catholic majesty may think proper to specify.

Remarks: On this proposition Mr. Jay can offer nothing but an assurance of his being ready to concur in every reasonable regulation that may be proposed.

VI. The United States shall relinquish to his Catholic majesty, and in future forbear to use, or attempt to use, the navigation of the river Mississippi from the thirty-first degree of north latitude—that is, from the point where it leaves the United States—down to the ocean.

Remarks: The impression made upon the United States by the magnanimity of his majesty's conduct towards them; the assistance they hope to receive from the further exertions of the same magnanimity; the deep wound which an alliance with so great a monarch would give to the hopes and efforts of the enemy; the strong support it would afford to their independence; the favorable influence which the example of such a king would have on other nations, and the many other great and extensive good consequences which would result at this interesting period from his majesty's taking so noble and decided a part in their favor, have all conspired in prevailing upon Congress to offer to relinquish in his favor the enjoyment of this territorial and national privilege, the importance of which to their constituents can only be estimated by the value they set upon his majesty's friendship.

By this proposition the United States offer to forego all the advantages and conveniences which nature has given to the country bordering on the upper parts of that river by ceasing to export their own and receiving in return the commodities of other countries by that only channel, thereby greatly reducing the value of that country, retarding its settlement, and diminishing the benefits which the United States would reap from its cultivation.

Mr. Jay thinks it his duty frankly to confess that the difficulty of reconciling this measure to the feelings of their constituents has appeared to Congress in a serious light and they now expect to do it only by placing in the opposite scale the gratitude due to his Catholic majesty, and the great and various advantages which the United States will derive from the acknowledgment and generous support of their independence by the Spanish monarchy at a time when the vicissitudes, dangers, and difficulties of a distressing war with a powerful, obstinate, and vindictive nation renders the friendship and avowed protection of his Catholic majesty in a very particular manner interesting to them. The offer of this proposition, therefore, being dictated by these expectations and this combination of circumstances, must necessarily be limited by the duration of them, and consequently that if the acceptance of it should, together with the proposed alliance, be postponed to a general peace, the United States will cease to consider themselves bound by any propositions or offers which he may now make in their behalf.

Nor can Mr. Jay omit mentioning the hopes and expectations of Congress that his majesty's generosity and greatness of mind will prompt him to alleviate as much as possible the disadvantages to which this proposition subjects the United States, by either granting them a free port, under certain restrictions, in the vicinity, or by such other marks of his liberality and justice as may give him additional claims to the affection and attachment of the United States.

VII. That his Catholic majesty shall guaranty to the United States all their respective territories.

VIII. That the United States shall guaranty to his Catholic majesty all his dominions in North America.

Lastly. As the aforegoing propositions appear to Mr. Jay the most essential, he omits proposing those lesser and subordinate ones—which seem to follow of course. He therefore concludes this subject with a *general offer and propositions* to make and admit all such articles as in the course of this negociation shall appear conducive to the great objects of the proposed treaty.

Remarks. Nothing on Mr. Jay's part shall be wanting to expedite the happy conclusion of this business by adhering constantly to the dictates of candor, frankness, and unsuspecting confidence.

He is ready to receive the treaty between the United States and his Christian majesty as a model for this, or with such alterations as, founded on the principles of reciprocity, may be more agreeable to his Catholic majesty, it being his earnest desire to arrive at the important objects of his mission in any way his majesty may please to prefer.

The subject of aids, either by subsidy or loan, as may be most convenient to his majesty, will require a particular convention ; but as the manner, extent, and terms depend on his majesty's pleasure, it is impossible for Mr. Jay, without some knowledge of it, to offer propositions adapted thereto. All that he can at present say on that subject is that Congress are ready to do every thing in their power. He will not, however, endeavor to conceal their incapacity to do much in the way of compensation while the enemy continue to make the United States the theatre of a desolating war and the object of their predatory operations. But when those obstacles shall cease it will be in their power, as well as their inclination, to make retribution and render important services to his majesty. Mr. Jay will therefore continue to decline attempting to induce his majesty to take any measures, however favorable to his country, by delusive promises or rash engagements; but, on the other hand, is ready to enter into such reasonable ones as he may have good reason to say shall be faithfully and punctually performed.

A particular treaty regulating the conduct to be observed by his Catholic majesty and the United States towards each other during the war also appears to Mr. Jay important to both ; but as the proper plans and articles of such a treaty can only result from a free conference on the subject, he can upon this occasion only express his readiness to concur in every provision which may be calculated to give energy and success to the operations and objects of both.

JOHN JAY.

Your excellency will be pleased to observe that among my remarks on the sixth proposition I have limited the duration of the offer contained in it. I did this from a persuasion that such limitation was not only just and reasonable in itself, but absolutely necessary to prevent this court's continuing to delay a treaty to a general peace. Besides what the minister dropped upon this head in his conference with me at Aranjues, I think it probable that they still wish to adhere to that idea. To me they appear desirous of avoiding the expense that the aids which a treaty we should expect would render unavoidable, and which at present would not be very convenient for them. They wish to see our independence established, and yet not be among the first to subscribe a precedent that may one day may be turned against them. They wish not to exclude themselves by any present engagements from taking advantage of the chances and events of the war, not choosing, on the one hand, that in case we sink, that we should be fastened to them by any polit-

ical ties; nor, on the other hand, in case we survive the storm, to be so circumstanced as not to make the most of us. I think it is their design, therefore, to draw from us all such concessions as our present distress and the hopes of aid may extort, and by protracting negociations about the treaty endeavor to avail themselves of these concessions at a future day, when our inducements to offer them shall have ceased. As this would evidently be unjust, I think the limitation in question can give them no offence, and I hope Congress will be pleased to communicate to me their sentiments on the subject.

I must also remark that after what has passed, and considering how well they are acquainted with my instructions, it would not only have been useless, but absurd, to have made these propositions otherwise than agreeable to those instructions.

Congress may at first view be a little surprised at the extent of the fifth proposition, but when they compare it with the second I am persuaded they will find it sufficiently restrained.

In forming these propositions it was my determination to leave them so free from disputed or disputable points as that no plausible pretexts for delay should arise from the face of them. I am well apprized, nevertheless, that in the course of the negociation it will be impossible for me to prevent their practising as much procrastination as they may find convenient. Almost the only hope I have of their seriously doing business arises from their fearing that the instruction respecting the Mississippi will be recalled the moment that either any very decided successes on our part in America may render a treaty with Spain of less importance to us, or a general treaty of peace give us different views and prospects.

These are my conjectures and opinions. Perhaps they may prove erroneous. As facts accompany them Congress will be enabled to judge for themselves. I will add, that from everything I can hear the king is honestly disposed to do us good, and were he alone to be consulted in this business I believe it would soon be concluded.

On the 23d September the foregoing propositions were to be laid before the king. I heard nothing further from the minister until the 27th, when he sent me the following note:

[Translation.]

Although the last letter of Mr. Jay, accompanied with a certain plan, was transmitted Saturday in the evening to the Count de Florida Blanca, and although he could not inform himself of their contents until translated from the English, he nevertheless did not fail to render an account thereof to the king in his despatch of Sunday. His majesty having then shown himself disposed to appoint some person to confer with Mr. Jay, it is become necessary to prepare a suitable instruction and present it to the king for his approbation. The Count de Florida Blanca flatters himself that he shall be able to arrange this affair before the departure of the court for the Escurial, and in the mean while he has the honor to transmit to Mr. Jay a passport for Major Franks.

THURSDAY, *September* 27, 1781.

I have been given to understand, though not officially, that M. Del Campo, the minister's secretary, is the person who will be appointed to confer with me, and though that gentleman is constantly about the minister, yet it seems that a set of formal *instructions* are to be prepared for him. When the minister will be able to find either time or health to complete them is uncertain.

There is reason to believe that still less progress would have been made in this affair had Major Franks not have arrived. I regret his detention, but I hope the reasons assigned for it will be deemed sufficient; I am perfectly satisfied with him.

Notwithstanding Congress had given me reason to expect that the plan of drawing bills upon me had been laid aside, I have now bills to the amount of between seventy and eighty thousand dollars to pay, and no funds provided. What am I to do? Dr. Franklin writes me that so far from being able to give me further aids, he does not expect to have it in his power even to pay our salaries in future.

From the facts stated in this letter Congress will perceive that this court neither refuse nor promise to afford us further aid. Delay is their system; when it will cease I can not conjecture, for that is a question which I doubt whether they themselves have as yet determined.

I am indebted largely to Mr. Harrison for money advanced by him to distressed seamen. He ought to be paid, and it is so far from being in my power to do it, that I have been reduced to the mortifying necessity of desiring him for the present to hold his hand. A great many of this valuable class of people are confined in English gaols, without other means of obtaining their enlargement than by entering into the enemy's service. They complain bitterly of being neglected by their country, and I really think not without reason. Retaliation ought to be practised; and if we have not a sufficient number of marine officers and seamen in our power to make the objects of it, why would it be improper to substitute landsmen?

As to Portugal, I have more than once spoken to this minister on the subject. He admits the justice of our being treated by that as by other neutral nations. He has promised to interfere in our behalf; but nothing efficacious has yet been done. To send an agent there could do no harm, and might do good; I am therefore for it. The ambassador of France thinks with me, that before that step is taken it ought to be confidentially communicated to this court; and I am persuaded difficulties will arise from it. I shall do my best.

M. Gardoqui's departure is uncertain. He is still attending the orders of the court. I doubt his receiving them till the campaign closes, and perhaps not then.

I do not despair of seeing some good result finally from all this complication of political solecisms. It would not surprise me if we should in the end be the gainers by them. My greatest fears are about the

fate of the bills. If protested for want of payment, they will become the source of much evil.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

JOHN JAY.

P. S.—I have this instant received a letter from Commodore Gillon, dated at Corunna, 28th September, and one from Colonel Searle of 26th September. I herewith enclose copies of them. Their contents are interesting.

J. J.

Morris to General Greene.*

OFFICE OF FINANCE, *October* 3, 1781.

SIR: I have received your letter, dated the 18th of August last, at the High Hills of Santee, and am now to thank you for it. Your observations on public affairs are, I fear, too just; but I hope that when our situation is thoroughly perceived by the people they will adopt those effectual remedies which every friend to his country ought to wish. That more power ought to be given to Congress is evident now to many, and will probably become soon very apparent to all. The disobedience of many States and the partial obedience of others discontents every one of them, and that will in itself be a reason for enabling the sovereign representative to exert a compliance with its requisitions; but, as you justly observe, all these things are in the womb of time, which can alone disclose the events we plague ourselves with guessing at.

From the latter part of your letter I perceive that you greatly misunderstood me. When I requested you to draw on me, I meant to extend those drafts so far as might be necessary for secret service money and the like small but indispensable occasions. I well knew that you could not by bills of exchange supply the wants of your army, and if I had thought it practicable I should have been more explicit, for I could not then have paid the bills you would have drawn.

To give you an idea of my situation as to money, I think I need only inform you that since I have been in office I have only received the sum of seven thousand five hundred pounds, Pennsylvania money, from the treasury of this State, and that was in part payment of advances made for them. This is all I have received from the funds of America. It is true that Colonel Laurens has lately arrived and brought with him a sum of money from France. And it is also true that I have made use of a very limited credit given me on France by drawing bills of exchange, but both of these resources taken together are vastly short of what is necessary, though they have contributed to the present operations.

* 6 Sparks' Dip. Rev, Corr., 347.

I have lost no occasion of showing to the several States their situation, but hitherto without success; and unless some unforeseen event turns up very speedily it is impossible to say what may be the consequences. However, it is our business to hope all things, and that Providence, who has hitherto carried us through our difficulties, will, I trust, continue his bountiful protection.

Your circumstances have long been arduous, but you have hitherto risen so superior to them, that we should be almost as much surprised now if you should be unsuccessful as we formerly were at your successes. I wish I could contribute to render you more easy. As far as my abilities extend I shall do it most cheerfully, but they unfortunately are very limited.

Accept, I pray you, my good wishes, which are almost all I have to give, and believe me to be, &c.,

ROBERT MORRIS.

Morris to the Commissary-General of Purchases.*

OFFICE OF FINANCE, *October* 4, 1781.

SIR: I have received your letters dated at Alexandria the 19th, and Williamsburgh the 23d of September last.

I am very glad that you push hard upon the States for supplies. It is, I find, necessary that you and I should understand each other on the subject. The General will, I dare say, take care to have as few unnecessary mouths as possible; but, after all, a certain quantity of provisions is indispensably necessary. Now this quantity must be furnished by the States of Virginia, Maryland, and Delaware. If you rely on my exertions you will probably be disappointed. Should the operations against Cornwallis fail for want of supplies, the States must thank their own negligence. If they will not exert themselves on the present occasion they never will. As to all that can be said about the failure of the one or of another kind of money, it is left to themselves. Let them tax in money which will not fail. It is their business to provide supplies and money too. If they neglect or omit this necessary duty, I again repeat, they must answer for the consequences.

I shall be glad at all times to hear from you very particularly, with all such information as you shall think necessary. But do not lean too hard upon me. Do not expect too much help from me. You will be deceived and disappointed if you do. Urge the States. Urge Delaware in particular. When I do furnish anything it must be money. Let some of your people, therefore, apply when you intend applications. I can not run about the city to purchase articles. That is the duty of an assistant commissary; and my time is too much, and I hope too well, employed to permit it.

I am, sir, &c.,

ROBERT MORRIS.

* MSS. Dep. of State; 6 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 349.

J. Adams to Franklin.*

AMSTERDAM, *October* 4, 1781.

SIR: Your excellency's letter of June 11th is yet unanswered. I have the honor to agree with your excellency in opinion, that it is reasonable that articles of rent of the hotel, payment of couriers, postage of letters, salaries of clerks, stationery for the bureau, and feasts and illuminations made upon public occasions should be deemed expenses of the state. Indeed, otherwise it will be impossible for American ministers to live in any such manner as is expected of them both by Europeans and Americans.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect, sir, &c., &c.

JOHN ADAMS.

J. Adams to Franklin.†

AMSTERDAM, *October* 4, 1781.

SIR: Since the 25th of August, when I had the honor to write to you, this is the first time I have taken a pen in hand to write to anybody, having been confined and reduced too low to do any kind of business by a nervous fever.

The new commission for peace has been a great consolation to me, because it removed from the public all danger of suffering any inconvenience at a time when, for many days together, there were many chances to one that I should have nothing more to do with commissions of any sort. It is still a great satisfaction, because I think it a measure essentially right, both as it is a greater demonstration of respect to the powers whose ministers may assemble to make peace, and as it is better calculated to give satisfaction to the people of America in all parts, as the commissioners are chosen from the most considerable places in that country.

It is probable that the French court is already informed of the alteration. Nevertheless, I should think it proper that it should be officially notified to the Count de Vergennes, and if you are of the same opinion, as you are near, I should be obliged to you if you would communicate to his excellency an authentic copy of the new commission.

I should think, too, that it would be proper to give some intimation of it to the public in the Gazette or *Mercure de France*, the two papers which are published with the consent of the court, and if you are of the same opinion, upon consulting the Count de Vergennes, I should be glad to see it done.

Have you any information concerning Mr. Jefferson, whether he has accepted the trust? Whether he has embarked, or proposes soon to embark? I saw a paragraph in a Maryland paper which expressed an

---

* MSS. Dep. of State; 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 172.

† 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 475.

apprehension that he was taken prisoner by a party of horse in Virginia.

I feel a strong curiosity to know the answer of the British court to the articles to serve as a basis, &c., and should be much obliged to your excellency for a copy of it, if to be procured, and for your opinion whether there will be a congress or not.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

JOHN ADAMS.

Franklin to J. Adams.*

PASSY, *October* 5, 1781.

SIR: I congratulate your excellency on your recovery. I hope this seasoning will be the means of securing your future health by accommodating your constitution to the air of that country.

Here are advices from Admiral de Grasse, which left him the 13th of August coming out of the Straits of Bahama with 28 sail of the line, bound to Chesapeake Bay, unless he should meet at sea a call to New York from General Washington. He took with him from the islands 3,600 land troops, which, with his marines, make near 6,000 men capable of acting either against Cornwallis or in the siege of New York, and the 8 sail under M. de Barras at Boston joining him will make a sea force superior to any expected of the enemy in those seas, so that we may hope for some good news from that quarter.

Since the letter your excellency honored me with of the 25th of August I have learnt nothing new of the mediation. It seems to be at present in a state of stagnation. Any farther proceedings in it that may come to my knowledge shall be immediately communicated to you.

This court appears attentive not only to the interest of the United States, but to their honor. England seems not yet tired enough of the war to think seriously of an accommodation, and till then our new commission will hardly afford us much employment or make it necessary for us to appoint a secretary in its service. I send however enclosed a copy of the minutes of Congress relating to that appointment. I have not heard of Mr. Dana's arrival at Petersburgh. If your excellency has received any communicable advices from him, I shall be glad to see them and to know whether he is likely to continue there. Enclosed is a letter for him and another for yourself. They appear to me to have been opened; but they are in the state I received them under cover from Mr. Nesbit, of L'Orient. A letter from America that has been shown me mentions a resolution of Congress to exchange General Burgoyne for Mr. Laurens, but I have never seen that resolution. Do you know anything of it? I have a letter from Mr. Burke on the subject of this General which I am at a loss to answer.

---

* Franklin MSS., Dep. of State; 7 J. Adams' Works, 466.

I received Mr. Thaxter's letter relating to the mast contracts, and communicated it to M. Vergennes, who I suppose will write about that affair to M. de la Luzerne. Is it possible that a project of supplying England with that article from any of the United States can be executed? I have no conception of the means.

I am glad to hear that the loan from Holland is likely to succeed, for without it those obtained here for our service will not afford payment of the list shown me the other day by Mr. Grand of your acceptations falling due in November, December, January, and February next, amounting to B°* 217,932⅔. It is a demand I had no previous knowledge of, and therefore I hope it is not expected of me to answer it. I have accepted the bills mentioned in yours of the 24th past as drawn by you upon me on that day; but the great sum above mentioned it will be out of my power to accept if you should draw for it, no provision being made for it in our last grants.

With great respect, I have the honor to be, &c.

Carmichael to the Committee of Foreign Affairs.†

MADRID, *October* 5, 1781.

GENTLEMEN: On my arrival here from St. Ildefonso this day I found the enclosed letter for his excellency the President of Congress from Mr. Dumas. On the 14th and 28th ultimo I wrote the committee that the court appeared more serious in its intentions of bringing on the negociation than it had shown itself to be for a long time. In the last I informed the committee that M. Del Campo would probably be appointed to negociate with Mr. Jay, and that his instructions and nominations would have his majesty's approbation on the night of the 30th ultimo. The minister of state once proposed to entrust M. Gardoqui with this business. Yesterday when I left the *Sitio*, the court had not formally notified the appointment to Mr. Jay; but from some hints I received from well-informed persons I have hopes that the communication will be made either before he comes from thence to-morrow or directly after the court is fixed at the Escurial. I shall, however, be very agreeably disappointed if much progress is made in this affair until the fate of the campaign is known.

The last post from France and Holland brought no news of an interesting nature. The French and Spanish troops destined to reinforce the Duc de Crillon's army at Minorca are not yet embarked, and he can not act with effect until he receives reinforcements. It is said the desertion from the place is considerable. The *South Carolina* frigate,

---

* "Banco" in 7 J. Adams' Works, 466.

† MSS. Dep. of State; 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 59, with verbal changes.

armed for that State in Holland, has put into Corunna, and I am con cerned to find by letters from Messrs. Searle and Trumbull, passenger on board, that Commodore Gillon's conduct is much censured. Knowing Mr. Searle's zeal and solicitude for the public interest, I must own tha his letter has influenced my opinion in a great degree; but it would b unjust to condemn the former before having seen an exposition of th reasons which have determined his conduct, and which he has promise to forward to Mr. Jay by express.

The fact is that he sailed from the Texel without the ships he ha engaged to escort; that he has cruised six or seven weeks with littl success, and that he has been obliged to put into the port above mentione to refit and get a supply of provisions to proceed to America, which h writes he shall do immediately. It is probable that Mr. Jay may thin proper to send me to Corunna in this business, which commission, must confess, I shall accept with reluctance; because I not only forese the delay and expense that must inevitably have place if this govern ment is obliged to interfere, but the disgrace which must ensue fro the notoriety of these unhappy differences between the commander an the American gentlemen aboard. I have another motive, which arise from the nature of the employment with which Congress has honore me, and which, with submission, I conceive does not admit of my absenc at the most important period of the negociation, when most knowledg is to be acquired of the real dispositions and intentions of this cour and when I may have an opportunity of availing myself of the esteen and confidence with which the proposed negociator has appeared t honor me for several months past. Although, for the reasons above mentioned, and for others which I could add, I may leave the court a this crisis with reluctance, I shall, if directed, proceed to Corunna execute the trust reposed in me with a zeal, assiduity, and activit which I hope will always influence my conduct when the public interes and reputation are in question.

I enclose a letter for his excellency the Chevalier de la Luzurene fro the Count de Montmorin, whose talents and warm espousal of ou interests, not only here, but at his own court, entitle him to the appr bation and esteem of Congress. I just hear that the count has receive advices from Buenos Ayres, dated the 7th of July. These are ver agreeable. The rebellion mentioned in my former letters is entirel quelled by the defeat and capture of the Indian chief at the head of i and his principal officers, cannon, treasure, &c., &c. It seems that tw English officers are in the number of the prisoners, and that man letters and papers were found, which discover that the Portugues excited and fomented these disturbances.*

* This alludes to the revolt of the celebrated Peruvian chief Tupac Amaru, which an eloquent account is given by Dean Funes, in his *Ensayo de la Historia Ci del Paraguay, Buenos Ayres y Tucuman*. See North American Review, vol. xx, 283.—SPARKS.

The Havana fleet is expected daily. On its arrival perhaps the court may do something for us. But I again repeat that little is to be depended on in the money way. Letters from France talk of a large expedition preparing at Brest. Its object is a secret. I shall seize every opportunity of informing the committee of what passes in Europe relative to our affairs, and in future will multiply the copies of my letters to ensure their safe arrival.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

WILLIAM CARMICHAEL.

Dumas to the President of Congress.*

THE HAGUE, *October* 11, 1781.

SIR: On the 12th of September the Baron Lynden wrote a letter to the Prince of Orange, telling him that, after he had so much complied with the wishes of his highness as to withhold for a considerable time his letter from their high mightinesses, he had expected, from the honor of his highness that the embassy for Vienna would not be disposed of in behalf of another till there was a greater necessity for it than there is at present, and till his own motives for refusing a post which in every other respect would have been very delightful to himself had been attended to; but seeing himself not fairly treated by another's (the Count of Waffenaar Twickels, who, however, has not yet dared to accept it) being appointed to it, he should be obliged, if his highness should go on without paying regard to the present letter, to publish it, with the foregoing ones that had passed between his highness and him, together with what he knew from the late Counts of Rhoon and Bentinck concerning a secret *act*, by which his highness, when of age, had promised the duke that he should ever be his *only counsel*.

A very unfaithful account having since been circulated of this letter, the baron makes no difficulty of showing it to those whom he wishes to be undeceived, and probably he will at last publish it with the others. In the mean time I have seen the original draft. Several very violent Dutch pamphlets have been published within a few days, not only against the duke, but even against the stadtholder, and against the stadtholdership in general and the whole Orange dynasty, the last of which is a masterly performance, but too large for me to translate. There is more moderation in the *considerations* herewith enclosed, and therefore I have consented without difficulty to get them printed at the request of some very good people, as your excellency will see by the annexed copy of my letter to their society at Rotterdam.

The States of Holland have met again this morning. I have not heard if any of the provinces besides Holland and Friesland have consented

---

* MSS. Dep. of State; 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 339, which version, paraphrasing and condensing the original, is here given.

to the loan proposed by France in the manner I told your excellency in my last. They are too much taken up at present with their domestic quarrels.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

DUMAS.

Morris to le Couteulx & Co.*

OFFICE OF FINANCE, *October* 12, 1781.

GENTLEMEN: In consequence of a new arrangement taken with his excellency the Chevalier de la Luzerne, minister plenipotentiary of France, a further sum of money will be deposited with you subject to my drafts on behalf of the United States of America, so that I shall continue those drafts as occasion may require until in the whole they amount to one million two hundred thousand livres tournois, where I shall stop, unless circumstances should happen to induce an extension of this operation, of which I will advise you; and whenever it is completed I shall require an account current from you for the whole. I have not yet had the pleasure of receiving from you any letters directed to me in my official capacity, but I doubt not your punctual care and attention to discharge all my drafts as they fall due.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

ROBERT MORRIS.

Morris to the Loan Officers of the States.*

OFFICE OF FINANCE, *October* 13, 1781.

SIR: As the organization of the treasury department will soon be completed, it becomes my duty to inform you of that circumstance, and to request that you will prepare for a full settlement of your accounts. I must also request that you will be pleased to make out and transmit to me an accurate list of all the certificates issued, with their dates, sums, and the persons to whom they were given. It will be necessary that an account of the public debt be prepared for the public inspection. This can not be done until the proper materials be obtained from the several offices; wherefore, I make no doubt that you will exert yourself to comply with my request. As I am informed that the late treasury board gave orders for sending back the blank certificates, I suppose they are now on the way hither; but if that should not be the case, I must require an immediate performance of the directions given by the board, and I must insist that no more certificates be issued on any pretence whatever.

With great respect, I have the honor to be, &c.,

ROBERT MORRIS.

---

* MSS. Dep. of State; 6 Spark's Dip. Rev. Cor., 350.

Dana to the President of Congress.*

ST. PETERSBURGH, *October* 15, 1781.

SIR: Since my letter to your excellency of September 15th, enclosing a duplicate of mine from Berlin and copies of all the enclosed papers, the French minister has sent me a copy of all the propositions of the mediators and of the answer of the court of Versailles. I have the satisfaction to think the inferences I then drew from the first propositions only are well supported by the tenor of the second, in which they expressly say that our particular peace shall not be signed but conjointly and at the same time with that of the powers whose interests shall have been treated of by the mediating courts; that the pacifications, notwithstanding they may be treated separately, shall not be concluded the one without the other; that care shall be taken constantly to inform the mediators of the progress and of the state of our particular treaty, to the end the mediation may be able to govern itself in the progress of that which is entrusted to them according to the state of our particular negociation, and that both of the pacifications, although they shall have been separately concluded, shall be solemnly guarantied by the mediators and all other neutral powers whose guarantee the belligerent powers shall judge proper to ask.

What force are we now to allow to the terms in the first proposition "the American Colonies" and "without the intervention of any of the other belligerent powers, or even that of the two imperial courts, unless their mediation has been formally demanded and granted upon this object?" Is it clear from hence that the design of the mediators is to avoid exposing themselves by acknowledging the independence of the United States before Great Britain has done this herself? Do not the propositions speak this language to Britain: You may make such a peace with America, not only as she chooses to make with you, but as the other belligerent powers and we shall choose you should make with her; and remember you are to have no peace in Europe unless you give peace to America; and when this peace is once made, we will take care you shall not break it. We shall soon see by the replies which the mediators will give to the belligerent powers, particularly to the court of Versailles, whether they will recede in favor of Britain from their first plan of pacification, or go on in their next a step further in the spirit of their former system. It seems that, consistent with their own dignity, they can neither retreat or remain on the same ground. The independence of the United States was certainly the basis of the first plan of pacification, and I have no great fears that it will be departed from.

I have lately been told by a person, who certainly knew the truth of the matter, in so confident a manner that I have no room to doubt it, that it was a secret part of the original plan of the armed neutrality, as soon as it should be completed, that the neutral confederated powers

* MSS. Dep. of State; 4 Spark's Dip. Rev. Corr., 597, with verbal changes.

should propose a general pacification between the belligerent powers, which it was supposed could not be brought about otherwise than by leaving America free and independent, and to enforce this proposition by their joint armaments; and that so long ago as in May, 1780, if Holland had done her part, affairs were then in all other quarters in a proper train to have carried the whole plan into execution; but, unfortunately for her, British influence was too great there, and instead of doing the business at once, they entered upon the parade of sending a brace of ambassadors to this court, not with a view to finish, but at least to delay it. Holland, in fact, did not accede to the marine convention, which was first entered into by Russia and Denmark on the 9th of July, 1780, and next by Sweden on the 21st of the same month, until the 20th of November following, and it was not signed on their part till the 5th of last January. All this time her navy was neglected, and the mischiefs she has suffered are not the only ones consequent upon her tardiness and inactivity; for Britain has been thereby enabled for a while to detach Denmark from the confederation, or at least to make that court indifferent in the business of it. It was but a short time after it had adopted the plan before it made a breach upon it by including in a treaty with Britain hemp, etc., among contraband articles. From that time the spirit of the confederation seems to have languished. The Danish minister most interested in it has been superseded. Count Panin, who in this court, it is said, was its principal support, retired. It is true he has lately returned to court, but has not assumed his former office of chief minister in the department of foreign affairs, though he is still of the privy council. My information about the share he has in those affairs is very different; by some I am told he has little or no influence in them, by others that he possesses a considerable portion of his former influence, and my informants on both parts ought to, and perhaps do, know the truth of the matter. On one side everything is veiled in profound mystery, and nothing is let out but what presents a discouraging prospect.*

It has not such an effect upon my mind at present, and I am strongly encouraged to hope that the confederation will become properly invigorated by the accession of the King of Prussia. The first open part he took in it was the issuing his ordinance of the 30th of last April. Soon after this (the 8th of May) he entered into a similar convention with the empress. About this time (the 23d of May) the propositions for a general pacification were made, and on the 20th of August both the Prussian and Russian ministers at The Hague notified to the States-General the accession of his Prussian majesty to the confederation. Laying

* The "mystery" is in a large measure unveiled in the despatches of Lord Malmesbury when Sir James Harris, British minister at St. Petersburg (1 Malmesbury Corr.). There can be now no question that the mediating courts made their recognition of American independence conditional on its acknowledgment by Great Britain; and that the Russian empress was resolutely averse to any recognition whatever of the "insurgents" as long as they were regarded as revolted subjects by Great Britain.

these things together, and presuming as I do that the confederated powers can have no well-grounded hope of reaping any lasting benefit from their confederation for the maintenance of the liberty of their commerce and of their navigation but in the establishment of the independence of the United States, one might conclude with confidence that all would soon go well between us if it was confidently to be concluded that all courts are governed by the real interest of their countries, even where that is clearly understood, or act upon a permanent system. All now depends upon the stability of the empress. If she should persevere in the noble line she has marked out, of Sweden and of Russia there is no danger, and it is probable Denmark will not stand out. The emperor has ceased his opposition to the confederation. The step is now short for him to favor and support it. I believe it may be depended upon that he has already agreed to accede to it.

If I were to hazard an opinion touching the manner in which our particular business will issue here, it is that the success of it will depend upon the neutral powers consolidating themselves in their confederation; that even after this should take place our independence will not be acknowledged by this court before all the neutral confederated powers shall have agreed upon this measure and are fully prepared to adopt it, and that even Holland waits for this event, although her case is now different from theirs, by being actually at war with our enemy.

The ground on which the secret part of the original plan of the armed neutrality above mentioned was formed was an apprehension of the powers engaged in it, that by the loss of America and by the continuance of the war the maritime force of Britain might be too much reduced to preserve the balance of power upon the ocean; but as she has not abated of her haughtiness, her injustice, and outrageous violations of the rights of the neutral maritime powers, and still opposes herself to the establishment of a system calculated to secure those rights and to vindicate the general law of nations, thereby manifesting that the measure of her power is to prescribe her rule of right, they have become tolerably well reconciled to the idea of seeing her more effectually weakened and humbled.

On the whole, I am not anxious about the manner of *thinking* of the neutral powers touching the great objects which concern our fundamental interests. We have nothing to apprehend, I believe, but the baneful influence of British gold,* which can serve but to defer for a while, however, the event they most dread—the open acknowledgment of our independence by this and the other neutral powers. I expect to be informed of the answer of this court to that of Versailles

*This suspicion, as is elsewhere shown, was right. Prince Potemkin (or his secretary who was identified with him) received large bribes for supplying the British minister with whatever information he desired, and Catharine was secretly offered Minorca if she would use her position as mediator to effect the withdrawal of all French aid from America.

respecting the pacification as soon as it shall be communicated to the French minister. It has already been delayed longer than I was given to understand it would be, which is owing probably to the necessity of consultation with the court of Vienna. I shall wait but a few days for it before I make the communication of my mission to this court, unless some matter which I do not foresee should render it expedient to delay doing it still longer.

I am, with the highest respect, and most perfect esteem, &c.,

FRANCIS DANA.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.*

AMSTERDAM, *October* 15, 1781.

SIR: I wish if it were possible to communicate to Congress the present state of every affair which they have been pleased to confide in any measure to me. I have received the new commission for peace and the revocation of my commission and instructions of the 29th of September, 1779.† To both of these measures of Congress, as to the commands of my sovereign, I shall pay the most exact attention. The present commission for peace is a demonstration of greater respect to the powers of Europe and must be more satisfactory to the people of America than any former one; besides that, it guards against accidents, which in my late sickness I had reason to think may well happen. I am, however, apprehensive that this commission will lie a long time neglected and as useless as the former one.

I am myself seriously of opinion that the English will not treat with the United States for many years. They will see all their dominions in the East and West Indies conquered by the French and Spaniards; they will see their government reduced to the limits of their own island before they will do it. The present ministers must die off, and the king too, before there will be any treaty between Britain and America. The nation will stand by the king and the ministry through every loss while they persevere, whereas both would sink into total contempt and ridicule if they were to make peace. While they persevere they are masters of the purses, and commerce too, of the whole nation. Make peace, and they lose a great part of this influence. National pride, when it has become a habitual passion by long indulgence, is the most obstinate thing in the world; and this war has been made so completely, though so artfully, the national act, as well as that of the king and ministers, that the pride of the nation was never committed more entirely to the support of anything. It is not to be supposed that the present ministry will treat with America, and if there should be a change, and the

---

*MSS. Dep. of State, 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 478, with verbal changes; 7 J. Adams' Works, 471.

† The new commission for negotiating peace was given to John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, John Jay, Henry Laurens, and Thomas Jefferson. See the commission and instructions, *supra*, June 15, 1781.

leaders of opposition should come in, they will not treat with America in any character that she can with honor or safety assume. They might propose a peace separate from France, or they might withdraw their troops from the United States, but they would not make a general peace. The congress at Vienna will prove but a magnificent chimera, as the British ministry ever intended it should be. It has already answered their insidious ends, and now they are giving it a dismission by insisting upon their two preliminaries, so that upon the whole, according to the best judgment I can form, it will not be worth while for Congress to be at the expense of continuing me in Europe with a view to my assisting at any conferences for peace, especially as Dr. Franklin has given me intimations that I can not depend upon him for my subsistence in the future.

My commission for borrowing money has hitherto been equally useless. It would fill a small volume to give the history of my negociations with people of various stations and characters in order to obtain a loan, and it would astonish Congress to see the unanimity with which all of them have refused to engage in the business; most of them declaring they were afraid to undertake it. I am told that no new loan was ever undertaken here without meeting at first with all sorts of contradiction and opposition for a long time; but my loan is considered not only as a new one, but as entering deep into the essence of all the present political systems of the world, and no man dares engage in it until it is clearly determined what characters are to bear rule and what system is to prevail in this country.

There is no authority in Europe more absolute, not even that of the two empires, not that of the simple monarchies, than that of the States-General is in their dominions, and nobody but M. de Neufville dares advance faster in a political manœuvre than the States. M. de Neufville has done his utmost, and has been able to do nothing; three thousand guilders (less than three hundred pounds) is all that he has obtained. Notwithstanding this, there is a universal wish that the world may be made to believe that my loan is full. It is upon 'change, by a unanimous dissimulation, pretended to be full, and there are persons (who I know not) who write to London and fill the English papers with paragraphs that my loan is full. M. de Neufville has advertised in the customary form for all persons possessed of American *coupons* to come and receive the money at the end of the first six months. Those persons can not be more than three in number.

My letters of credence to their high mightinesses have been taken *ad referendum* by the several provinces, and are now under consideration of the several branches of the sovereignty of this country; but no one city or body of nobles has as yet determined upon them. None have declared themselves in favor of my admission to an audience and none have decided against it, and it is much to be questioned whether any one will determine soon.

I have often written to Congress that I never could pretend to t
tell what the States-General would do. I never found anybody
who guessed right; and upon reading over all the negociations of J
nin, Torcy, d'Avaux, and d'Estrades in this country I found every
of those ministers were, at the several periods of their residence h
in the same uncertainty. It appears to have been for this century
a half at least the national character to manage all the world as
as they could, to keep things undetermined as long as they could,
finally to decide suddenly upon some fresh motive of fear. It is
clear to me that I shall never borrow money until I have had an a
ence; and if the States pursue their old maxim of policy it may be m
years before this is agreed to. I am much inclined to believe
nothing decisive will be done for two or three years, perhaps lon
yet it may be in a month. Parties are now very high and their
sions against each other warm; and to all appearances the good p
is vastly the most numerous; but we must remember that the supr
executive is supposed to be determined on the other side, so that t
is real danger of popular commotion and tragical scenes.

The question really is whether the republic shall make peace
England by furnishing her ships and troops according to old t
ties, and joining her against all her enemies—France, Spain, A
ica—and as many more as may become enemies in the course of
war? The English party dare not speak out and say this openly,
if they have common sense they must know that England will n
peace with them upon no other terms. They pretend that upon s
little concessions, some trifling condescendencies, England would m
peace with Holland separately. Some pretend that a separate p
might be had upon the single condition of agreeing not to trade
America; others upon the condition of considering naval stores as
traband goods; but the commercial cities are almost unanimo
against both of these articles. The English party are sensible of
yet they entertain hopes by keeping the republic in a defenceless s
commerce will be so far ruined and the common people in the g
trading cities reduced to such want and misery as to become furi
demand peace at any rate, and fall upon the houses and person
those who will not promote it.

The English party, I think, will never carry their point so far a
induce the nation to join the English. There are three considerat
which convince me of this beyond a doubt. First, corrupted and a
doned as a great part of this nation as well as every other in Europ
there is still a public national sense and conscience, and the gen
the almost universal, sense of this nation is that the English are w
and the Americans right in this war. The conduct of the Ameri
is so like that of their venerable and heroic ancestors, it is evide
founded in such principles as are uniformly applauded in their hist
and as every man has been educated in a habitual veneration for t

it is impossible for them to take a part in the war against America. This was universally conspicuous upon the publication of my memorial to the States. Secondly, the commercial part of these provinces, I think, will never give up the American trade. Thirdly, England is so exhausted and so weak, and France, Spain, and America so strong, that joining the former against the three latter would be the total ruin of the republic. Nevertheless the court party will find means of delay, and will embarrass the operations of war in so many ways, that it will be long before any decisive measures will be taken in favor of America.

Whether under all these circumstances Congress will think proper to continue me in Europe, whether it will be in their power to furnish me with the means of subsistence (as Dr. Franklin in his letter to me thinks I can not depend upon him, and I have no hopes at all of obtaining any here), I know not, and must submit to their wisdom. But, after all, the state of my health, which I have little reason to hope will be restored without a voyage home and more relaxation from care and business than I can have in Europe, makes it very uncertain whether I shall be able to remain here. In short, my prospects both for the public and for myself are so dull, and the life I am likely to lead in Europe is likely to be so gloomy and melancholy and of so little use to the public, that I can not but wish it may suit with the views of Congress to recall me.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

JOHN ADAMS.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.*

AMSTERDAM, *October* 15, 1781.

SIR: I am very sorry to learn that Congress have received no letters from me from October to June. It is not that I wrote less than usual in that period, but that I was more unfortunate. Two vessels which sailed from hence for Boston, each of which had despatches from me for Congress, destroyed them; one upon being taken, and the other upon being chased. But the most of my despatches were lost at St. Eustatia, I fear.

While that island was in the possession of the Dutch I sent a great number of letters, packets of papers, &c., by several vessels, to the care of Curson and Gouvernieur, to be forwarded to Congress. It is very certain the enemy have got possession of some; one very short and insignificant one they have published, and the London papers give intimations of more; but I fancy they will not choose to publish them.

I hope Commodore Gillon has arrived before this day, who had letters from me and all the public papers for some time. I sent despatches

* MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 476.

also by several other vessels which have sailed from hence. It is extremely difficult for me to send letters by the way of Nantes, L'Orient, &c., or by the way of Spain. There is so much bad faith in the public posts, that it would not be possible for me to write without having my letters opened, perhaps copied, and there is scarcely ever an opportunity by a private hand to any seaport in France.

But I have a further apology to make to Congress for the few letters I have lately written. On the 2d of July I left Amsterdam at the invitation of the Count de Vergennes for Paris, for a conference upon the subject of peace at the mediation of the two imperial courts and the congress at Vienna. After despatching all that was necessary relative to these sublime bubbles I returned to Amsterdam. Not long after I got home I found myself attacked by a fever, of which at first I made light, but which increased very gradually and slowly until it was found to be nervous fever of a very malignant kind, and so violent as to deprive me of almost all sensibility for four or five days and all those who cared anything about me of the hopes of my life.

By the help, however, of great skill and all-powerful bark I am still alive; but this is the first time I have felt the courage to attempt to write to Congress. Absence and sickness are my apologies to Congress for the few letters they will receive from me since June. Whether it was the uncommon heat of the summer, or whether it was the mass of pestilential exhalations from the stagnant waters of this country that brought this disorder upon me I know not; but I have every reason to apprehend that I shall not be able to re-establish my health in this country. A constitution ever infirm and almost half a hundred years old can not expect to fare very well amidst such cold damps and putrid steams as arise from the immense quantities of dead water that surround it.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

JOHN ADAMS.

Franklin to Burke.*

PASSY, *October* 15, 1781.

SIR: I received but a few days since your very friendly letter of August last on the subject of General Burgoyne.

Since the foolish part of mankind will make wars from time to time with each other, not having sense enough otherwise to settle their differences, it certainly becomes the wiser part, who can not prevent those wars, to alleviate as much as possible the calamities attending them. Mr. Burke always stood high in my esteem, but his affectionate concern for his friend renders him still more amiable, and makes the honor he does me of admitting me of the number still more precious.

---

* MSS. Dep. of State; 9 Sparks' Franklin, 84; 7 Bigelow's Franklin, 302.

I do not think the Congress have any wish to persecute General Burgoyne. I never heard, till I received your letter, that they had recalled him; if they have made such a resolution, it must be, I suppose, a conditional one, to take place in case their offer of exchanging him for Mr. Laurens should not be accepted; a resolution intended merely to enforce that offer.

I have just received an authentic copy of the resolve containing that offer and authorizing me to make it. As I have no communication with your ministers, I send it enclosed to you. If you can find any means of negociating this business, I am sure the restoring of another worthy man to his family and friends will be an addition to your pleasure.

With great and invariable respect and esteem, I am, sir, your most obedient and most humble servant,

B. FRANKLIN.

Franklin to Jay.*

PASSY, *October* 16, 1781.

DEAR SIR: I received yours by Major Franks, which I shall answer fully by Saturday's post. The letters you sent me of Captain Gillon and Mr. Searle give me, as you expected, abundance of chagrin. I am afraid that Gillon will loiter at Corunna as he did at Amsterdam, and sell the goods of the United States, as he did those of the State of South Carolina, to defray his expenses, and run away in the same manner, leaving many of his creditors unpaid. I beg you would assist Captain Jackson, whose letter to me is enclosed, in the measures he may think proper to take for securing our property. M. de Vergennes has kindly given me a letter to Comte de Montmorin to the same purpose, which I enclose.

I can now only add that I am, with sincerest esteem, dear sir, &c.

Franklin to Jackson.†

PASSY, *October* 16, 1781.

SIR: I received yours of September 26 from Corunna. The conduct of Gillon, though it provokes, does not surprise me. I have not yet the second letter you promised me, but in the mean time have wrote to Mr. Jay, and have obtained a letter from M. Le Comte de Vergennes to the French ambassador at Madrid, requesting them to assist you in what they can for securing the property of the States. I wish it may not be too late, which I am afraid will be the case of your caution relating to the bills. I pity exceedingly your vexatious situation, being with great regard, sir, your most obedient and most humble servant.

---

*MSS. Dep. of State. †Ibid.

Morris to the Governor of Virginia.*

PHILADELPHIA, *October* 16, 1781.

SIR: I would willingly write you an official letter by this post on the subject of supplies for the year 1782; but I must decline it until I can obtain the proper estimates, which are now preparing. In the mean time, as I learn that your legislature are now sitting, I write you this private letter on that subject.

My former public letters will fully have stated my ideas as to the present demands on the existing requisitions of Congress. I hope and expect that those requisitions will be immediately complied with. It is my decided opinion, founded on the best observations I have been able to make and the most accurate and extensive information I could possibly obtain, that paper emissions will no longer answer the purpose of carrying on this war, and experience must by this time have convinced every dispassionate observer that specific supplies are at once burdensome to the people and almost useless to the Government.

It is unnecessary to draw the conclusion, which I am sure will strike your mind, that a revenue in hard money must be obtained; but I will observe to you that the present moment has been very favorable to that object in your State. While the war is in your country the expenses of it will be so diffused as to possess its inhabitants of specie, and should it be happily removed to a distance, your commerce will bring in resources equal to your necessities.

I take the liberty to request that you will communicate these sentiments to my worthy friend Colonel Harrison, and I pray you to believe me, very sincerely, your friend,

ROBERT MORRIS.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.†

AMSTERDAM, *October* 17, 1781.

SIR: There is at present a fermentation in this nation, which may arise to violent extremities. Hundreds of pamphlets have appeared, all of which must be adjudged to be seditious libels, some against the court and some against the city and sovereign magistrates of Amsterdam. At length a large pamphlet has appeared in Dutch, and been distributed through the streets of The Hague, Leyden, Rotterdam, and other cities, which has occasioned a great alarm to the government and a great agitation of spirits among the people. All parties speak of it as a composition in the strongest terms of admiration. The substance of it will appear from the following placard against it:

We, the deputies of the States of Utrecht, make known, that as it is come to our knowledge that, notwithstanding the strong and serious advertisements and publi-

* MSS. Dep. of State; 6 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 351.
† MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 482.

cations against the composition, sale, and distribution of lampoons, scandalous pamphlets, or libels, and defamatory writings of whatever sort, or in whatever form they may be, to the prejudice of the high sovereignty of these provinces, and of those who are placed in any administration or direction of public affairs already, heretofore, and lately promulgated, both by the lords of the states of this province and by others, and the rigorous penalty therein decreed against transgressors; nevertheless, the spirit of discord, of wickedness, of calumny, and of sedition has burst forth, and spread itself in this state so far that it has not been possible hitherto to restrain it by such advertisements, but, on the contrary, it has arrived at such a height that there has been printed and dispersed within a few days a most pernicious libel under the title of Aan het Volk van Nederland (to the people of the Low Countries), containing a great number of wicked and slanderous imputations against the most serene person of his most serene highness our lord the Prince of Orange and Nassau, hereditary stadtholder, captain and admiral-general of these provinces, against his most serene father and mother, of glorious memory, as also our lords the Princes of Orange William the First, Maurice, Frederick, Henry, William the Second, and William the Third, illustrious predecessors of his most serene highness, and interspersing efforts the most seditious, tending to overturn not only the present form of the regency, but even to introduce, instead of the regency in the state, which also is therein painted in the most hateful manner, a democracy or regency of the people, and thus to cause the republic to fall into an entire anarchy, which would increase and multiply still more extremely the dangers to which the dear country is exposed at present by a foreign war joined to an intestine division; and taking into consideration that such most detestable wickedness if not restrained can have no other consequences than the total ruin and destruction of the dear country if God by his grace does not prevent it, and that it is incumbent on us to employ all the means possible to hinder it, and to punish offences according to their demerit;—for these causes we renew that which has been heretofore and lately ordained in this respect by the publication of their noble mightinesses of the 4th of July of the present year, 1781, and not only the punishments by fine, but also of discretionary correction, according to the exigence of the case, against the transgressors there mentioned, to discover the author or the authors, and the distributor or the distributors, of such a dangerous libel as that before mentioned, and to the end that they be punished as examples to others, according to the magnitude of such a crime, tending to the ruin of the country, we have thought fit to promise, as we do by these presents, a premium of a hundred ryders (fourteen hundred guilders) in favor of those who may discover or make known the author or authors, distributor or distributors, in such manner that they may be juridically convicted and punished, concealing the name of the informer if he requires it. And we ordain, moreover, to all the officers and judges in the city, cities, and countries of this province to make all possible search, and to endeavor, without any negligence, dissimulation, or connivance, to discover and arrest the aforesaid malefactor or malefactors, and to proceed and to cause to be proceeded, as is convenient against them, as seditious persons, and disturbers of the public repose, guilty of overturning the foundations of the government of these provinces, and of the sovereignty of the lords the States of the provinces respectively, and as the enemies the most dangerous of the country; and to the end that no man may pretend ignorance, these presents shall be published and posted up in convenient places.

Done at Utrecht the 3d of October, 1781.

I. TACTS VAN AMERONGEN.

By order of the said lords deputies.

C. A. VOS.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

JOHN ADAMS.

Jay to the President of Congress.*

MADRID, *October* 18, 1781.

SIR: Major Franks delivered me the despatches committed to hi care on the 30th of August. He set out for France the 5th instant My letters by him to your excellency will account for his remaining here so long. I also beg leave to refer to them for other more inter esting particulars.

Congress will doubtless be informed that I have refused to accept some of their bills. As the enemies of America in Europe had with some suc cess endeavored to render the credit of our paper suspected, it ap peared to me expedient to state the reasons for these refusals very par ticularly, and I caused them to be recited at large in the protests. have sent copies of them to Dr. Franklin and Mr. Adams, that in cas these transactions should be represented to our disadvantage, either i France or Holland, they might be enabled to set the matter right. now send copies to Congress, to prevent their being alarmed at any general report that may arrive in America of my having refused t accept their bills drawn upon me.

Our merchants would, in my opinion, do well to write their endorse ments on bills at length and in their own handwriting. There is rea son to believe that the enemy often turn blank endorsements to good account.

M. Gardoqui is here. Those ships of the Spanish flotilla which car ried the treasure are arrived at Cadiz. Trenches are not yet opened against Fort St. Philip at Minorca. Another expedition is preparing at Cadiz; its destination is uncertain.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

JOHN JAY.

Congress to the King of France.†

The United States in Congress assembled to their great, faithful, and beloved friend and ally Louis the Sixteenth, King of France and Navarre:

GREAT, FAITHFUL, AND BELOVED FRIEND AND ALLY: We feel a additional obligation to your majesty for your friendly reception of ou late special minister, Lieutenant-Colonel John Laurens. By him w received your majesty's letter containing new assurances of what th United States have been long convinced, your majesty's affectionat patronage of American independence. His report, while it proves tha our attachment has not been misplaced, will increase our gratitude We have charged our minister plenipotentiary at your court to rende to your majesty more particular acknowledgments for your zeal for th

---

* MSS. Dep. of State; 4 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 368.

† MSS. Dep. of State; 6 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 15.

re-establishment of peace upon principles coinciding with the liberty and sovereignty of the United States and for the important succors lately administered to our necessities. We shall also instruct him to inform your majesty of the arrangements which have taken place for calling forth the resources of the United States with decision and effect against the common enemy.

We pray God that he will keep your majesty, our great, faithful, and beloved friend and ally, in his holy protection.

Done at Philadelphia the eighteenth of October, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-one, and in the sixth year of our Independence, by the United States in Congress assembled.

Your faithful friends and allies,

THOMAS M'KEAN,
President.

Attest: CHARLES THOMSON,
Secretary.

Morris to the President of Congress.*

OFFICE OF FINANCE, *October* 18, 1781.

SIR: The honorable committee on the letter of the board of war of the 11th instant have favored me with a perusal of it. I think it my duty on this occasion to express my approbation of that attention the board of war have paid the public service. That letter has opened a subject which had pressed itself strongly on my mind, and which I had determined to mention to Congress, but was restrained by the hope that a review of their own proceedings, and a sense of our difficulties would soon have rendered it unnecessary.

This matter being now before them, it would be unpardonable in me not to enforce those sentiments which I myself am most deeply affected with. I am convinced that a slight view of the situation in which their finances now are will give a strong impression of the necessity there is to guard against pecuniary solicitations from every quarter. If the revenue were equal to the demands upon it, nothing can be more simple and clear than that all those demands should be speedily and punctually paid. Unfortunately this is far from being the case; I believe much further than many are aware of. When I say that I cannot command more than one-twentieth of the sum necessary for the current service of the year, I am within the strictest bounds of truth. It is with equal truth that I assure you that I have not since my appointment received one shilling from any State in the Union, Pennsylvania excepted; and from Pennsylvania I have received paper money to the amount of the four-tenths due to the United States, the appropriation whereof Congress must be thoroughly acquainted with, and seven thou-

* MSS. Dep. of State; 6 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 351.

sand five hundred pounds in specie, which is applied to the payment o contracts within the State, and still leaves a balance against them fo articles of their specific supplies which I have furnished.

The moneys drawn for by permission of the minister plenipotentiary of his most Christian majesty have been already applied to the publi service, and the engagements I have entered into amount to a very con siderable sum.

I enclose a few out of the many articles which immediately sugges themselves to me. Had I sought for the smaller instances they woul have been numerous, and of course weighty. Instead of this, I hav omitted many considerable articles, such, for instance, as expenses o stores for the hospitals, much of which is now due and more to be im mediately provided for. You will perceive that I have not even men tioned the expense of transporting military stores, such as shot, shells &c., to the camp before York, which the board of war assure me will b very great, and indeed it must be so. Neither have I mentioned th expense of transporting money, clothing, medicines, arms, &c., fro Boston to this place, and hence to the southward. Besides all this, am told it will be necessary to procure ten thousand suits of clothes fo the ensuing winter. If this be so, that article alone will amount to a least two hundred thousand dollars.

I might go further, but I shall only observe that, exclusive of all thes things, the enclosed estimate amounts to above two hundred thousan dollars; yet attention must be paid to the wants of three large armies Congress know the extent of my means.

In this situation of things it is proper to ask on every occasion, befor private grants of money are made, whether the public service will no suffer by it. But this is not all, I am bound to observe that the expec tations of our troops now in the field may be much disappointed, an that they will conceive it unjust to dispose of any moneys which migh be spared unless as an equal division among them. To press this poin any further would imply a want of that confidence which I really hav in the wisdom and discernment of Congress. They will see that, whil the indispensable calls for money to forward general operations continu to be so loud as to draw from me all my private funds, it can not b expected that I shall pay warrants in favor of individuals. I am sur they will feel for me when I mention the pain I suffer from being com pelled to refuse money on their resolutions. A regard for their hono is the second motive of my conduct. I hope it is unecessary to say tha a regard for the public interest is the first. I am far from wishing t insinuate a line of conduct to Congress; but I must place before thei eyes those facts which it is for their honor and their interest to be in formed of. They will draw the proper conclusions.

With the most perfect respect, I am, &c.,

ROBERT MORRIS.

ESTIMATE.

Due to the French treasury for so much borrowed of them at Chester, delivered at the head of the Elk	$26,000
Due to the French army, a quantity of flour exchanged in the State of New York to be replaced at the southward, which will require	10,000
Due for transports hired in the Delaware and Chesapeake	15,000
For flour now purchasing to supply General Heath's army	10,000
Horses purchased last summer for the quartermaster-general and shortly to be paid for	4,000
To recruit and mount Colonel Armand's legion	50,000
Saddles and accoutrements for General Greene's army	14,000
Flour lately purchased in Virginia for General Washington's army, and now due	5,000
Articles necessary for General Greene's army, and the transportation of articles to him and money for essential services	5,000
Clothing purchased on a credit for Fort Pitt and Wyoming	5,000
Estimate from the navy board at Boston	40,000
Rum now sending on to General Washington's army	5,000
My own money already advanced for the public service	12,000
	201,000

J. Adams to the President of Congress.*

AMSTERDAM, *October* 18, 1781.

SIR: The committees of the fisheries of Vlaardingen and Maaslleys have presented to their high mightinesses a petition to give them to understand "that they had learned with the most lively sensibility that the gentlemen the committees of the respective colleges of admiralty had proposed to their high mightinesses to permit the free navigation of the ports of the republic, with or without convoy, excepting, nevertheless, until further order, the vessels destined to the greater and lesser fisheries. The petitioners represent the inevitable losses with which they are more and more threatened in case that all the fishery, without exception, remain longer suspended; that they might very well find a remedy in a certain manner by excepting from this prohibition the ships employed in taking fish for salting and in the fishery of fresh cod. They solicit that it may please their high mightinesses to revoke in this regard the placard of the 26th of January, 1781, or at least to make in it such alteration as their high mightinesses may find convenient."

This petition accepted by the province of Holland has been rendered commissorial, and sent to the colleges of the admiralty respectively;

ANOTHER PETITION FROM DIVERS MERCHANTS, BOOKKEEPERS, AND OWNERS OF SHIPS OF AMSTERDAM, CONTAINING IN SUBSTANCE:

That the petitioners having caused their vessels and cargoes, for the most part loaded beforehand, to sail under the escort of the convoy, there has resulted from it

* MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 484.

on the 5th of August the famous rencounter between this convoy, commanded by the Vice-Admiral Zoutman and the British Vice-Admiral Parker; a rencounter which in truth had covered the naval forces of the republic with immortal glory, but at the same time given to commerce a terrible blow, the merchant vessels having seen themselves obliged to return into the ports of the state. That the petitioners, seeing themselves disappointed of their just and equitable expectation of being able to obtain an escort sufficient and seasonably ready, found themselves forced to submit to necessity, and consequently to call back their ships, which, without running the greatest danger, could not remain longer in their then station; that the petitioners could not refrain from representing to their high mightinesses in the most pressing manner the enormous prejudice which resulted from it to the petitioners and the freighters of vessels, who, after having for so many months held their vessels and crews ready, must now pay the expense of equipping them, the wages, the monthly pay and subsistence of their crews, as well as all other charges that result from them.

But as all these disbursements are lost. the petitioners, for the causes alleged and others particularized in the petition, pray that it may please their high mightinesses to assign to the petitioners, and especially to the proprietors and freighters of vessels, a convenient indemnification and sufficient for the cost, damages, and interest borne and suffered because the said convoy has not set sail; from whence it hath resulted that they have detained the vessels belonging to the petitioners, who, at the first requisition, are ready to produce the particulars to their high mightinesses; that it may also please their high mightinesses to give the necessary orders, to the end that the convoy destined for this purpose may be ready early enough to be able to set sail next spring, even by the month of March, to the end that by accelerating their departure the loss of time suffered in the current year may be, at least in some degree, compensated, and that there may be an opportunity that the ships which are now in Norway and Elsinore, supposing they should be obliged to pass the winter there, may then profit of this convoy for their return. Finally, that they would please to give concerning all these objects precise orders, and such as their high mightinesses may judge the most proper, to fulfill the wishes of the petitioners and for the greatest utility of commerce.

This petition has been rendered commissorial for the respective admiralties.

ANOTHER PETITION.

The undersigned, merchants trading to the Levant, living at Amsterdam and Rotterdam, give respectfully to understand that the petitioners acknowledge with the most lively gratitude the paternal care which your high mightinesses have always manifested for the prosperity of the commerce of the Levant, and particularly the advantages procured to the Belgic navigation by the resolutions of your high mightinesses of the 21st of May, 1770, and of the 1st of April, 1776; the first of which authorizes the directors of the commerce of the Levant and of the navigation of the Mediterranean, besides the accustomed imposition of 6 per cent. of freight, to require all the foreign vessels coming from the Levant 5 per cent. of the value of the effects; and the second of which tends to raise considerably the tariff, after which they always tax the above-mentioned effects; which has also fully answered to the salutary end of your high mightinesses, to wit, to inspire a general aversion in foreign ships to suffer themselves to be employed in the transportation of productions from the Levant into the ports of these countries. But the situation of the navigation of this country by the unfortunate and cruel war which the King of England unjustly makes upon our dear country is, in fact, entirely changed and almost entirely interrupted and ruined, in such sort, that by the present impossibility to make use of those ships which have not been taken, business in general, and that of the Levant in particular, is in the deplorable condition, even for the account of neutral foreigners (for that

upon our own account is entirely stopped), either to be wholly abandoned or to be carried on by the means of foreign vessels.

The petitioners think it unnecessary to enumerate particularly the disadvantages of the first point alleged, that is to say, the abandoning of this commerce, because in all times the considerable importance of the Levant trade has been universally acknowledged, and your high mightinesses yourselves have always shown that you have been intimately persuaded of it. It is then manifest that in the present situation of affairs there remains only the second means, which is to employ foreign ships; nevertheless, as the small quantity of these vessels, joined to the inclination on all sides to employ them, has already occasioned an enormous rise of their freights, and since, moreover, they can not be ensured but by paying a premium three times larger than in past times, we encounter here obstacles the most discouraging and invincible; considering that, besides all this, the extraordinary imposition before-mentioned of 5 per cent. of the value of the merchandizes calculated after the augmented tariff renders almost impracticable this manner of negociating, and deprives it of all advantage, which, in this critical situation of affairs must ruin absolutely the commerce of the Levant; for since at this time it can not be carried on but for the account of neutral foreigners, it is incontestable that, their enterprises being in all cases so much confined, they will find themselves in the indispensable necessity to suspend this commerce with us, and to transmit it to other places; besides this, there will be found many foreigners, who for these causes will excuse themselves from remitting to the petitioners what they justly owe, because at present, by the enormous rise of bills of exchange, this can not be effected but by sending merchandizes, which still augments and extends, in an aggravating manner, the risk of the petitioners.

But finally to ward off this misfortune in season, if possible, the petitioners take the liberty respectfully to address themselves to your high mightinesses, praying that you would please, during the course of this war, consequently as long as the Belgic vessels can not be employed, to exempt the effects loaded upon foreign ships and coming from the Levant to the ports of this country from the said extraordinary imposition of 5 per cent. of their value, and that you would also give the same advantages to the merchandizes loaded on board the *Pisano*, a Venetian vessel, commanded by Captain Antonio Ragusin, from Smyrna, and lately arrived at the Texel; to the end that this branch of commerce, so important, may not perish entirely, and that it may be preserved for the general well-being of the dear country.

Divers freighters and part owners of vessels, fitted out for the colony of Surinam, by the proprietors of plantations, merchants, and others interested in this commerce, as well as that of Curaçao, have addressed a petition to their high mightinesses, and laid open the "deplorable condition of the two colonies; that in consequence of the resolution of the 14th of last June, in virtue of the petition which they then presented, they had equipped their vessels with despatch, and that in two months they had put in order a fleet of seventeen vessels, armed with four hundred guns and manned with twelve hundred men, expecting a suitable convoy; but that several circumstances having without doubt hindered it from being ready, they pray first their high mightinesses that they would prepare as soon as possible a convenient convoy, to go out with their ships at a certain day and conduct them to the West Indies; secondly, that their high mightinesses, in case of delay, would be so good as to grant them an indemnification; thirdly, that their high mightinesses, upon the exhibition of a certificate, as it was stipulated by their resolution of the 31st of July last, would be so good as to cause to be given to those who shall have made the armaments required the bounties which they shall judge convenient, the petitioners being ready to give convenient sureties, and even to engage their vessels, in case they are not ready to sail at the time appointed."

At the requisition of his highness this request has been rendered commissorial in the respective admiralties.

The representative and the directors of the East India Company hav notified to their high mightinesses "that their finances are diminished and that they are in the indispensable necessity of demanding of the high mightinesses a succor of at least 550,000 florins; adding, that some favorable change does not take place they will soon be obliged t have again recourse to their high mightinesses."

This petition has been rendered commissorial.

These papers will sufficiently show Congress how much the trade o this country is affected by the war and what discontents must aris from it. Yet the British ministry are amusing the government wit their delusive ideas of mediation, armistices, congresses, peace, and any thing to lay them asleep.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

JOHN ADAMS.

Morris to the Governors of the Several States.*

OFFICE OF FINANCE, *October* 19, 1781.

SIR: I am now to address you on a subject of very great importanc I have to detail some facts which will command the most serious atte tion from every legislature, and from every public officer in the Unite States. It is my determination to administer the affairs entrusted t my care according to plans which are founded in sincerity and truth Convinced of the folly of our enemy in supposing that any considerab body of men in the United States are opposed to the Revolution, I a persuaded that, in order to remove the greater part of our difficultie the first proper step is to state them fully to the people through the representatives. It shall, therefore, be a part of my study to prepa every transaction for the public eye, so that the meanest individual ma be in due time informed of those affairs in which as a free citizen h is interested. The various reports which have been circulated, the pu lications in the several gazettes, and even letters from some who ough to have known better; all these things have conspired to infuse a opinion that every power in Europe is favorable to us; that great sum of money are already advanced to us, and that still greater may be o tained. Whatever may be the fate of my administration, I will nev be subjected to the reproach of falsehood or insincerity. I therefo take the earliest moment in which I am permitted to make those co munications which will give an insight into our real situation.

With respect to the situation and politics of Europe, it is neither m business to detail them nor am I in a capacity to do it with certaint But this, at least, is certain, that the disposition of the European power however friendly, has been too much relied upon. As a proof, I nee only observe that not a single state has acknowledged our indepen

---

* 6 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 354.

ence except France, although our alliance with that respectable monarchy has now subsisted nearly four years. Yet that monarchy is certainly the first in the world. It is in the closest connection with Spain. Spain has long been engaged in the war, and still longer solicited to form a union upon the basis of the treaty with France. The armed neutrality, which gave such splendid hopes to many, has not yet produced the benefits expected. I will not proceed on the ground of conjecture, nor is it necessary for me to dwell longer on our political state with respect to foreign powers. But as there is little reason to expect, so I hope there is no American who would wish, an alliance with any empire on earth until they shall be so sensible of our importance as to treat on principles of equality.

The public opinion as to the conduct of other princes and states has greatly injured us by relaxing our exertions. But the opinion as to pecuniary aid has been still more pernicious. People have flattered themselves with a visionary idea that nothing more was necessary than for Congress to send a minister abroad, and that immediately he would obtain as much money as he chose to ask for. That when he opened a loan hundreds would run to see who should have the honor of subscribing to it and the like. But surely a moment's reflection should have convinced every reasonable man that, without the clear prospect of repayment, people will not part with their property. Have the efforts in this country been so successful as to ground any hopes from abroad? Or is it to be supposed that foreigners will interest themselves more in our prosperity or safety than our citizens? Or can it be believed that credit will be given abroad before solid funds are provided at home? Or could it be imagined that the disorders necessarily incident to a great revolution would be considered as a better source of trust and confidence than the regularity and consistency of ancient establishments?

The Congress, conformably to the public wish, have appointed ministers, requested grants, and opened loans. In Holland they have got nothing, and in Spain but very little. Loans were expected from individuals in Holland, but nothing of that sort has been or probably will be obtained. Loans were not expected in Spain, unless from the king, and from him they have been solicited with but little success.

The distressed situation of public affairs forced the Congress to draw bills of exchange on their ministers. Some were drawn on France, some on Spain, and some on Holland. The first were honored and paid; the others were accepted, but recourse was finally had to the court of France for the payment of those also. They were drawn at long sight. The sales were slow. They were remitted from time to time, and every opportunity afforded the ministers of the United States to obtain the moneys for discharging them, but in vain. Of consequence, these bills have been regularly referred to the court of France for payment; and this has done us injury, by anticipating the aid which France has been

disposed to afford us, and at the same time has justly alarmed and greatly embarrassed the French ministry.

These things it appears necessary that you should know, and your legislature will undoubtedly draw the proper inferences. They will see how much has been suffered by delaying to call forth the resources of our own country, and relying on the empty bubbles of hope, instead of the solid foundations of revenue. They will, I trust, clearly see that all their hopes and expectations are narrowed down to what France may give or lend. But here, as in other cases, delusion takes place of reality. We flatter ourselves with ideal prospects, and are only convinced of our folly by the fatal crisis of national distress. In order that you may clearly understand the succor afforded by France, I enclose an account extracted from a statement lately furnished to Congress by the minister plenipotentiary of his most Christian majesty.

You will observe that his majesty granted to the United States a subsidy for the current year of six millions of livres; and on a representation of our distresses he was pleased to become security for a loan to be opened on our account in Holland. And when it appeared that there was but little probability of obtaining any money there in season he further agreed that the sum to be borrowed should be advanced for us, in the first instance, from the royal treasury. Thus the gift and the loan together amount to sixteen millions of livres, which would, if in this country, be equal only to two millions nine hundred and sixty-two thousand nine hundred and sixty-two dollars, although, at the rate of estimating dollars in France, it is there equal to three millions and forty-seven thousand six hundred and nineteen dollars. But at the highest rate of exchange which has hitherto taken place this sum, if drawn for, would have amounted to no more than two millions five hundred and sixty thousand dollars. I have been thus particular with respect to the amount of this sum, because the difference of currencies very often tends to deceive those to whom their real value is not a familiar subject of attention.

The enclosed account is in livres, and the two first articles contain the total of the grant and loan, amounting to sixteen millions of livres. The remainder contains the deductions to be made, the two first articles whereof, amounting to two millions three hundred thousand livres, is for the payment of the bills drawn on France, Spain, and Holland, which I have already mentioned, the produce of the sales whereof had been applied to the public service long before my appointment. The next article, being two millions of livres, is appropriated to the payment of the interest bills, wherefore no part of it can be applied to other purposes. The fourth article I need say nothing of here, as it has long been in the mouths of everybody. The fifth and sixth articles are for those stores which were laden on board of four transports by order of Colonel Laurens, three of which have safely arrived, and the other put back in distress. The seventh article is in consequence of the loss of

that valuable ship the *Marquis de la Fayette*, which contained a great number of public stores, the replacing of which is necessary for the army and its operations, and which will amount to that sum.

The last article contains the amount of moneys deposited to answer my drafts, which have been made from time to time, and the produce appropriated to the service of the current year. On the whole, there remains a balance of three millions and sixteen thousand four hundred and ninety-nine livres. This, with the sum brought by Colonel Laurens, may be considered as of the value of about one million of dollars, which is the utmost; for it would exceed that only by twenty-one thousand five hundred and seventy-four dollars if it were now in this country.

Thus, then, you see the extent of that pecuniary succor, which has filled the minds of all with such teeming expectation, is narrowed down to one million of dollars. But by the best accounts and estimates I have been able to procure this war has hitherto cost about twenty millions annually. I do, indeed, expect that the future expenditures will be greatly curtailed; but it must be remembered that the most rigid economy has its bounds, and that it can not exist without the punctual performance of those engagements on which the first steps towards it must depend. As soon as the proper estimates for the next year can be made out the demands founded upon them will be stated, and I shall shortly advertise for contracts, as the most effectual mode of husbanding our resources. I feel it to be my duty, however, to observe that a note this day sent to Congress of some of my principal engagements for money amounts to upwards of two hundred thousand dollars. Yet the calls for it from every quarter are incessant.

I would gladly quit the subject of foreign supplies and expectations here, but it is necessary that the States should know all; and I should not answer the views of Congress if I did not add that the court of France place the aid now afforded us among the number of those extraordinary efforts which can not be repeated. The declaration that no more pecuniary assistance can be afforded to us is as plain as language will admit of; and although the applications may, and probably will, be made by our ministers to the court of Versailles, yet surely no prudent man would form any reliance on such applications in the face of such a pointed and express assurance to the contrary; and especially when to every request a short answer can be made by asking what we have done for ourselves. Sir, I must speak to you most plainly. While we do nothing for ourselves we can not expect the assistance of others.

This is a very painful subject to dwell upon, but a consideration of great magnitude remains behind, and sooner or later it must come forward. Prudence, therefore, bids us examine it now, and provide for it in season. The neglect in funding the public debt has introduced a practice of issuing loan-office certificates for the interest due on other loan-office certificates. This I have absolutely forbidden, nor will I ever

consent to it. Such accumulation of debt, while it distresses the public and destroys its credit, by no means relieves the unfortunate individual who is a public creditor; for if revenue is not provided, increasing the certificates would only lessen their value. This would be such a fraud as would stamp our national character with indelible marks of infamy, and render us the reproach and contempt of all mankind. It is high time to relieve ourselves from the ignominy we have already sustained, and to rescue and restore the national credit. This can only be done by solid revenue. Disdaining, therefore, those little timid artifices which, while they postpone the moment of difficulty, only increase the danger and confirm the ruin, I prefer the open declaration to all of what is to be expected and whence it is to be drawn. To the public creditors, therefore, I say that until the States provide revenues for liquidating the principal and interest of the public debt they cannot be paid; and to the States I say that they are bound by every principle held sacred among men to make that provision.

I have gone through the task which I proposed to myself in writing to your excellency this letter, which I pray you to communicate to the legislature of your State. I hope the Congress will soon be able to transmit their requisitions, and I shall endeavor that those be as moderate as possible. But I must pray that every man, whether in public or private life, will seriously consider the importance of complying with these requisitions. It is not by the brilliant successes of war, the splendor of conquest, or the shouts of victory that a wise ministry are to be affected. The superiority of national resources is the sure ground on which to hope for success, and that superior resource, steadily and perseveringly applied, must eventually attain its objects. It is for these reasons that the enemy have hoped everything from the derangement of our finances; and, on the other hand, as I am well informed, it is from the establishment of a national bank, and the forming of contracts to supply our armies, that they have the greatest apprehensions. By the bounty of the Almighty we are placed in a situation where our future fate depends upon our present conduct. We may be happy or miserable as we please. If we do our duty now, the war will soon be brought to a close; if not, it may last for many years, and what will then be its termination it is not in human wisdom to foresee. Thoroughly convinced that the enemy must ask for peace when we are in a condition vigorously to prosecute the war, and that we shall be in that condition whenever our affairs are reduced to order and our credit restored, and that for these purposes nothing more is necessary than a proper system of taxation, I cannot avoid expressing my sentiments on the subject in all the warmth with which they flow from my heart.

I hope and pray that the facts which I have stated may meet that calm attention which is due to their importance, and that such measures may be taken as shall redound to the honor and interest of our country.

With all possible respect, I have the honor to be, &c.,

ROBERT MORRIS.

Livingston to Franklin.*

PHILADELPHIA, *October* 20, 1781.

DEAR SIR: Congress having thought it advisable to alter the arrangement of their great executive departments, and to dissolve the boards and committees under whose direction they formerly were, I am to inform you that they have done me the honor to appoint me their Secretary for Foreign Affairs, in which capacity they have made it my duty, as it will always be my inclination, to maintain an intimate and regular correspondence with you. I have this day taken the oath of office, and as the recital of fortunate events is the most pleasing task annexed to it, I shall give you a short sketch of our military operations.

When General Washington was fully apprized that Count de Grasse was to visit this continent he made every provision for the attack of New York, where the enemy had about six thousand troops and seven ships of the line, which were thought inadequate to its defence. He collected the troops, as well those of allies as our own, and made a movement towards New York. The delay of our recruits in coming in, a small reinforcement to the enemy from Europe, and some other circumstances gave us reason to be apprehensive for the event of this attempt, though the magnitude of the object still urged the General to undertake it. It was the enemy's place of arms, the repository of their magazines, and the only harbor for large ships left them on this side of Halifax. Every preparation was accordingly made, when some circumstances deemed unfortunate at the time, but which, like many others of our supposed evils, have in the end been productive of good, occasioned an alteration in the destination of Count de Grasse. He sailed for Chesapeake. The General, still appearing to prosecute his first design, moved his army and made such preparations as induced the enemy to believe that he meant to possess himself of Staten Island as preparatory to his design upon New York.

In the mean time the army filed off through Hackensack and Newark to keep up the deception, and arrived by expeditious marches at the head of the Elk. Count de Grasse arrived at the critical moment, and Cornwallis, at the head of about seven thousand men, found himself completely invested at Yorktown by an army of near fourteen thousand regular troops. The British fleet, which arrived at New York about the time that Count de Grasse reached the Chesapeake, made an ineffectual attempt to relieve their army. They were defeated and compelled to return to New York, after losing the *Terrible*, a seventy-four, and two frigates; by which means a junction of the fleet from Rhode Island was formed with that under the Count de Grasse. It arrived the day after the action and narrowly escaped falling in with the English fleet.

Our batteries were opened on the 7th. The enemy having evacuated

* MSS. Dep. of State; 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 173.

their principal outworks and been repulsed in one or two sallies, our second parallel was begun on the 11th within three hundred yards of their lines, and the least sanguine among the officers fix the end of the month as the era of Cornwallis' captivity. His whole force at York and on the opposite side of the river, including seamen and regulars, amounts to about seven thousand men.

The enemy sailed from Sandy Hook yesterday with twenty-three ships of the line and three fifties, with several frigates and a number of fire-ships. They have nine thousand of their best troops, if we are rightly informed, on board their ships of war. They are resolved to make some attempt for the relief of Cornwallis, whose capture must draw after it the loss of all the posts they hold in the southern States and the total ruin of their affairs in America. Georgia has re-established her government, where the enemy have no other footing than in Savannah. South Carolina is about doing the same. General Greene has very prudently wasted the strength of the enemy and raised the confidence of the militia by fighting them in detail. His late victory, which I enclose you an account of in his own words, affords the most promising prospect of speedily recovering the possession of that country.

Congress are, however, looking forward to another campaign. They have voted twenty-five thousand men for the ensuing year. These, when raised and appointed, together with the success which has hitherto and which we may promise ourselves will still continue to attend the allied arms, will enable you to open your diplomatic campaign with great advantage, and permit you, sir, to rejoice in the close of that great work to which you have so sedulously and ably contributed.

I need not tell you, sir, how anxious I shall be to hear from you on every occasion. Nothing short of the most constant and regular information will satisfy the expectations of Congress. We have much to learn and few opportunities of acquiring information. Your situation enables you not only to let us know what passes with you, but to extend your inquiries to courts where we have no ministers and of whose politics we would not choose to be ignorant, though they may remotely concern us at present. For my own part I freely confess that I rely much upon your knowledge and experience to supply my want of both.

I propose to write so frequently to you as to keep you fully informed not only of what is but of what is not done, since the last may sometimes be as important to you as the first.

As far, sir, as you may find a similar task consistent with your health, your leisure, and your various avocations, you will render us essential services in imposing it upon yourself.

Congress having resolved that all communications with their minis-

ters abroad shall pass through this office, you will do me the honor, sir, to direct in future all your public letters to me.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

ROBERT R. LIVINGSTON.*

Livingston to General Greene.†

PHILADELPHIA, *October* 20, 1781.

DEAR SIR: Congress having done me the honor to appoint me their Secretary of Foreign Affairs, and made it my duty to collect and transmit such intelligence as may be useful to our ministers, I take the liberty to open a correspondence with you. From the past I have reason to hope that your future operations will furnish the most agreeable and useful information at foreign courts; for nothing is more incontrovertibly true than that splendid victories and a wise administration at home are the best negociators abroad.

Give me leave, sir, to congratulate you upon your success. We have reason to hope that it will be attended with the most important consequences, more especially if, as we may expect, the commander-in-chief should be enabled to make a considerable addition to the brave corps you command.

The enemy have sailed from New York with twenty-six ships of the line, including three of fifty guns, having on board their ships of war five thousand land forces, in order to attempt the relief of Cornwallis. For that happily they are too late; but as sympathizing friends afford consolation to the distressed, he may possibly derive some comfort from their sharing, at least in part, his fate.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

ROBERT R. LIVINGSTON.

Deane to Trumbull.‡

GHENT, *October* 21, 1781.

SIR: The critical situation of our public affairs forces me to address you, and through you my fellow-citizens of Connecticut. Though persecuted, and in effect exiled, by Congress, I can not be indifferent to

---

*Although Mr. Livingston was appointed Secretary of Foreign Affairs on the 10th of August, he did not enter on the duties of the office till this day. See his letter to John Adams, *supra*, October 2, 1781.

†MSS. Dep. of State; 6 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 146.

‡MSS. Dep. of State.

Trumbull's letter to Livingston, enclosing a copy of this letter is given hereafter, under date of May 23, 1782.

As to Deane's political position at the time of writing this letter, see Introduction, § 163. The letter was written four days after Cornwallis' surrender, by which event, and by the exposure of the errors as to foreign affairs with which it abounded, its effect was neutralized.

the fate of my country. The views of France become every day more evident, and they are no other than to humble Great Britain at our expense. Spain, whilst at war with England, wishes to save appearances and to employ the forces of her enemy on our continent. But she has not, nor will under any circumstances acknowledge our independency. Of all the nations in Europe Spain is most interested to prevent our becoming independent of any European control. Remembrance of past injuries and the desire of revenge have armed that nation against England, and whilst we employ more than one-half the British force, she hopes to regain the territory lost in former wars, and to see us reduced so low that, whether in the end we become dependent on France or England, she will have nothing to fear from us for ages to come. There does not appear any disposition in any of the powers of Europe to follow the example of France, and to acknowledge our independence. The league against England is indeed a formidable one, but history furnishes us with many instances of leagues equally powerful against a single state, but with no one in which they have finally succeeded. This merits our attention. Nothing can be more absurd than to imagine that the powers in Europe should encourage from other than interested motives a revolt from a government infinitely milder than their own, or that absolute monarchs should cordially approve of the doctrine of the natural equality of man. The campaign in Europe is nearly finished on the part of France and Spain, and has been as ridiculously trifling and indecisive as the preceding ones. The English fleet is at sea. Its object is to intercept the Spanish Flota, or to relieve Minorca. If it succeed in the first, of which there is but too much probability, the effects will be sensibly felt in Spain. The other is of less importance. But, however the war may terminate, we shall find ourselves at the close of it loaded with debt and absolutely dependent on the victorious party, if the course of nature is not changed; but if similar causes continue to produce similar effects, no nation was ever in a more dangerous situation than what America is in at this time. Happy for us (if we are wise) it is still in our power to avoid the danger, and to establish the peace, liberty, and safety of our country on the most sure and solid basis.

That we must, by continuing the war and rejecting all overtures of peace and reconciliation with Great Britain, become unconditionally dependent on France or Great Britain is a truth as demonstrable as any proposition whatever. If Great Britain becomes so reduced as to receive the law from France and Spain, though it will be at our expense that this is done, yet they will claim the whole merit and all the advantages resulting from it. The power of Great Britain reduced, there will be none remaining in Europe to hold the balance against the house of Bourbon, and France, able to dictate the law to Great Britain, can do the same to us, and in a more imperious manner and with more safety. France, in good policy, will manage her conduct towards Great Britain in such circumstances so as not to offend and alarm the

rest of Europe, but she can be influenced by no such motives in her conduct to us. We shall be deeply in debt to her for money actually borrowed and supplies of different kinds, and France will enlarge the whole expense of the war to our account, and make demands, if not on our purses, on our gratitude therefor. France has an army in our country at her pay and at her orders. She is calculating to increase that army to twenty or even to thirty thousand men. If the history of different nations afforded us one instance in which a people preserved their liberty and independence after admitting a superior army of foreign mercenaries into their country to fight their battles at the pay and devotion of a foreign monarch, we might have some small ground to hope that what has happened might happen again. But the history of the world produces no such instances, nor is it possible it ever should so long as men and their passions continue to be the same that they ever have been. We have a treaty, it is true, which guarantees our liberty and independence, but with whom is that treaty? With the very power that will be interested to break it or to explain it away. No man acquainted with the past and present transactions in Europe can be weak enough to presume that any power will ever regard a treaty longer than it is for their real or supposed interest to do so. It is at all times in the power of the King of France to make *and* dissolve treaties, with this difference from limited monarchs, that he is not accountable for his conduct. I have therefore not gone too far in asserting that, if France and Spain come off victorious, that we shall be absolutely dependent on one or both of them. If England, on the other hand, continues to make head against all her enemies, and by some fortunate event of war, or by the interposition of foreign powers, which is the most probable, forces France and Spain to a peace on her own terms, we must become unconditionally dependent on and subject to England. The present moment, therefore, is of infinite importance to us. We are now of great consequence in a treaty of general peace. We shall be of none at all, or at best a mere article to be set off or discounted, in the balancing the general account. At present we may obtain the repeal of all the acts of Parliament ——— to us, a perpetual exemption from all taxes save what we impose on ourselves, freedom of legislation and of commerce. What more shall we gain by independence? Will the name of sovereign independent States counterbalance the miseries and distress of our country at the present and the future burdens to which it must be subjected? This is a serious question, and I put it to a serious and thinking people. I am confident that there is not in the world a more free and uncorrupted assembly than that of Connecticut, none more attentive to the freedom, ease, and happiness of the people they represent and to their true interests in every respect. Can such an assembly, on serious reflection, consent to load themselves and their constituents with taxes nearly equal to the whole of their income? The amount of our share of the public debt

will not fall short of two millions sterling if the war is continued another year. The interest of this, the expenses of general government—that is, of Congress, of their ministers, agents, and consuls in foreign parts, of their ministers and boards at home, of a fleet essentially necessary to the assistance of our commerce, and the half pay of our officers and soldiers—will amount to nearly three shillings on the pound perpetual tax. Our ministers and agents in Europe cost us at this time more than twenty thousand pounds sterling annually, though we have only one received and acknowledged as such. The secretaries of these inefficient, unacknowledged ministers, receive one thousand sterling annually, which is a perfect sinecure, for whilst their principals can not act, they most certainly can have nothing to copy or to record. From this sample, and from Congress having uniformly disposed of these places among themselves, we may make some estimate of our future civil list, and it will not be too hardy to say that it will, if this system is pursued, be as great a source of corruption and as burdensome as the civil lists in England or the pensions of France. The Parliament is summoned on business the 27th of next month. It is generally believed that a secret treaty has some months since been signed between Russia and England, and that it will be announced at the opening of the next session.* However that may be, there is certainly a good understanding between the two powers, and it appears probable that in the coming winter both the Emperor of Germany and the Empress of Russia will interpose their mediation in more direct and positive terms than in the last. By the appointment of delegates by Congress to attend the congress at Vienna I see that the hopes of my countrymen were sanguine on that subject. They ought to be undeceived on that as well as many others. The emperor offered, and England accepted, the mediation on the express condition that the affairs of America should not be subjected to any determination of the proposed congress. This not being assented to by France, the affair fell to the ground. It will probably be revived this winter. The great object of England this winter will be to make a general peace, or a separate one with Holland, and to get that war off their hands. If they succeed in either, the consequence will be much the same to us if we neglect the present favorable and important moment. I am not disgusted with men, though I am extremely so with measures, in France, and I have written to you, not with confidence that my sentiments will be adopted, but from the impulse of duty, and that this letter may, by its being made a public one, remain on your public files to condemn or justify me on some future day. If my opinions are all ill-founded, still my intention is good; but if events justify my predictions, this letter will justify me in the eyes of

*No doubt the ministry hoped for such a treaty, and attempted, by the bribe of Minorca, to induce Catharine to assent to it. But she refused to take the bribe, and at this very period inclined rather to France than to England, though personally determined to keep out of the war.

posterity for having given the alarm in season, whether it shall be attended to or not. I have sent on my accompts to Congress, by which it will appear that there is a balance due to me of more than 300,000 livres tournois. They have, by design or inattention, prevented my having my accounts audited or paid. From the general tenor of their conduct towards me I am authorized to put the most unfavorable construction on it; but I will not enter on the disagreeable subject further than to appeal to the justice and humanity of my countrymen to prevent the final ruin of one who has faithfully served them, and who now hazards the loss of everything in venturing to undeceive them. I shall probably pass the winter in this place or in the neighbourhood. Commercial objects as well as economy urge me to it. This will go by Captain Trowbridge, of New Haven. I shall improve every direct opportunity to write to you.

I have the honor, &c.,

SILAS DEANE.

Louis XVI, King of France, to Congress.*

[Translation.]

VERY DEAR AND FAITHFUL ALLIES: Satisfied of the interest you take in every event which affects us, we are anxious to inform you of the precious mark which Divine Providence has just given us of his goodness and of the protection he has granted to our kingdom. We do not doubt that you will partake in the joy we feel on the birth of our son, the dauphin, of whom the queen, our most dear spouse, is just now happily delivered.

You will easily be convinced of the pleasure with which we shall receive every proof that you may give of your sensibility upon this occasion. We cannot renew at a period more affecting to us the assurance of our affection and of our constant friendship for you. Upon which we pray God that he would have you, very dear, great friends and allies, in his holy keeping.

Written at Versailles the 22d of October, 1781.

Your good friend and ally,

LOUIS.

---

*6 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 15.

Livingston to Dana.*

PHILADELPHIA, *October* 22, 1781.

SIR: Congress having lately thought it advisable that their correspondence with foreign courts and their ministers abroad should pass through the hands of their Secretary for Foreign Affairs, I enclose the act by which they did me the honor to appoint me to that office. In this character, sir, I have the pleasure of communicating to you the important account of two signal victories which have lately been obtained over the enemy in this quarter, the one by General Greene, which has been followed by the re-establishment of the governments of South Carolina and Georgia, in which States, though the enemy hold one or two posts, yet they have no command of the country. The other, still more signal, by the allied arms of France and America over Lord Cornwallis in Virginia.† By the latter, near seven thousand men, including seamen, fell into our hands, and about one hundred vessels, above fifty of them square rigged.

You will not fail to make the best use of this intelligence, which must fix our independence not only beyond all doubt, but even beyond all controversy. I should have mentioned to you that besides the troops and seamen above mentioned the enemy lost during the siege of Yorktown, including those that were taken, upwards of two thousand negroes. The naval force of France in these seas under the command of the Count de Grasse amounts to thirty-four sail of the line; that of the

---

* MSS. Dep. of State; 4 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 601.

† The French approach to the Chesapeake in August, 1781, is thus narrated by Martin, high French authority, in his history of the Decline of the French Monarchy, vol. 2, p. 418:

"In the beginning of July Admiral de Grasse set sail from Martinique, for French Cape or San Domingo; took there three thousand land forces and some money; successfully crossed the double channel of Bahama, which fleets rarely enter; and anchored, August 30, at the entrance of the Chesapeake—that immense bay, which stretches for eighty leagues into the heart of the United States. He was expected there with impatience. The military operations had been very active on the American continent since the beginning of the year. The English, reinforced from Europe, had transported a body of troops from New York by sea to the James River, in Virginia. This attack, directed against the very heart of America, was of much greater importance than the invasion of Georgia or South Carolina. The possession of Virginia became the great object of the war. La Fayette had the honor of being commissioned to defend Virginia. The American general, Greene, resumed the offensive in the interior in the direction of the Carolinas. The English general of the south, Lord Cornwallis, leaving his subaltern general to dispute the ground with Greene, crossed North Carolina and rejoined the detachment from New York in Virginia with the main body of his troops. He left a reserve corps, with a flotilla, at Portsmouth, at the lower part of the James River, and moved forward at the head of five thousand choice troops. La Fayette, who had only three thousand, the greater part militia, found himself in great peril (May, 1781). While in old Europe hundreds of thousands of soldiers had recently been seen slaughtering each other without succeeding in changing the boundaries of a province, these handfuls of men in America were deciding the destinies of an infant world.

"La Fayette, with a prudence and ability very remarkable in a general of twenty-

British to twenty-four. Both fleets have lately sailed, the one from New York, the other from the Chesapeake. We daily expect to hear of their meeting, and promise ourselves a second victory, since every advantage is on the side of the French. Should they think it more advisable to go to the West Indies, the islands must fall an easy prey to them, as the whole British fleet is at present on this coast; nor will it be in their power to follow immediately, as Sir Henry Clinton, with the best part of the troops from New York, are on board the fleet which on the very day that Cornwallis surrendered left New York for his relief. These must be brought back and relanded, which will be a work of some time.

---

four, fell back step by step, without suffering himself to be weakened, to the northern extremity of Virginia, in order to preserve his communications with Pennsylvania. Reinforced by the Pennsylvanians, he ceased to recede, saved the military magazines of the southern States by a rapid march, and, become almost equal to the enemy in numbers, had the art to cause himself to be believed greatly superior in force. Cornwallis, in turn, fell back towards the James River, and did not stop until he had rejoined his reserve corps at the lower part and the south of this large stream. La Fayette was not in a condition to attack him. Cornwallis, reassured, moved back to the north of the James River, and took horse on the York River near the outlet of this stream into Chesapeake Bay. La Fayette posted himself on the York River, above the enemy, cut off the communications of Cornwallis with the Carolinas, and threatened Portsmouth, where the English reserve had remained. This reserve abandoned Portsmouth, rejoined Cornwallis at Yorktown (July-August). Had La Fayette himself directed the enemy's army he could not have operated differently. The positions of Yorktown and Gloucester, excellent for an army that was the master of the sea, became a veritable snare to the party that ceased to possess the maritime superiority.

August 30, as we have said, the French fleet arrived to close Chesapeake Bay, blockade the James and York Rivers, and land three thousand French, who joined La Fayette.

"September 5 an English fleet was signalled; it was the squadron from New York, under Admiral Graves, reinforced by a part of the West India fleet, under the command of Hood.

"De Grasse, without waiting for a large number of his sailors who were engaged in landing the troops, went to meet the English with twenty-four ships of the line against twenty. Admiral Graves, perceiving the force of the French, took advantage of the wind to avoid a general action; but his vanguard, commanded by Hood, was greatly injured by the French vanguard, which was led by the illustrious navigator, Bougainville, and which bore the brunt of the battle. Night permitted Graves to rally and to repair his position. He did not attempt to renew the battle, but put out to sea, while De Grasse returned to his blockade, capturing on his way two English frigates which were attempting to effect an entrance into York River. De Grasse found off Cape Henry, at the entrance of Chesapeake Bay, the French squadron from Rhode Island, which the Count de Barras, although his senior, came spontaneously to place under his command with an abnegation too rare among military leaders. De Grasse thus had thirty-eight ships of the line under his flag—a force which forbade the enemy all hope of maritime assistance.

"The commander of the squadron, Barras, had brought siege artillery and munitions. De Grasse, who declared himself obliged to set out again for the West Indies, urged La Fayette to attack the enemy at once. The youthful general had the wisdom to refuse and the virtue to prefer to his own glory the interest of the cause and the lives of his soldiers. He was little superior in numbers to a well-entrenched enemy;

It is of importance to you to know that the spirit of opposition to the independence of this country, which was languishing when you left it, has been growing weaker ever since, and may now be said to be quite extinct. To this the settled form that our governments have assumed, the success of our arms, and, above all, the shocking barbarity of the British, have greatly contributed.

As this letter goes by an uncertain conveyance, and as, indeed, I have hardly yet entered upon my office, having only been qualified a few days since, I do not think it prudent to proceed to any minute discussions. I can only tell you that the people here entertain the highest respect for the court you are at. They consider the plan of the armed neutrality as the best proof of an enlarged and generous policy, and look upon its execution as a charter of enfranchisement from the ambition of princes granted by the wisdom of the empress to the trade of the world. The sense of Congress on this subject I enclose you in an abstract from their minutes of October 5th, 1780.*

---

and he knew that Washington and Rochambeau, after feigning to menace New York in order to prevent Clinton from sending reinforcements to Virginia, were on their way to him by forced marches, and that they had already reached the mouth of Chesapeake Bay. De Grasse consented to prolong his stay; sent his transports to convey thither the six thousand soldiers brought by the American commander-in-chief; and, September 28, eight thousand Americans and as many French invested the two corps of the little British army in Yorktown and Gloucester on both banks of the broad York River. The siege works were commenced before Yorktown during the night of October 6–7. On the night of the 14th two columns, one of American light infantry, led by La Fayette, the other of French grenadiers and chasseurs, under the command of Major-General Viomesnil, carried with the bayonet two redoubts which covered the left of the enemy's line. On the 19th, Lord Cornwallis capitulated with respect to Yorktown, Gloucester, and the flotilla, and surrendered himself prisoner of war, with seven thousand soldiers and one thousand sailors. Two hundred and fourteen guns and thirty vessels fell into the power of the conquerors. A fifty-gun ship and several other vessels had been burned. The English fleet, increased by reinforcements to twenty-seven ships, reappeared October 27, off Cape Henry, only to receive intelligence of this disaster, and was too happy itself to escape De Grasse."

In Rochambeau's Memoirs, as quoted by Martin, it is said that the French troops who charged the British redoubts on October 14 were taken from the Auvergne regiment, of which Rochambeau had been colonel. "My children," said Rochambeau at the moment of signalling the attack, "do not forget spotless Auvergne." "They remembered it."

* *In Congress, October 5th*, 1780.—On the report of a committee to whom was referred a motion of Mr. Adams relative to certain propositions of the Empress of Russia respecting the rights of neutral nations, Congress passed the following act:

"Her Imperial Majesty of all the Russias, attentive to the freedom of commerce and the rights of nations, in her declaration to the belligerent and neutral powers, having proposed regulations founded upon principles of justice, equity, and moderation, of which their most Christian and Catholic majesties and most of the neutral and maritime powers of Europe have declared their approbation,

"Congress, willing to testify their regard to the rights of commerce and their respect for the sovereign who has proposed and the powers who have approved the said regulation,

Resolved, That the board of admiralty prepare and report instructions for the

What a pity it would be if a more confined policy should lessen the glory or defeat the purposes she has so liberally formed. You will do me the favor to direct in future your public letters to me. I wish them to be as numerous and as minute as possible, particularly on the subject of such negociations as may be in agitation for a general peace and for a partial one between Britain and the United Provinces.

I forgot, under the head of intelligence, to inform you that the British had in September last made one effort to relieve Cornwallis with their fleet, consisting of nineteen sail of the line, before the Count de Barras, from Rhode Island, had made his junction with the Count de Grasse. They were defeated, with the loss of the *Terrible*, a seventy-four, burnt, and two frigates taken, and compelled to return to New York, whence, as I before mentioned, having been reinforced, they have again sailed.

I am, with the greatest esteem, &c.,

ROBERT R. LIVINGSTON.

P. S.—I will be obliged to you for sending me, for the use of this office, by the first safe opportunity, a Russian grammar and dictionary, in English, if possible; if not, in French. If the latter, the grammar of Charpenteer and the dictionary of Woltchhoff would be preferable. Both parts of the dictionary are to be procured, if possible, but particularly the one which begins with the Russian. If anything like a court calendar is published at St. Petersburgh, in Russian, German, or French, you will oblige me by transmitting to me two copies of it, if you choose with notes of your own upon it.

Livingston to Clinton, Governor of New York.*

PHILADELPHIA, *October* 22, 1781.

DEAR SIR: Give me leave to congratulate your excellency, and through you the legislature of our State, on the success of our arms at the southward. Cornwallis surrendered his army on the 17th of October. Count de Grasse was employed on the 18th in taking his marines on board, which I hope, by the blessing of Heaven, will be the prelude to a second victory.

My removal being far from having in any manner lessened attach-

---

commanders of armed vessels commissioned by the United States conformable to the principles contained in the declaration of the Empress of all the Russias on the rights of neutral vessels.

"That the ministers plenipotentiary from the United States, if invited thereto, be, and hereby are, respectively empowered to accede to such regulations, conformable to the spirit of the said declaration, as may be agreed upon by the congress expected to assemble in pursuance of the invitation of her Imperial majesty.

"*Ordered*, That copies of the above resolution be transmitted to the respective ministers of the United States at foreign courts and to the honorable the minister plenipotentiary of France."

*MSS. Dep. of State; 6 Spark's Dip. Rev. Corr., 147.

ment to New York, I shall be anxious to hear that the present attempt of the enemy upon our frontiers has only added to their disgrace, and enabled my countrymen to increase the reputation they have so justly acquired. Your excellency will do me the honor to give me the earliest intelligence of the movements of the enemy.

I am, sir, with the greatest respect and esteem, etc.,

ROBERT R. LIVINGSTON.*

Livingston to Adams.†

PHILADELPHIA, *October* 23, 1781.

DEAR SIR: The enclosed resolution will inform you that Congress have thought it advisable to new-model their department of foreign affairs by the appointment of a secretary, through whose hands the

---

* The pamphlets published by Sir Henry Clinton and Cornwallis as to their respective responsibilities for the Yorktown surrender were reprinted in the present year by B. F. Stevens, and published in London. The title of this curious and valuable work is "An exact reprint of six rare pamphlets on the Clinton-Cornwallis controversy, with very numerous important unpublished manuscript notes by Sir Henry Clinton, K. B., and the omitted and hitherto unpublished portions of the letters in their appendices added from the original manuscripts, with a supplement containing extracts from the journals of the House of Lords; a French translation of the papers laid before the house, and a catalogue of the additional correspondence of Clinton and Cornwallis, in 1780–'81; about 3,456 papers relating to the controversy, or bearing on affairs in America, in ten volumes, compiled, collected, and edited (with biographical notices in a copious index) by Benjamin Franklin Stevens, London, 4 Trafalgar Square, Charing Cross, 1888."

The main part of the material used in this work consists of pamphlets which belonged to Sir H. Clinton, were annotated by him, and, on the sale of his library, were purchased by the Government of the United States, and are now in the library of the Department of State, at Washington. According to a recent summary these papers include eighteen copies of the "Narrative of Lieutenant-General Sir Henry Clinton, K. B., Relative to his Conduct During Part of his Command of the King's Troops in North America; Particularly to that which Respects the Unfortunate Issue of the Campaign in 1781;" four copies of the "Answer," by Lord Cornwallis, to this pamphlet; six copies of Sir Henry Clinton's "Observations on some parts of the Answer of Earl Cornwallis to Sir Henry Clinton's Narrative;" eleven copies of the "Correspondence Between his Excellency General Sir Henry Clinton, K. B. and Lieutenant-General Earl Cornwallis;" nine copies of Sir Henry Clinton's "Observations on Mr. Stedman's History of the American War;" and one copy each of the "Reply to Sir Henry Clinton's Narrative," signed Themistocles; of "A Parting Word, or a Summary Review, of the Controversy Between Sir Henry Clinton and Earl Cornwallis;" of Colonel Tarleton's "History of the Campaigns of 1780 and 1781 in the Southern Provinces of North America;" and of a surreptitious French translation of the papers laid before the House of Lords fifty-two pamphlets in all.

In addition to the six pamphlets selected by him for publication, with their notes, by Clinton. Mr. Stevens has given us extracts from the proceedings of the House of Lords as to the controversy, and a list of the letters of the parties concerned, so far as such letters are accessible. The work has an excellent index, and a series of brief notes of the actors in the great events to which the controversy relates.

† MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 488, with verbal changes.

communications with their ministers abroad are to pass. Though they did me the honor to elect me so long since as August last, I but lately determined to accept, and did not enter upon business till two days ago, so that you must not expect those minute communications which I shall think it my duty to make to you when I have had leisure to arrange my department, and to acquaint myself more fully with the sentiments of Congress, which must upon the whole be my direction.

I can only say in general that we consider your situation as extremely delicate, the state you are in divided by powerful parties, and the bias that every man has to his own country naturally gives him a predilection for that which most favors its interests. But this, though the child of virtue, is often the greatest obstacle to successful negociations. It creates distrust and jealousies; it excites prejudices, which unfit us for conciliating the affections of those whose assistance we require, and induces too fond a reliance upon the information of those who wish to serve us. Aristocratic governments are, of all others, the most jealous of popular commotions; the rich and the powerful are equally engaged to resist them, and nothing will in my opinion so soon contribute to a peace between England and the United Provinces as the commotions which now clog the latter.

You must, sir, be infinitely better acquainted with the interior of the state you are in than I can pretend to be, and I rely much on your information for lights which I can not obtain here. If I venture to give you my sentiments, it is with the hope that you will correct my errors when I have discovered them by my freedom.

The United Provinces appear to me one of those sorts of governments whose very constitution disposes them to peace; the ambition of making conquests either is or ought to be unknown to them. A war for the extension of commerce is a solecism in politics, since the shocks that the established trade sustains infinitely overbalance any new accession that may be made by it. War, then, while the true interests of the United Provinces is considered, will be the child of necessity. That necessity happily exists at present, and will exist till Great Britain ceases to be the tyrant of the ocean. We are greatly interested in its continuance; but let us always bear in mind that the moment Great Britain makes the sacrifices which prudence and justice require, the United Provinces will be drawn by the interest of commerce and the love of peace to close with them. Their acknowledgment of our independence would be an important and a leading object. Success here and the injustice and cruelty of the British may effect it; but do not let us appear to be dissatisfied if it is delayed. They have a right to judge for themselves; from the very nature of their government they must be slow in determining. Every appearance of dissatisfaction on our part gives room to the British to believe the United Provinces disinclined to us, and paves the way to negociations which may end in a peace, which we are so much interested in preventing.

Your first object then, if I may venture my opinion, is to be well with the government; your second, to appear to be so, and to take no measures which may bring upon you a public affront. You will naturally treat the friends we have with the politeness and attention that they justly merit, and even with that cordiality which your heart must feel for those who wish your country well; but your prudence will suggest to you to avoid giving offense to government by the appearance of intrigue. I know nothing of the refinements of politics, nor do I wish to see them enter into our negociations. Dignity of conduct, the resources of our country, and the value of our commerce must render us respectable abroad. You will not fail to lay the foundation of your alliances in these by displaying them in the strongest point of view. The spirit of injustice and cruelty which characterizes the English must also afford you advantages of which I dare say you avail yourself.

I make no apology for the length or freedom of this; it is of the last importance to you (and I am satisfied you will think it so) to be intimately acquainted with the sentiments entertained on this side of the water. In return, sir, you will let me know minutely everything that can in any way be of use to us, particularly if either of the belligerent powers takes measures that may tend to establish a partial or general peace. At your leisure acquaint me with the interior of the government you are in, and everything else interesting which you may learn relative to others. Remember that ministers are yet to be formed in this country, and let them want no light which your situation enables you to afford them.

I would submit it to you whether it would not be most advisable to spend as much time as possible at The Hague, and to form connexions with the ministers of the powers not interested in our affairs. They are frequently best informed because least suspected, and while your public character is unacknowledged and you can visit without the clog of ceremony, I should conceive it no difficult task to engage the friendship of some among them.

But it is time to let you breathe; this I shall do without closing my letter, reserving the remainder of it for the communication of the most agreeable intelligence you ever received from America. The enclosed prints will announce one important victory to you, and we are in hourly expectation of the particulars of another, which will enable you to open your negociations this winter with the utmost advantage.

October 24th.—I congratulate you, sir, upon the pleasing intelligence which, agreeable to my hopes, I am enabled to convey to you. Enclosed you have a letter from General Washington to Congress—the terms granted to Lord Cornwallis, his fleet and army, and the letters that passed previous to the surrender of both. I make no comments upon this event, but rely upon your judgment to improve it to the utmost. Perhaps this is the moment in which a loan may be opened with most advantage. The want of money is our weak side, and even in the high day of success we feel its pressure.

As you may not perhaps be fully acquainted with the steps that led to this important victory, I enclose also an extract of my last letter to Dr. Franklin. The British fleet, consisting of twenty-six sail of the line, including three fifties as such, with five thousand land forces and General Clinton himself on board, sailed the 19th for the relief of Cornwallis. Count de Grasse is also out with thirty-four sail of the line. I shall keep this open as long as possible from the hopes of communicating an interesting account of their meeting.

November 1st.—I am under the necessity of closing this without being able to give you any other account of the fleets than that the British have not yet returned to New York, nor are we certain that the Count de Grasse has yet left the Chesapeake. If anything in the nature of a court calendar is published at The Hague you will be pleased to send me one or two impressions of it, as it may be of use to us.

I am sir, &c.,

ROBERT R. LIVINGSTON.

Livingston to Luzerne.*

PHILADELPHIA, *October* 24, 1781.

SIR: I do myself the honor to transmit you a copy of the resolution by which Congress have been pleased to appoint me their Secretary of Foreign Affairs. They have annexed to this department the agreeable duty of receiving and making those communications which the reciprocal interest of the allied nations may render necessary.

I need not tell you, sir, with what pleasure I enter upon that task, when (by the direction of Congress) I enclose an account of the signal success obtained by the united arms of America and France. The cement it so happily affords to their connexion may justly be numbered among the important advantages that will result from it to both countries.

I have the honor to be, sir, with the highest respect and esteem, &c.,

ROBERT R. LIVINGSTON.

Livingston Franklin.†

PHILADELPHIA, *October* 24, 1781.

DEAR SIR: I three days since did myself the honor to write you, informing you of my appointment to the Secretaryship of Foreign Affairs, and preparing you for the happy event which has since taken place. Enclosed you have the capitulation of York and Gloucester town, by which a British army of 5,600 men was surrendered to the allied arms of France and America, and no inconsiderable fleet, with 800 seamen, to the navy of his most Christian majesty.

---

* MSS. Dep. of State; 6 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 16.

† MSS. Dep. of State; 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 175.

Since my last, which was written the day after I entered upon my office, I have seen yours of the 14th of May. There are many things in it which deserve the attention I mean to pay it when the first hurry that the intelligence I communicate occasions is over. But, sir, there is a part which I can not delay to take notice of, because I feel myself interested in opposing the resolution that you seem to have formed of quitting the station which for the honor of the United States you now hold. I shall be impatient till I hear that you comply with the wishes of Congress on this subject as communicated long since. Though the new powers with which you are invested impose additional burthens upon you, yet as they at once contain the amplest testimonials of the approbation of Congress, and directly lead to the completion of the great cause in which you so early engaged, I can not but flatter myself that you will take it upon you. I sent with my first letter to you one to the Count de Vergennes, informing him of my appointment. You will do me the honor to present it.

I am, sir, &c.,

ROBERT R. LIVINGSTON.

Luzerne to Livingston.*

[Translation.]

PHILADELPHIA, *October* 25, 1781.

SIR: I have received the letter with which you honored me on the 24th instant, and it is with the most sincere satisfaction that I see in it your determination to accept the office to which Congress have appointed you. It will give me great pleasure to address myself to you in sending to Congress those communications which I shall have it in my power to make, and I shall be no less flattered to receive through you every communication which that body shall think proper to make to me. I can assure you, sir, that the choice now made by Congress will give great satisfaction in Europe, where your patriotism, your past services, and your wisdom have long been known.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

LUZERNE.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.†

AMSTERDAM, *October* 25, 1781.

SIR: I see in the London Courant, which arrived to-day, an advertisement of a translation into English of the address to the people of the Netherlands; so that this work is likely to be translated into all

---

*MSS. Dep. of State; 6 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 16.

†MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 492.

languages and read by all the world, notwithstanding the placards against it. I have before sent that of Utrecht; that of Holland is as follows:

The States of Holland and of West Friesland to all those who shall see these presents or hear them read, greeting:

As it is come to our knowledge that notwithstanding the placards and ordinances from one time to another issued against the impression and dissemination of seditious and slanderous writings, there has been lately dispersed in various places of this province a certain very seditious and slanderous libel, entitled *Aan het Volk van Nederland* (to the people of the Low Countries), in which the supreme government of this country, his most serene highness our lord the prince hereditary stadtholder, as well as his illustrious predecessors, to whom, under God, we are indebted for the foundation and maintenance of our republic, as well as of its liberty, are calumniated in the most scandalous and enormous manner, and in which the good people are invited to an insurrection and to seditious commotions.

From these causes, being desirous to make provision in this case without derogating from our former placards against lampoons and other defamatory and scandalous writings issued from time to time, and in particular from our renovation of the 18th of January, 1691, and our placard of the 17th of March, 1754, we have thought fit, for the discovery of the author or authors of the said seditious and slanderous libel, entitled *Aan het Volk van Nederland*, and of his or their accomplices, to promise a reward of a thousand ryders of gold (fourteen thousand florins) to him who shall give the necessary indications by which the author, writer, or printer of the said libel, or all those who may have had a part in it in any other manner, may fall into the hands of justice, and may be convicted of the fact; and in case that the informer was an accomplice in it, we declare by these presents that we will pardon him for whatever upon this occasion he may have done amiss against his sovereign; moreover, he shall also enjoy the reward in question, and his name shall not be pointed out, but kept secret.

Forbidding, consequently, in the most solemn manner, by these presents, every one, of what estate, quality, or condition soever he may be, to reprint in any manner the said seditious and slanderous libel, to distribute, scatter, or spread it, upon pain of the confiscation of the copies and a fine of six thousand florins, besides at least an everlasting banishment from the province of Holland and West Friesland, which fine shall go, one third to the officer who shall make the seizure, another third to the informer, and the remaining third to the use of the poor of the place where the seizure shall be made. And whereas some persons, to keep their unlawful practices concealed, may be tempted to pretend that the libel in question had been addressed to them under a simple cover, they know not by whom, nor from what place, we ordain and decree that all printers, booksellers, and, moreover, all and every one to whom the said seditious and slanderous libel entitled *Aan het Volk van Nederland* may be sent, whether to be sold, given as a present, distributed, lent, or read, shall be held to carry it forthwith and deliver it to the officer or the magistrate of the place of their residence or of the place where they may receive it, under penalty of being held for disseminators of it, and as such punished in the manner before pointed out: Ordaining most expressly to our attorney-general and to all our other officers to execute strictly and exactly the present placard according to the form and contents of it, without dissimulation or connivance, under pain of being deprived of their employments. And to the end that no one may pretend cause of ignorance, but that every one may know how he ought to conduct himself in this regard, we order that these presents be published and posted up everywhere where it belongs and where it is customary to do it.

Done at The Hague, under the small seal of the country, the 19th of October, 1781.

By order of the States:

C. CLOTTERBOOKE.

Such are the severe measures which this government think themsel bound to take to suppress this libel. They will have, however, a c trary effect, and will make a pamphlet which otherwise perhaps wo have been known in a small circle, familiar to all Europe. The pr can not be restrained; all attempts of that kind in France and H land are every day found to be ineffectual.

I consider the disputes in the city of Geneva as arising from progress of democratical principles in Europe. I consider this libel a demonstration that there is a party here, and a very numerous o too, who are proselytes to democratical principles. Who and what given rise to the assuming pride of the people, as it is called in Euro in every part of which they have been so thoroughly abased? T American Revolution. The precepts, the reasonings, and example the United States of America, disseminated by the press through ev part of the world, have convinced the understanding and have touch the heart. When I say democratical principles, I do not mean that world is about adopting simple democracies, for these are impractical but multitudes are convinced that the people should have a voic share, and be made an integral part; and that the government sho be such a mixture, and such a combination of the powers of one, few, and the many, as is best calculated to check and control each oth and oblige all to co-operate in this one democratical principle, that end of all government is the happiness of the people; and in this oth that the greatest happiness of the greatest number is the point to obtained. These principles are now so widely spread that despotis monarchies, and aristocracies must conform to them in some degree practice, or hazard a total revolution in religion and governm throughout all Europe. The longer the American war lasts, the m the spirit of American government will spread in Europe, because attention of the world will be fixed there while the war lasts. I h often wondered that the sovereigns of Europe have not seen the dan to their authority which arises from a continuance of this war. I their interest to get it finished, that their subjects may no longer employed in speculating about the principles of government.

The people of the seven United Provinces appear to me of suc character that they would make wild steerage at the first admissio any share in government; and whether any intimation of a desir change at this time will not divide and weaken the nation is a probl I believe rather it will have a good effect, by convincing the gov ment that they must exert themselves for the good of the people prevent them from exerting themselves in innovations.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

JOHN ADAM

Livingston to the President of Congress.*

PHILADELPHIA, *October* 29, 1781.

SIR: The business of the department in which Congress have been pleased to place me rendering it necessary to have recourse to the secret journals and other books and papers in the possession of their secretary, I take the liberty to request them by their order to enable Mr. Thomson to admit me to examine and copy from such books of a secret nature in his possession as may in anywise relate to the Department of Foreign Affairs.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

ROBERT R. LIVINGSTON.

J. Adams to the President of Congress.†

AMSTERDAM, *November* 1, 1781.

SIR: It is still as problematical as ever what is the political system of this republic, and, indeed, whether it has any system at all. They talk much and deliberate long, but execute nothing. By the violence with which they speak and write of each other a stranger would think them ripe for a civil war. In the assembly of the States of Guelderland, held to consider the requisition of the King of France of a negociation of five millions of florins under the warranty of the republic, the debates were sustained with great warmth. Some were for an alliance with France. The Baron de Nagel, senechal of Zutphen, evaded the putting of the question, and said, among other things, "that he had rather acknowledge the independence of the Americans than contract an alliance with France."

The Baron Van der Cappellen de Marsch was for an alliance with France and America too. He observed, "That nothing being more natural than to act in concert with the enemies of our enemy, it was an object of serious deliberation to see if the interest of the republic did not require to accept, without further tergiversation, the invitations and offers of the Americans; that no condescension for England could hinder us at present from uniting ourselves against a common enemy with a nation so brave and so virtuous, a nation which, after our example, owes its liberty to its valor, and even at this moment is employed in defending itself from the tyranny of the enemy of the two nations; that, consequently, nothing could restrain us from acknowledging the independence of this new republic; that our conduct differed very much from that held by our ancestors, who allied themselves to the Portuguese as soon as they shook off the yoke of the Spaniards; that there was no doubt that the said alliances with the enemies of our enemy

---

* MSS. Dep. of State; 6 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 148.

† MSS. Dep. of State; 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 495.

would soon restrain his fury, and operate a general peace advantageous for us."

As this is the first opinion given openly which has been published, in favor of acknowledging American independence, it deserves to be recorded, but it will be long, very long, before the Republic will be unanimously of this opinion.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

JOHN ADAMS.

Livingston to Jay.*

PHILADELPHIA, *November* 1, 1781.

DEAR SIR: Your letter to Congress of April last having been read and answered by them, though not so minutely as I would wish, I forbear making any remarks upon it, because I am not yet perfectly acquainted with their sentiments (and would not wish any which might interfere with them) having just entered upon the office, in consequence of which I open this correspondence, though long since appointed. I beg of you, agreeably to the directions of Congress, to address in future your public letters to me, and to notify the Count de Florida Blanca of this alteration in our system, our acknowledged situation rendering it improper to do it formally.

(Eight lines cipher follow.)

Congress have at length completed the organization of their executive departments by the choice of General Lincoln for their Secretary at War. It is expected that order and system will arise out of this mode of doing business and the strictest economy.

If the great powers of Europe, with every advantage that settled governments enjoy, feel themselves under the necessity of making foreign loans, can it be expected that a war of six years in the heart of our country should not have abridged the resources of a state which had every necessary for their army to import; which never manufactured for itself; which had no marine; and which, with a number of internal enemies in their bosom, had civil governments to establish? Perhaps it would be impossible to offer a better picture of the resources of this country, and the stability of her funds when they shall be well managed, than by comparing our present debt with the duration of the war and the exertions we have made. For though our enemies may allege that our debt was relieved by the depreciation of bills, yet it must be remembered that that very depreciation was a tax, though an unequal one, borne by the people of these States, and as it has not produced national ruin, it must follow that the States had sufficient resources to bear this burthen. These resources, though lessened, still remain.

(Fourteen lines cipher follow.)

* MSS. Dep. of State; 4 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 368.

The only object for which Britain continues the war is the recovery of this country. What better plan of finance, then, can be adopted by France or Spain than by timely aids of ships and money to blast this hope, and by a speedy peace to terminate their expenses? If, on the contrary, they wish to linger out the war till Britain is more exhausted, this country affords them the easiest means of doing it.

(One line cipher follows.)

Armies may be maintained here for one-third of the expense that Britain lays out upon hers. This France has experienced. Though her affairs were not perhaps managed with the strictest economy, though her bills were extremely low, her supplies cost at least one-third less than the British paid at New York, without taking into account the hire of transports, the seamen employed, paid, and fed in that service, and the number of them that fell into our hands. Be persuaded yourself, and endeavor to persuade others, that if this is a war of finance, which all modern wars are, Britain is most vulnerable in America.

I congratulate you upon the important success of our arms in South Carolina and Virginia, of which I enclose you official accounts. On the returns you will find a number of British-American nominal regiments. These were recruiting in Virginia and North Carolina, and their success will show the truth of what Britain advances with respect to the number of her partizans in America. I will venture to say that with similar advantages their recruiting parties would have been more successful in any country in Europe. Besides the troops mentioned in the returns, the enemy lost during the siege near two thousand negroes. Previous to the surrender, in a naval engagement with the Count de Grasse, the *Terrible*, a British seventy-four, was burnt, so that our affairs here stand upon the most respectable footing imaginable.

[Upwards of thirty lines follow interspersed with a cipher, the key to which is not to be found.]

But this is a delicate subject, and I quit it till I am more fully acquainted with the views of Congress thereon, for I confess to you that the sentiments I have hazarded are rather my own than any that I know to be theirs, and should weigh accordingly with you. The provision trade with the Havana being very considerable and important to Spain while she has fleets and armies to maintain there, it might be proper to suggest to the Spanish ministry the advantage of allowing small convoys of frigates, which would enable us to carry it on in vessels of greater burthen, and by that means diminish the expense of freight and insurance, both of which eventually fall upon Spain. A few frigates would answer the purpose, as the stations of the enemy's ships are almost always known on this coast, and indeed they seldom have any out but frigates cruising singly.

Another thought strikes me, which perhaps, if digested, might be ripened into a plan advantageous to France, Spain, and America. While

France keeps an army here she must draw bills or export money. She has, for the most part, preferred the former, at the loss of forty per cent. The money of Spain is lodged at the Havana, and can not be brought to Europe without great hazard; whereas the risk of sending it here under convoy is extremely small. It may be vested in European bills to such advantage as to pay the whole expense of transportation, and even an interest, till the bills are negociated in Europe. This plan affords France a market for her bills, Spain a cheap and easy way of bringing her money home, and America a circulating medium which enables her to tax with advantage.

The enclosed act of Congress informs you of the appointment of Mr. Hanson, of Maryland, to the presidentship.

[As I know the confidence you once had in D——,* I must caution you against any communication with him; some letters have been furnished by Rivington said to be his, which, being compared with others received here, have the marks of authenticity.] †

I shall write very frequently to you, and shall in return expect that you will omit no opportunity of letting me hear from you. A court calendar, if one is printed with you, with notes of your own thereon, might be of some service to us. I shall use our private cipher, as corrected by that sent by Mr. Toscan, till you receive the one transmitted by Mr. Thomson, in which case, as it is less troublesome, be pleased to use that, if you are sure it came safe.

I am, dear sir, with the sincerest regard and esteem, &c.,

ROBERT R. LIVINGSTON.

Morris to General Greene.‡

OFFICE OF FINANCE, *November* 2, 1781.

SIR: Your favor of the 17th of September last has been delivered to me by your aid, Captain Pierce. Your recommendations and his own character give him a double title to every mark of attention.

I hope it is unnecessary to make assurances of my disposition to render your situation both easy and respectable. I am sure it is unnecessary to remark how inadequate the provisions have been which the States have hitherto made. At least it is unnecessary to you. Much less need I display the detail of expenditures which have been requisite for the accomplishment of that happy event which has taken place in Virginia.

I have neither forgotten nor neglected your department. I have done the utmost to provide clothing, arms, accoutrements, medicines, hospita

---

* D—— is Deane. See Livingston to Franklin, Nov. 26, 1781, *infra*.

† Passage in brackets omitted in Sparks' ed.

‡ 6 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 360.

stores, &c.; and I flatter myself that you will, through the different departments, receive both benefit and relief from my exertions. I have detained Captain Pierce a day, in order to make up with infinite difficulty one thousand pounds, Pennsylvania currency, in gold, which he is the bearer of, and which will, I hope, be agreeable and useful. You have done so much with so little, that my wishes to increase your activity have every possible stimulus. I hope soon to hear that you have gathered fresh laurels, and that you may wear them as long and as happily as they have been speedily and worthily acquired is the earnest wish of yours, &c.,

ROBERT MORRIS.

Livingston to Luzerne.*

OFFICE OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS,
November 2, 1781.

SIR: It is with peculiar pleasure that I obey the directions of Congress in making communications which show their sense of the exertions of their ally and of the merit of the officers he employs. The confidence inspired by the first, and the esteem excited by the last, form new bands of union between nations whom reciprocal interests had before connected. In this view I flatter myself the enclosed acts of Congress will be agreeable to you, and that you will with pleasure communicate to his most Christian majesty their desire, with his permission, to present to the Count de Grasse two pieces of field ordnance taken from the enemy at York, with inscriptions calculated to show that Congress were induced to present them from considerations of the illustrious part which he bore in effectuating the surrender.†

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect and esteem, &c.,

ROBERT R. LIVINGSTON.

---

* MSS. Dep. of State; 6 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 17. As to siege of Yorktown, see Johnston's Yorktown Campaign, N. Y., 1881.

† *In Congress, October 28th*, 1781.—*Resolved*, That the thanks of the United States in Congress assembled be presented to his excellency the Count de Rochambeau for the cordiality, zeal, judgment, and fortitude with which he seconded and advanced the progress of the allied army against the British garrison in York.

That the thanks of the United States in Congress assembled be presented to his excellency the Count de Grasse for his display of skill and bravery in attacking and defeating the British fleet off the bay of Chesapeake, and for his zeal and alacrity in rendering, with the fleet under his command, the most effectual and distinguished aid and support to the operations of the allied army in Virginia.

That the thanks of the United States in Congress assembled be presented to the commanding and other officers of the corps of artillery and engineers of the allied army, who sustained extraordinary fatigue and danger in their animated and gallant approaches to the lines of the enemy.

Resolved, That the United States in Congress assembled will cause to be erected at York, in Virginia, a marble column, adorned with emblems of the alliance between

Morris to Luzerne.*

OFFICE OF FINANCE, *November* 3, 1781.

SIR: Agreeably to my promise, I have the honor to send you a copy of the circular letter which I lately transmitted to the several States. This will be an additional proof of my desire to draw from among ourselves the necessary resources, and thereby to become truly independent. But the sincerity with which I have always spoken to you, and which I mean to preserve, and which the generous conduct of your sovereign demands for his servants, that sincerity will not permit me to conceal my sentiments on what is to be expected.

The annual expenses of this country may certainly be reduced within narrower bounds than they have hitherto been; perhaps it will be less than I myself have now an idea of. But still it must be considerable if we mean, which we certainly do, to make becoming efforts in the common cause. Besides this, it will require a considerable revenue to provide the sinking fund for our public debt. As I consider national credit to be an object of the greatest magnitude and importance, so I think it necessary to bend every possible effort to the establishment and support of it. Provision for our debts is therefore the first object, and therefore must take place of every other demand.

Whatever may be the wealth of the inhabitants of America, and however capable they may be of bearing heavy taxes, this, at least, is certain, that they have neither been accustomed to them, nor have the legislatures hitherto adopted the proper modes of laying and levying them with convenience to the people. Taxation requires time in all governments, and is to be perfected only by long experience in any country. America, divided as it is into a variety of free States possessing sovereign power for all domestic purposes, can not therefore be suddenly brought to pay all which might be spared from the wealth of her citizens. The amount even of that wealth is very disputable

---

the United States and his most Christian majesty, and inscribed with a succinct narrative of the surrender of Earl Cornwallis to his excellency General Washington commander-in-chief of the combined forces of America and France, to his excellency the Count de Rochambeau, commanding the auxiliary troops of his most Christian majesty in America, and his excellency Count de Grasse, commanding-in-chief the naval army of France in the Chesapeake.

Resolved, That two pieces of the field ordnance taken from the British army under the capitulation of York be presented by the commander-in-chief of the American army to Count de Rochambeau, and that there be engraved thereon a short memorandum that Congress were induced to present them from considerations of the illustrious part which he bore in effectuating the surrender.

Resolved, That the Secretary of Foreign Affairs be directed to request the minister plenipotentiary of his most Christian majesty to inform his majesty that it is the wish of Congress that the Count de Grasse may be permitted to accept a testimonial of their approbation similiar to that to be presented to the Count de Rochambeau.

* 6 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 361.

Our extensive forests, though they are valuable as property, are by no means productive to the revenue; and many of our people have endured such losses that they require alleviation, instead of being able to bear burdens. Besides this, the use of many articles not strictly necessary are become so even by that use, and therefore the mode of living being habitually more expensive than in other countries, requires greater wealth. A good prince would not suddenly render the lot of his subjects worse. How, then, are we to expect that the people themselves will do so?

But supposing our taxes could equal the demand for revenue, another circumstance remains. The paper money which has been emitted lays in our way to reformation, and we feel it at every step. It has been issued, and the people will with propriety refuse to pay taxes if it be totally refused. Much, therefore, of the revenue must be in paper while that paper exists. If it be reissued after it has been raised in taxes the mischief attendant on a depreciating medium will still continue. A large nominal revenue may indeed be collected, but that revenue will be nominal. The specie in the country also will be continually secluded from circulation, and by that means not only the sources of revenue will be dried up, but even the bills of exchange which may be drawn on Europe will not find a proper market at their value.

I might add a number of reasons to show the necessity of destroying this paper money; but your residence here has enabled you to see this subject to the bottom, and I have found in conversation your ideas so clear, that I will not attempt to demonstrate what you can not but perceive at a single glance. But how is it to be done? If a recurrence be again had to the detestable expedient of force, our credit is ruined. Prudence, therefore, forbids any such attempt; besides, it is so dishonest, that I will never have any concern in it. There is then no other means but to receive the taxes in paper, and to destroy a part, at least, if not the whole.

This method of proceeding will lay a proper foundation for establishing public credit, and when that is established we well know what good consequences may be drawn. But, in the interim, it is evident that the revenue, even if otherwise equal to our wants, must be deficient. I, therefore, am bound to declare to you my conviction that we must have aid from abroad. It is unnecessary to add the place from which that aid is to be expected.

It is very painful to ask assistance in any case, especially in a situation like ours, where the object of the war is to secure what is of the utmost importance to us. But having candidly explained our situation, and shown the impracticability of doing all which I wish, there is a greater propriety in stating to a gentleman who knows those wishes the ideas which arise from the nature of that connection which subsists between the two nations.

The war in America must of necessity prove fatal to Great Britain if it continues, because it is carried on by her at an expense so disproportionate to that which is borne by France, that the greater effort must exhaust every fund she can possibly draw forth, and inextricably involve her in eternal debt. If, then, the object of the war were in itself indifferent to France, the mere continuance of it would alone be a valuable object to her, and indeed to every other power, particularly to those who are in any degree maritime, as they are most exposed to British encroachment and rapacity. But when we consider that the object of the war is of the last consequence to the commerce of his majesty's dominions and especially so to his marine, and when we further consider that his honor stands pledged for our support, to doubt of his further assistance would imply a reflection both on his wisdom and integrity. I hope, sir, you will believe me to be incapable of casting such reflections.

Let me further take the liberty to observe that I would by no means detract from the generosity of his most Christian majesty, yet the moneys which he may be disposed to advance to the United States are neither lost nor thrown away. The subjects of France will for ages derive benefits from a commercial connection with this country, and I hope their sovereign will always find here a warm friend and a faithful ally should any of those changes to which human affairs are subjected induce him to ask that aid which he now bestows.

With great respect, I have the honor to be, &c.

ROBERT MORRIS.*

* *November 3d.*—This day, on the invitation of the minister of France, I attended at the Romish church at a *Te Deum*, sung on account of the capture of Lord Cornwallis and his army. Soon after arrived the colors taken by General Washington with that army, which were brought by Colonel Humphreys to Chester, there met by Colonel Tilghman, and thence conducted hither by those two aids-de-camp of the General. The City Troop of light horse went out to meet them, and became the standard bearers, and twenty-four gentlemen, privates in that corps, carried each of them one of the colors displayed—the American and French flags preceding the captured trophies, which were conducted down Market street to the Coffee House, thence down Front to Chestnut street, and up that street to the State House, where they were presented to Congress, who were sitting, and many of the members tell me that instead of viewing this transaction as a mere matter of joyful ceremony, which they expected to do, they instantly felt themselves impressed with ideas of the most solemn nature. It brought to their minds the distresses our country has been exposed to, the calamities we have repeatedly suffered, the perilous situation which our affairs have almost always been in; and they could not but recollect the threats of Lord North, that he would bring America to his feet on unconditional terms of submission.—*Diary.*

Luzerne to Washington.*

[Translation.]

PHILADELPHIA, *November* 4, 1781.

SIR: I have received the letter which you did me the honor to write on the 29th ultimo, and the papers from Count de Grasse, which you had the goodness to send to me, and for which I beg you will accept my thanks.

We are encouraged to hope for your arrival here. I shall be extremely happy to be able to testify to you in person the joy which I have received from your success. That joy is universal, and it can but increase the attachment and esteem of all orders of citizens, and of my own countrymen, to your excellency.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

LUZERNE.

Luzerne to Livingston.*

[Translation.]

PHILADELPHIA, *November* 4, 1781.

SIR: I have received the letter with which you honored me on the 2d instant, with the resolutions of Congress of the 28th of October, which accompanied it. I have no doubt that they will be most agreeable to his majesty, and that he will learn with great pleasure that the remembrance of the success obtained by the allied arms is to be preserved by a column, on which a relation of this event will be inscribed and mention made of the alliance.

I shall be glad, before any farther resolutions are taken on this subject, to communicate to you some ideas relative to this monument. It is so honorable to the two nations, and so well adapted to perpetuate the remembrance of their union, that we ought to be mutually desirous of giving it all the solidity and durability of which the works of man are susceptible. Besides, sir, I observe that the United States are named before the king in these resolutions. This is the second time within my knowledge that this form has been adopted. I remarked on it the first time, and was then positively assured that it was an error which should be corrected on the journals. I entreat you to be pleased to let me know distinctly what usage Congress intends to adopt on this subject, in order that I may make it known to my court.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

LUZERNE.

---

*6 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 18.

Morris to the President of Congress.*

OFFICE OF FINANCE, *November* 5, 1781.

SIR: Copies of the act of the United States in Congress assembled of the 2d instant have been sent to me, and were yesterday received. It would have given me pleasure to have had an opportunity of expressing my sentiments before those acts were passed; but it becomes necessary to take the liberty of doing it now. I therefore do myself the honor to enclose a letter written on the 28th day of August last, which was not transmitted before because Congress were so much engaged that, as well from that as other circumstances, those matters which it relates to could not properly be brought before them. In the beginning of that letter the reference made to me on the 23d of August of two letters from the State of Massachusetts Bay and of a report upon them is mentioned. On the 12th of September following I received the resolutions of that State, which were referred on the 10th; and I have now to observe that my sentiments on the subject of those resolutions are fully contained in the letter.

I should have sent in that letter, notwithstanding my reasons to the contrary, if I had conceived that any of the subjects it relates to had been in agitation before the United States. And, although Congress have not taken up all the matters mentioned in it, there is some propriety in sending it as it was written, because such objects are better understood when viewed in their connexions with each other than when separately considered.

I shall say nothing as to the amount of the sum required, because I have not seen the estimates. Congress have certainly considered the supplies necessary and the abilities of their constituents. Immediately after the apportionment I find the following clause: "That the said sums, when paid, shall be credited to the accounts of the several States on interest, to be hereafter adjusted." I hope I shall be pardoned for observing that I can not perceive the necessity of this provision, and that ill consequences will probably result from it. As to the necessity, I will suppose that the proportion of any State were rated so high as greatly to exceed the means of payment or materially to distress the people, surely Congress might afford redress in the next apportionment by relaxing the demands on such State and dividing the deficiency among others. Nor is it of any consequence whether the disproportion arises from error in laying the quotas or from a subsequent change of circumstances. It is for this reason that the clause appears unnecessary. The idea of leaving the adjustment of accounts to a future day will discourage the efforts of every State in the Union. They will consider it as determining, in other words, that the accounts never shall be settled at all; or rather, they have already formed that opinion. This has produced discontent and given rise to complaint. The dis-

* MSS. Dep. of State; 6 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 364, with changes.

putes which must follow can not but be pernicious. Nor are these the only ill consequences of that provision. I hope that Congress will pardon me when I state the sentiments which may arise in the minds of others, although they have no place in my own. Postponing a final adjustment may cast an air of doubt, or even timidity, on the proceedings of the United States. It may be construed into an appearance of leading individual States unwarily into efforts beyond their proportion or their strength. It may be imagined that there is some want of that firmness and decision which ought to be the constant companion of sovereign authority. It gives me pain to hazard a difference of opinion with Congress, and therefore I quit the subject.

The next article in the act of the second instant declares, "that certificates which may be given by the quartermaster-general or other officers properly authorised to give them for supplies that shall hereafter be furnished shall be accepted in payment." This provision may in some instances be necessary, in some improper, but in all it must be dangerous. I shall not dwell on the consequences of giving these certificates; but I will suggest one idea, which will, perhaps, merit attention. That article is an act of sovereign authority, and therefore while it exists doubts may arise how far the issuing of such certificates can be restrained. If the quartermaster and others will give certificates, and the State will receive them and tender them to me, I must, according to this act, accept them in payment; but those who contract for supplies to the public certainly will not take them from me. If, on the other hand, that article be not inserted, the general authorities given to me by Congress are equal to all the necessary regulations in executing their commands. I might, for instance, appoint a trusty person to give certificates in extraordinary cases. I should then know the amount of such certificates, and I could make the necessary arrangements with relation to them.

My sentiments on the next article are so fully expressed in the enclosed letter that I will not trouble Congress with the repetition. I shall only observe, that daily observation and information confirm my fears that frauds have been practised in giving those certificates, and I must be of opinion that a general permission to receive them in taxes will be very injurious not only to the public revenue but to the reputation of our measures. I am apprehensive that many honest men through the United States, who know the frauds committed in their neighborhoods, will imagine that sufficient attention is not paid to the detection of villainy, and that idea will disincline them very much from the payment of taxes, because nothing induces men to part with their money so cheerfully as the belief that it will be applied to the purposes for which it was granted with economy and integrity.

What I have written on the subject of a final apportionment may appear to have proceeded from a want of attention to that article of the Confederation which points out the manner of defraying public ex-

penses. But this is not the case. The article in question relates merely to those circumstances which shall arise after the completion of it, and makes no provision whatever for past expenses. The several requisitions of Congress do indeed refer to a future settlement, according to the mode expressed in the Confederation; but the Confederation itself must receive a liberal and equitable construction; much more so those resolutions which refer to it. If this be not the case, it would be madness to expect obedience from free agents independent of each other, which is the situation of the several States. If, then, the article be considered and weighed even as to the quota of the current year, where certainly it applies with greater force than to any past transaction, we shall find that it presupposes the following things: First, a certain mode of determining the value of lands, etc., or in other words, the value of each respective State; secondly, that this mode should not be permanent but variable, and framed from time to time according to the then existing state of things; thirdly, that it should be founded in liberal principles of justice; no other mode being presumable from those who are to adopt it; fourthly, that the value being thus equitably determined, the expenses of the current year should be estimated according to the best lights which could be obtained; and fifthly, that this expense should be apportioned according to that valuation.

If these ideas be just, and I think that an inspection of the article itself will show them to be so, then it will follow that a valuation made for one year cannot properly apply to any preceding or subsequent year; more especially if any considerable change take place in the respective circumstances of the several States. Let us, for instance, suppose that in the year 1776 five hundred acres of land in the State of A were worth one thousand pounds; that in the year 1777 they were worth five hundred pounds; and in the year 1778, one hundred pounds; while during the whole period five hundred acres in the State of B were worth five hundred pounds. Let us suppose the States A and B to have been of equal extent, and that thirty pounds was to have been paid annually by those States according to the apportionment of the Confederation, they would then have been charged as follows: In 1776, the State A twenty pounds and B ten pounds; 1777, A fifteen pounds and B fifteen pounds; and in 1778, A five pounds, and B twenty-five pounds. Thus, then, of three times thirty, or ninety pounds, A would be chargeable with twenty, fifteen, and five, amounting in the whole to forty pounds; and B with ten, fifteen, and twenty-five, amounting in the whole to fifty pounds. The proportion, therefore, between them is as four to five; but the proportion arising from their relative wealth in either of those terms is widely different. In the first it is as two to one; in the second as one to one; and in the third as one to five. Wherefore, if the whole ninety pounds were to have been apportioned on the valuation of the first year, it would have been to A sixty and to B thirty. On that of the second, A forty-five and B forty-five, and on the third, A fifteen and B seventy-five.

If this conclusion be fairly drawn, then a question will arise on this point: Suppose no mode of valuation adopted, how are the quotas to be ascertained? To answer this question I state the following positions: First, that the object of the Confederation was to make an equitable apportionment; secondly, that Congress will always, when they direct a valuation, do it in an equitable mode; and, thirdly, that a valuation is at present impracticable much less a valuation for times past. These things being admitted, and the necessity of an apportionment being also admitted, the question answers itself; for no other mode will remain but by resorting to such lights as Congress may have on the subject, and that they determine as equitably as they can according to those lights, which is the very thing I have already proposed.

I shall trespass no longer on your excellency's patience than to mention that I have detained the copies of these acts until the further order of Congress. But if they disapprove of it, I shall immediately transmit them.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

ROBERT MORRIS.

Franklin to Thomas M'Kean, President of Congress.*

PASSY, *November* 5, 1781.

SIR: Herewith you will receive a copy of my last, since which I have been honored with two letters from the late President, the one dated March 2, relating to Captain Jones' cross of merit, which I have communicated as directed; the other, dated July 5, respecting the release and exchange of Mr. Laurens.

Having no direct communication with the British ministers, and Mr. Burke appearing, by a letter to me, warmly interested in favor of his friend General Burgoyne, to prevent his being recalled, I have requested and empowered him to negociate that exchange, and I soon expect his answer. The late practice of sending to England prisoners taken in America has greatly augmented the number of those unfortunate men and proportionally increased the expense of relieving them. The subscriptions for that purpose in England have ceased. The allowance I have made to them of sixpence each per week during the summer, though small, amounts to a considerable sum; and during the winter I shall be obliged to double, if not treble it. The admiralty there will not accept any English in exchange but such as have been taken by Americans, and absolutely refuse to allow any of the paroles given to our privateers by English prisoners discharged at sea except in one instance, that of fifty-three men taken in the *Snake* sloop by the *Pilgrim* and *Rambler*, which was a case attended, as they say, with some

* MSS. Dep. of State; 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 176; 9 Sparks' Franklin, 86; 7 Bigelow's Franklin, 306.

particular circumstances. I know not what the circumstances were, but shall be glad to see the fifty-three of our people whom they promised to send me by the first cartel. I have above five hundred other paroles solemnly given in writing, by which the Englishmen promised either to send our people in exchange or to surrender themselves to me in France, not one of which has been regarded, so little faith and honor remain in that corrupted nation. Our privateers, when in the European seas, will rarely bring in their prisoners when they can get rid of them at sea. Some of our poor brave countrymen have been in that cruel captivity now near four years. I hope the Congress will take this matter into immediate consideration, and find some means for their deliverance and to prevent the sending more from America. By my last accounts the number now in the several prisons amounts to upwards of eight hundred.

I request also some direction from Congress (having never received any) respecting the allowance to be made to them while they remain there. They complain that the food given them is insufficient. Their petition to the English Government to have an equal allowance with the French and Spanish prisoners has been rejected, which makes the small pecuniary assistance I can send them more necessary. If a certain number of English prisoners could be set apart in America, treated exactly in the same manner, and their exchange refused till it should be agreed to set these at liberty in Europe, one might hope to succeed in procuring the discharge of our people. Those who escape and pass through France to get home put me also to a great expense for their land journeys, which could be prevented if they could be exchanged, as they would be landed here in ports.

The ambassador of Venice told me that he was charged by the senate to express to me their grateful sense of the friendly behavior of Captain Barry, commander of the *Alliance*, in rescuing one of the ships of their state from an English privateer and setting her at liberty; and he requested me to communicate this acknowledgment to Congress. There is a complaint from Holland against Captain Jones for having taken the brigantine *Berkenbosch* and sending her to America, and I have been desired to lay before Congress the enclosed depositions relating to that capture and to request their attention to it.

The ambassador of Portugal also frequently asks me if I have received any answer to their complaint long since sent over. I wish it was in my power to give one of some kind or other. But none has yet come to my hands. I need not mention the importance of attending to the smallest complaints between nations, the neglect of them having sometimes very serious consequences.

The mediation proposed is not agreed to by England, who refuses to treat with our United States but as a sovereign with subjects, and I apprehend that a change in that resolution is only to be expected from time, the growing insupportable expense of the war, or a course of mis-

fortunes in the progress of it. The spirits of that nation have been continually kept up by the flattering accounts sent over of our being weary of the contest and on the point of submission. Their ministers, as appears by their intercepted letters, have been themselves so far deceived as to expect daily those submissions, and to have the pleasure of laying them before the king. We may, perhaps, be able to guess a little by the king's speech at the approaching new session of Parliament whether they still continue under this delusion. As long as it subsists peace is not to be expected.

A loan has been proposed to be obtained for us of the States of Holland on the credit of this government. All public operations are slow in that country, and though the affair is at length said to be concluded, it is not yet executed. Considerable advances have, however, been made here in expectation of being reimbursed by it. The last aids granted us have been so absorbed by my payment of the drafts on Mr. Jay and Mr. Adams, and acceptance of those for the enormous unexpected purchases in Holland, which were to have gone in Captain Gillon's ship but left behind, that I shall have nothing to spare for extraordinaries, unless some of the Holland loan come soon into my hands. I am now told from Amsterdam that the two ships freighted there to carry those goods are detained, as their contract was to sail under convoy of the *South Carolina*, which left them, and they must now take more men to defend them, and of consequence claim a higher freight, and to have it paid before they sail, unless I will buy the ships and send them on account of Congress, neither of which is in my power to do. It was with reluctance I engaged in that affair, having little confidence in Captain Gillon's management, and fearing some embarrassment of our credit. I consented in fine to engage for the payment of ten thousand pounds sterling, being the value of the goods suitable for Congress said to be already shipped in that vessel; and as there was said to be still some room, and she was thought a safe conveyance, I concluded to furnish an additional sum to fill that supposed vacancy, which I limited to five thousand pounds sterling more. You will judge of my surprise when I saw the accounts of that additional purchase, which amounted, instead of five, to fifty thousand, pounds sterling. I at first absolutely refused to pay for them. But Captain Jackson came to me from thence express; urged that the purchase was made by order of Colonel Laurens; that the goods were on board; that if I would not undertake to pay for them they must be relanded and returned or sold, which would be a public disgrace to us; that they were all articles exceedingly wanted in America, &c., &c. In fine, I was prevailed on, and accepted the bills, and was obliged to go with this after-clap to the ministers, a proceeding always disagreeable, after the disposition of the funds of the year have been arranged; and more so in this case, as the money was to be paid for the manufactures of other countries, and not laid out in those of this kingdom, by whose friendship it was fur-

nished. This fresh grant was at first absolutely refused; at length I obtained it, and I hoped the difficulty was over.

But, after all, the officers declare the ship was overloaded; that there was not room to lodge the people and provisions, nor to act in fighting her; the goods are turned out into two other ships; those are left; and it is now proposed to me either to buy them or to advance a freight nearly equal to their value. I cannot make a new demand for this purpose, and I shall not wonder if this government, observing how badly our shipping and transporting the supplies are managed, should take that business for the future entirely into their own hands, as they have begun to do in the case of replacing the cargo of the *Marquis de la Fayette*, and indeed, till some active, intelligent person, skilled in maritime affairs, is placed here as consul, I cannot but think it will be much better executed and more for our advantage. Some considerable parts of that new cargo are already shipped, and the rest I hear are in great forwardness.

The very friendly disposition of this court towards us still continues, and will, I hope, continue forever. From my own inclination, as well as in obedience to the orders of Congress, everything in my power shall be done to cultivate that disposition; but I trust it will be remembered that the best friends may be overburthened; that by too frequent, too large, and too importunate demands upon it the most cordial friendship may be wearied, and as nothing is more teazing than repeated, unexpected large demands for money, I hope the Congress will absolutely put an end to the practice of drawing on their ministers, and thereby obliging them to worry their respective courts for the means of payment. It may have otherwise very ill effects in depressing the spirit of a minister, and destroying that freedom of representation which on many occasions it might be proper for him to make use of.

I heartily congratulate you, sir, on your being called to the honorable and important office of President, and wish you every kind of prosperity.

Be pleased to present my dutiful respects to the Congress, and believe me to be, with great and sincere esteem and respect, &c.,

B. FRANKLIN.

Franklin to Morris.*

PASSY, *November* 5, 1781.

DEAR SIR: Herewith you will receive copies of my three last letters to you. I have received none from you of later date than the 21st of July, already acknowledged, but which I propose now to answer more fully, as I promised.

* Franklin MSS., Dep. of State.

This important letter does not appear to have as yet been published; only the draft is in the Department of State.

The sentiment you express "that no country is truly independent until with her own credit and resources she is able to defend herself and correct her enemies" appears to me perfectly just, and the resolution you have taken of endeavouring to "establish our credit by drawing out our resources in such a manner that we may be little burdensome and essentially useful to our friends" are such as all good patriots ought to wish you may succeed in, and should hold themselves ready to afford you every assistance in their power.

As in taking your measures it will be useful to you to know what aids you may expect from Europe, I think it right to give you my opinion that you can not rely on such as may be called very considerable. If Europe was in peace and its governments therefore under no necessity of borrowing, much of the spare money of private persons might then be collectible in a loan to our States. But four of the principal nations being already at war and a fifth supposed to be preparing for it, all borrowing what they can and bidding from time to time higher interest, it is to be supposed that moneyed men will rather risk lending their cash to their own governments or to those of their neighbours than hazard it over the Atlantic with a new state which to them hardly appears to be yet firmly established. Hence all our attempts to procure private loans have hitherto miscarried, and our only chance of pecuniary aids is from the governments of France or Spain, who, being at war with our enemy, are somewhat interested in assisting us. These two governments have indeed great revenues, but when it is considered that the abilities of nations to assist each other are not in proportion to their incomes, but in proportion to their economy, and that saving and treasuring up in time of peace is rarely thought of by ministers, whence the expenses of the peace establishment equal if they do not exceed the incomes; and therefore, when a war comes on, they are, with regard to the means of carrying it on, almost as poor as we, being equally obliged to borrow. The difference only is that they have a credit, which we want, which we had indeed with our own people, but have lost it by abusing it. Their credit, however, can only procure the monies that are to spare, and those in so general a demand are few. Hence it is, and because her treasures have been long detained in America, that Spain has been able to help us very little; and though France has done for us much more, it has not been equal to our wants, although I sincerely believe it equal to her abilities, the war being otherwise exceedingly expensive to her and her commerce much obstructed. If the ten millions loan in Holland is all applyed to our purposes we shall this year have obtained near twenty millions of livres, and I think there is no probability of our obtaining the same for the next year. Nothing can therefore be more apropos or more necessary than your purpose of endeavouring that "our revenues should be expended with economy." Would to God that economy could also be introduced into our private affairs. The money our foolish people spend in superfluities and vanities

would be nearly equal to the expense of the war. But that is wishing mankind more sense than God has been pleased to give them and more than they desire, for they have not enough to know they want it, and one may as well wish them more money.

It is true that Spain has now got great part of her treasure home, and may possibly grant more than she has hitherto done to Mr. Jay's applications. But though the sums arrived are considerable upon paper the king's part is not very great, and much of it has been anticipated; so that our expectations should not be sanguine from that quarter, neither.

I have not proposed to any banker here as yet to have the connection you mention with our bank. The opinion of our general poverty and inability, which the enormous depreciation of our paper among ourselves has impressed on the minds of all Europe, give me no hopes of success in such a proposition. I clearly see, however, the advantages that you show would arise from the operation and as soon as any favourable circumstances in our affairs may give a probable chance of succeeding I shall seize the opportunity and propose it. Perhaps I may sooner venture to ask privately the sentiments of our banker (who is a judicious man) on such a proposition, and let you know what he thinks of it.

With regard to the 10,000,000 Dutch loan, which you seem to have some dependence on receiving in money, I should acquaint you that if it succeeds, sundry great sums furnished to enable me to pay Congress drafts as well as the goods now sending to replace the cargo of the *Marquis de la Fayette* will probably be deducted out of it. How much they will all amount to I can not now justly say, but I think they will cause a considerable diminution. The money carried over by Col. Laurens was part of the 6,000,000 gift, and the rest of that gift has been absorbed by the goods he carried over or ordered and by the various demands on me and on your ministers in Spain and Holland, which all finally fall on me.

Thus you see, my dear friend, I have not endeavoured to flatter you with pleasing expectations of aids that may never be obtained, and thereby betray you into plans that might miscarry and disgrace you. Truth is best for you and for us all. When you know what you can not depend on you will better know what you can undertake. I shall certainly do what may be in my power to help you, but do not expect too much of me. If you can succeed in executing the engagement I entered into with Mr. Necker, that will augment my credit, and of course my power of being useful to you. At present it is very good. My acceptances having always been punctually paid, now pass on any exchange in Europe as money, but if I should be obliged to fail in discharging any of them it is gone forever, and may be thrown by as a broken instrument of no further service. You are so sensible of this and possess so much innate honour, that I shall not have the least doubt, in accepting your drafts, of your enabling me to pay them duly.

There is a little mistake in one of your letters which I ought to set right. You mention France as having guaranteed the payment of the interest bills. There has been no such guarantee. She has hitherto furnished the money for that purpose, and will, I hope, continue to do so. I indeed think it probable; but I should be sorry to see it mentioned in any public paper as an engagement of hers, and this hint may prevent it. Perhaps some of the commissioners may have understood that there was such a promise, and may have said it in their letters; but as there is no such thing existing in any writing between us and the ministers, we can not assert and insist on it; for when we first arrived and did not well understand one another's language it was very easy to misapprehend and suppose things said that were not, and indeed after such a length of time to forget some that were; and till after the treaty was agreed on I think we had nothing from the ministers in writing; it seemed a point to avoid it.

I received the ciphers, but having perused them, I imagine the old one preferable which I left with you. At least it seems so to me perhaps because I am used to it.

I approve much of your bank, and shall order Mr. Bache to subscribe for me.

With the most sincere esteem and affection, I am, dear sir, yours, etc.

Morris to Luzerne.*

OFFICE OF FINANCE, *November* 6, 1781.

SIR: I have been honored with your excellency's answer of the 4th to my letter of the 3d instant. I am sure we can not differ in opinion. It is impossible that I can doubt the wisdom or integrity of his most Christian majesty, or that you can doubt his desire of giving further assistance to the United States. As to the mode in which that can be done his majesty's convenience and the situation of affairs will best determine it. I wish to receive pecuniary aid, and when I consider the importance, I am led to expect it. You have doubts on that subject; but the success which has followed from the grants already made will show so clearly the utility, that you, who see the good effects and who are so zealously attached to the common cause, will concur with me in your efforts also. The regard you have expressed for the United States, and which I am sure you feel, gives me the highest reason to expect your good offices on all occasions which may relate to their welfare, and particularly those in the line of my department, where you are fully sensible assistance is most necessary.

With the most perfect esteem and respect, I am, &c.,

ROBERT MORRIS.

---

* 6 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 368.

Livingston to the President of Congress.*

OFFICE OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS,
November 6, 1781.

SIR: I do myself the honor to submit to Congress a letter to the minister of France which covered their resolutions of the 28th of October, his answer thereto, and the draft of a letter in reply to his. As the last implies a promise on the part of Congress, I did not think myself authorized to send it without their approbation.

Congress will observe that I endeavor to waive a question, which perhaps it might have been imprudent to answer by a direct avowal of the propriety of the resolution or in the present circumstances to yield in express terms. By seeming to slight matters of mere ceremony we may avoid troublesome discussions in future, and teach the Old World by the example of the New to get rid of a clog which too often fetters the most important transactions. I take the liberty to submit to Congress the propriety of directing in the next vote which they shall have occasion to pass, in which France and America or their sovereigns are mentioned, the preference to be given to the first, and so that we may seem to have established no rule on a subject of so little moment as rank or precedence.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

ROBERT R. LIVINGSTON.

Livingston to Luzerne.†

OFFICE OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS,
November 6, 1781.

SIR: Having been honored with your letter of the 4th instant, I remark with pleasure that the mode in which Congress propose to perpetuate the success obtained by the allied armies at York is such as will in your opinion be agreeable to his most Christian majesty. As Congress must concur with you in wishing to render this monument of the alliance and of the military virtues of the combined forces as lasting, if possible, as the advantages they may reasonably hope to reap from both, they will, without doubt, pay all due deference to any ideas you may think proper to suggest relative to the manner of carrying the resolutions of the 28th of October into effect. I shall receive, sir, with pleasure and submit to Congress any communications that you will do me the honor to make on this subject.

I am sorry to find that you consider the order in which the allied nations or their sovereigns are placed in the resolutions as anywise exceptionable. This mode of expression might perhaps be justified by

---

* MSS. Dep. of State; 6 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 20. † *Ibid.*, 19.

the absolute equality established between sovereign powers, and the common practice of independent nations to recognise no superior in acts to be executed by themselves within their own limits. But, sir, I am so well satisfied that Congress wish to avoid discussions which must be treated with great delicacy by nations situated as ours are, where every demand on the one part not strictly authorised by the law of nations might derogate from the generous protection which we make it our boast to have received, and the denial of just rights on the other subject us to the imputation of ingratitude, that I think you may safely rely upon their practice, when some future occasion shall present, to evince that the order in which the allied nations are mentioned did not originate in any settled rule, and, above all, that no want of respect for his most Christian majesty dictated the resolution to which you object. Be persuaded, sir, that, regardless as the United States are of form and ceremony in matters that relate to themselves alone, they will think their endeavor to support France in the high rank which her extent, wealth, and power have given her a small return for the wise and generous use she makes of these advantages.

I have the honor to be, with sentiments of the greatest respect and esteem, &c.,

ROBERT R. LIVINGSTON.

Franklin to Adams.*

PASSY, *November* 7, 1781.

SIR: I have been honoured with the following letters from your excellency during the last month, viz: of the 4th, 10th, 18th, 22d, 22d (*sic.*), 25th, 26th, and 27th, which I should have answered sooner but that I waited for a safe opportunity. Having reason to believe that all your letters to me by the post are opened, and apprehending the same of mine to you, I send herewith the covers and seals of those letters, that you may judge whether the impression of your seal is not, as I suppose it to be, a counterfeit. I shall now answer your letters in the order of their dates.

Oct. 4. I am pleased to find you are of the same opinion with me as to the proper charges in our accounts.

Oct. 10. I have now received the resolution of Congress for exchanging Gen. Burgoyne against Mr. Laurens, and have sent it to England, though without much hopes of success, as I believe the ministers there had rather at present have the General's absence than his company. They would keep Mr. Laurens to hang him at the peace if the war should end in their favour, and they would have no objection to the Americans recalling and hanging Burgoyne.

I wonder at your being so long without hearing from Mr. Dana, and am afraid some misfortune has happened to him.

---

* Franklin MSS., Dep. of State; 7 J. Adams' Works, 475.

I have communicated here your observations relating to masts, and make no doubt you have recommended to Congress the taking effectual measures on their part to prevent that mischievous commerce. If the English could be removed from Penobscot, another of their means of supply would be cut off.

I have already acquainted you that I will help you to pay your acceptances as far as you have sent me an account of them. I have even ordered a considerable remittance into the hands of Fizeaux and Grand to facilitate those payments; but I must repeat my request to you not to accept any bills, with an expectation of my paying them, that are drawn after the end of March last; and I farther beg you would accept no more of the old ones drawn on Mr. Laurens without first acquainting me with the number or value and knowing from me whether I can provide for the payment. If the loan so long expected from Holland does at length take place, as I am now told it is likely to do, my embarrassment occasioned by all these demands will, I hope, be removed by it. If not, I must scuffle and shift as I can. God help us all.

Oct. 18. I know nothing of Beer but from Mr. Coffyn's recommendation. I am afraid he is one of those poor helpless bodies that God throws into the world to try its charity. I had been told that the Dutch had sent to borrow such workmen from France. I recommended it to send the escaped prisoners arriving at Dunkirk rather to Amsterdam than to Paris, because I think there arrive as many American vessels in Holland as in France wherein they might return home, and there is not one of those prisoners who does not put us to 8 or 10 louis expense in his land journey, first to Paris and then to the seaports, when he might go to Holland in the track-schuyts for perhaps 1 or 2. I am sensible that you have not, as you say, any public money in your hands, and having accepted bills for more than is in mine, my case in in that respect does not differ from yours. Those poor unfortunate men must, however, be relieved; unneccessary expense in doing it being avoided, we can relieve more of them. We can not do for them all we wish; we shall do the best we can. I think it quite right you should have money always at command for that purpose, and am of opinion the small sum obtained by the loan at Messrs. de Neufville's will be very properly applied in assisting the prisoners. I therefore give my advice frankly to use it in that service; and when that is expended you should undoubtedly be supplied with more, and will have the credit you desire at Messrs. Fizeaux & Grand's as long as we have any.

Oct. 22. By accepting a mediation I apprehend no more is meant than consenting to hear and consider what a common friend may propose towards accommodating a difference. A mediator is not a judge or arbitrator. When arbitrators are chosen, there is commonly an engagement to abide by their determination. But no such engagement is made with respect to a mediator. Mediations are, however, subject to this hazard, that the mediator, piqued against the party who rejects

s advice, joins with the other to compel his acceptance of it. This, rhaps, was a little the case lately in the mediation of Spain between ance and England.

I have just learnt by a letter from Commodore Gillon that Captain ckson has left his ship and is returning to France. I think with you at it will be proper he should proceed immediately to Holland to take re of the goods there; but I own I have not so much confidence his prudent conduct as to wish the business left entirely to s discretion. I still feel the mischief and absurdity of his buying ods under the notion of only filling a vacancy left in a loaded ship, d doing this to such an excess as to make two ships more neces- ry to receive them. I had a reluctance to any concern with Gillon. vas urged into it by Colonel Laurens, on the considerations that the ,000 £ sterling's worth he wanted to dispose of were such as the army eded, were already shipt and the conveyance likely to be a safe e, &c. I consented to pay for those goods, and for as much more as ght be wanted to fill a remaining vacancy in the ship, not exceeding e value of 5,000 £ more. I proposed that those payments should be ade on your drafts, that your excellency might have occasion to in- ect the conduct of the business and be some check upon it. I wish iad empowered you or requested your care more explicitly. I do not ink the least blame lies on you. Captain Jackson, too, might be igno- nt of the bulk of the goods till they were assembled; but methinks essrs. Neufville might have known it, and would have advised against enormous a purchase, if augmenting the commission and the project freighting their own ships had not blinded their eyes. You will dge that it must be a monstrous surprize to me to have an account ought against me of 50,000 £ instead of 5,000. I agreed, however, accept the bills, on Mr. Jackson's representation that the goods ere bought and shipt; that the relanding and returning or selling em would make a talk and discredit us; that they were such only as ere absolutely necessary, &c; and I accepted his drafts instead of urs, as he said the ship only waited his return to sail, and the obtain- g your signature would occasion a delay of 8 or 10 days. Thus I was awn in at the broad end of the horn, and must squeeze out at the rrow end as well as I can. I find myself confoundedly pinched, but leserve it in some degree for my facility and credulity. At present am not sure of money either to buy the ships or pay their freight, as oposed in yours of the 27th, and therefore can not engage to do ther. When Captain Jackson shall arrive in Holland your excellency ll be so good as to advise him, and I hope he will take your advice. should apprehend it is now too late to go north about; and to send o slow-sailing Dutch ships down the channel to run the gauntlet rough all the frigates and privateers seems to me nearly the same thing to consign them directly to some port in England or Jersey. It was t to give you trouble or to avoid it myself that I referred Messrs.

Neufville to you for advice, but really because I thought you understood such business better than myself, were on the spot, and equally concerned for the advantage of our constituents. To me it seemed that the vessels, having contracted to go with their cargoes to America, ought not to have stayed behind on pretence of a right to more freight because the convoying ship had sailed without them. They might have protested, and have gone without convoy; if they had a right to more freight I suppose they would have recovered it, and if taken have had a claim to some indemnification. I did not understand the compelling a new agreement by stopping our goods. I thought it ungenerous in Messrs. Neufville as well as unjust. The regularity or irregularity of their proceedings being at least, as I imagined, points of maritime law or custom, I had that additional reason of deference to your judgment.

Oct. 2 ". I accepted your draft of the 22d for 2,000 crowns in favor of Fizeaux & Grand, and it will be duly paid.

25th. The letter from Dr. Waterhouse, of which you were so kind as to send me a copy, is coolly and sensibly written, and has an effect in lessening the force of what is written against Gillon by Messrs. Jackson and Searle. On the whole, I hardly know as yet what to think of the matter. If Gillon really produced to Jackson the 10,000 £ worth of goods, why did he keep back from him the bills of exchange that were to pay for them and with which Gillon might have paid his debts? And, if he could not produce them, why did Jackson keep the bills, carry them to sea, and not return them to me? When we see him perhaps he may explain this. At present I am in the dark. He promised me a fuller letter by the first post, but I have not received it.

Commodore Gillon writes me that Jackson and Searle are parted; that the former (with your son and some other of the passengers) is gone to France in an American privateer, and the latter in the *Ariel*. I hope soon to hear of their safe arrival, particularly on the child's and your account. Young Cooper is gone to Geneva. Perhaps you may think of sending your son there for the winter, in which case, if I can be of any use to you, command me.

Oct. 26. The reason of my thinking we could not depend on receiving any more money here applicable to the support of Congress ministers is given in the same letter of Aug. 6, to which yours of Oct. 26th is an answer, viz: "That what aids are hereafter granted will probably be transmitted by the government directly to America." Should that be the case, and no money be put into my hands to be at my disposal, what must I do with regard to the salaries of ministers? I cannot go to Versailles with a sneaking petition requesting money for my subsistence, for the subsistence of Mr. Adams, of Mr. Jay, and of Mr. Dana. I believe none of the gentlemen would like my taking such a step, and I think the Congress would be ashamed of it. It was therefore I thought it right to give the earliest notice of what I apprehend might happen, that we might all join in representing it to Congress, in

order to obtain the necessary remittances. You may depend that as long as I have in my hands disposable money belonging to Congress I shall never refuse to obey their orders in paying your salary; and when I have no such money I hope you will consider my not paying as the effect of an impossibility, and not, as you express it, a refusal. The Congress should certainly either supply their foreign ministers or find such as can and will serve them gratis, or not send any at all. I hope you have written on this subject, and, though I do not yet clearly see how our money affairs will wind up, I shall accept your draft for another quarter whenever you please to make it.

Oct. 27. I daily expect the return of Major Jackson, and think, as I have said above, the season over for sending those goods before winter; therefore, if I understood such affairs, I should defer a little the giving any orders about the ships freighted or the goods he has put on board them. I did, as you observe, stop the money Colonel Laurens was sending over in Gillons' ship, because I saw I should want it to support the credit of Congress in paying their bills. I think you might have done the same to pay your acceptances if I had not engaged for them, and I believe you have an equal right with me to take care of the Congress property vested in those goods as their minister, and, being on the spot, can better judge from circumstances of the steps proper to be taken. I therefore request you would yourself give such orders as you shall find necessary and think most for the public interest, remembering that I can not undertake either to buy the ships or pay the freight. Perhaps it may be best to sell the whole and purchase with the money the same kind of goods in France, which can not but be more agreeable to government here, and probably they would arrive as soon.

I hope the coming winter will thoroughly establish your health.

With great esteem and respect, I have the honor to be, sir,

Your excellency's.

Franklin to J. Laurens.*

PASSY, *November* 8, 1781.

DEAR SIR: I received your very kind letter written at sea off the coast of Spain. I thank you for the friendly hint contained in it respecting my grandson. I see that what you propose for him might have a good effect; but I have too much occasion for his assistance, and can not spare him to make the voyage. He must take his chance, and I hope he will in time obtain as well as merit the consideration of our government.

I suppose you have received, or will receive before this reaches you, accounts of the management in Holland, that can not please you. I

*Franklin MSS., Dep. of State.

have written some of the particulars to the Congress and to Mr. Mo
ris. Captain Jackson's account to you will be fuller. I will, howeve
give you a short sketch.

It being proposed to make an addition to the goods bought
Gillon as there was still a little vacancy to fill up in the ship, I ve
tured to engage payment as far as 5,000 £ sterling for that purpos
On this footing the Neufvilles purchased as much as amounted
50,000 £ sterling; and the bulk of goods so great that two shi
more were necessary to receive them. These two ships were hired an
loaded and were to sail under convoy of Gillon. I refused at first
pay for that enormous purchase; but at length was prevailed on b
Mr. Jackson and accepted the bills. The ministers here, justl
displeased at the laying out the money in foreign instead of Frenc
manufactures, refused at first to assist me with funds for payment
those bills. My other acceptances of the drafts on your father, M
Jay, Mr. Adams, and myself being considered, I found it necessary
stop the money intended to go in that ship, in order to save the cred
of Congress. Gillon sailed without taking the ships under convoy
the owners (who I hear are Messieurs de Neufville themselves) the
would not let them go without a new agreement for higher freight,
unless I would purchase the ships, which I could not do. I referre
the matter to Mr. Adams, who, falling sick, did not, because he could no
do anything in it. The English blocked the Texel till lately; they a
therefore still lying at Amsterdam; and as it is too late to go nort
about, and going down the channel without convoy is too dangerous,
suppose they will remain there some time longer. Gillon, instead
going straight to America, has been making a cruise, and after five
six weeks put into Corunna for provisions. There Captain Jackso
Colonel Searle and other passengers have left him and are returning
France, fearing that he will at last carry the ship into England. Captai
Jackson writes me his opinion that he certainly would have done it if th
money had been on board, and thanks me for retaining it. Gillon ha
written a sheet of vindication, and blames Searle and Jackson highl
You know I was prejudiced against Gillon so much as to unfit me f
being his judge; therefore I leave the affair to the judgment of h
superiors. I am just now told that the 10 million Dutch loan whic
you solicited is at length completed; but as considerable advances hav
already been made on the faith of it there will be great deduction
and I would not have you expect too much of it to arrive in cash. Th
replacing the cargo of the *Fayette* is almost completed. Accept m
blessing, and believe me ever, dear sir.

Morris to President of Congress.*

OFFICE OF FINANCE, *November* 9, 1781.

SIR: I take the liberty of observing that the establishment of the President's table requires some regulations, and, as we are now at the commencement of a new year, it seems to be the proper movement for bringing it before the view of Congress. I pray leave, therefore, to submit the proposition that a salary be fixed to the office of President which may be adequate to the expense. This will cut off what is now a kind of department, and will, I trust, be more agreeable to every gentleman who may fill that exalted station.

With the greatest respect, I have the honor to be, sir, your excellency's most obt. and humb. servt.,

ROBT. MORRIS.

Livingston to the Governors of the States.†

PHILADELPHIA, *November* 12, 1781.

SIR: Congress some time since called upon the different States to make returns of the damage done by the enemy within each of them by the wanton destruction of property, and no measures that I can learn have as yet been taken to ascertain such damage, though, as your excellency will easily conceive, it may become an important object of inquiry whenever a treaty shall be set on foot for a general pacification, or be made to answer valuable purposes during the war by showing our vindictive enemy in his true light to the nations of Europe.

In this view I think it my duty to endeavor to collect them, and you will sir, I am persuaded, take the necessary measures to send as soon as possible returns from the State over which you preside. I could wish to have the damages (particularly that to real property) ascertained by the affidavits of people of known characters, and duplicate copies of such affidavits transmitted to my office under the great seal of your State, and, if possible, accompanied with a short recital of each transaction, so that it may at once appear whether the injuries were such as the laws of war justified or whether they originated only in the malice and cruelty of a remorseless enemy.

Your excellency will oblige me and serve the public by transmitting to me accounts of every occurrence in which the United States are materially interested which may arise within your government, or which you may derive from your correspondents abroad.

I have the honor to be, with great respect and esteem, &c.,

ROBERT R. LIVINGSTON.

---

* MSS. Dep. of State.

† MSS. Dep. of State; 6 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 148, with verbal changes.

Morris to Rochambeau.*

OFFICE OF FINANCE, *November* 15, 1781.

SIR: I have the pleasure to observe to your excellency that I have discharged a bill drawn on me by M. Baulny in favor of M. Roquebrune for eighty thousand livres, being in part payment of the one hundred and forty thousand livres which you were so kind as to advance, and for which I beg leave again to express my grateful sense of obligation. The remaining sum of sixty-four thousand livres I hold at your order, and had determined to remit it; but having accidentally mentioned the matter to the Chevalier de la Luzerne, he observed to me that in all probability you would want money rather in Philadelphia than Virginia, because of the necessary expense which would arise in transporting stores from Boston. Upon this principle I deferred sending forward until I should hear from your excellency on the subject. M. de la Luzerne has also promised me to mention it in his letters to you.

Before I conclude this letter I must trespass one short moment on your patience to express my congratulations on the important and splendid success which has crowned the allied arms before Yorktown. My voice, sir, can not add to that glory which the public sentiment has most deservedly conferred; but you will permit me to assure you of the high gratification it gives my mind that you are so much the object of gratitude, applause, and esteem throughout the United States.

With the most perfect respect, I have the honor to be, &c.,

ROBERT MORRIS.

Morris to the Governors of the States.*

OFFICE OF FINANCE, *November* 17, 1781.

SIR: I have the honor to enclose acts of Congress of the 30th of October and 2d instant, which were handed to me on the 4th, but upon a perusal of them it appeared that some things had escaped the attention of Congress; wherefore, on the 5th, I had the honor of writing to them a letter on the subject.

In this letter I took the liberty to state some objections to the three clauses in the act of the 2d, which followed immediately after the apportionment. I shall not here repeat those objections. They lay before the United States in Congress, and will receive such mature consideration as is becoming the wisdom of that sovereign body. I will not, however, hesitate to declare to your excellency that it was my wish to have those three clauses repealed.

On the 12th the United States in Congress assembled passed the act of which a copy is also enclosed, and by which your excellency will perceive

* 6 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 369.

that one of those clauses is repealed. I received this act on the 30th, and I have waited until this day the further order of Congress, but there being now but a thin representation, so that business can not be done with the same despatch as when more States are present, and these acts being of great importance, I have thought it best immediately to forward them. To press a compliance is, I trust, unnecessary. The respect due to the representation of America will speak more loudly and more effectually than a weak voice of any individual servant they may have employed. I shall make but one observation. The present requisition is very moderate; the compliance, therefore, must be very punctual, for delays are equally dangerous and expensive, and if they should happen, the people must be burdened with new taxes unnecessarily.

With great respect, etc.,

ROBERT MORRIS.

Carmichael to the Committee of Foreign Affairs.*

MADRID, *November* 17, 1781.

GENTLEMEN: On the 2d instant the pretended ex Jesuit who made so much noise in the English papers last winter and spring was arrested at the Escurial, where he arrived the same day from Lisbon, under an assumed name. Commodore Johnson sent him to Rio Janeiro, in order to pass from thence to the Spanish settlements in Peru. He pretended to the Portuguese governor that he had been taken by Johnson on his way to the Caraccas, but the former, from some suspicion arising from the man's appearance and story, refused him permission to pass into the country, which obliged him to embark for Lisbon, at which place, under his borrowed name, he addressed Don Ferdinand Nunes, the Spanish ambassador, offering to make some important discoveries to the Count de Florida Blanca. The former advised the minister of these offers, and was directed by him to furnish the person in question with cash for his journey. It is said that he was recognized the very day of his arrival at the Escurial by one who knew him at Buenos Ayres. It is more probable that M. Nunes knew his real character previous to his departure from Lisbon, for the magistrate whom the minister of the Indies employs on such occasions went to the Escurial with his officers the day he arrived there and arrested him the same evening. He is now in close prison, and I am told has discovered all he knew relative to the designs of the English to foment the spirit of revolt subsisting in that country. This affair furnished conversation to the court the few days I resided at the Escurial, whither I went at the instance of the French ambassador to Mr. Jay to be present at the *Besa Manos* on St. Carlos day.

I found by conversation with M. del Campo, first under secretary of

---

* MSS. Dep. of State; 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 62, with verbal changes and omissions.

foreign affairs, that nothing had been done by the court to advance the conferences for a treaty since it left St. Ildefonso. In my letter of the 5th of October I mentioned that the gentleman above named was nominated by the king to treat with Mr. Jay; this nomination has never been formally communicated, but I had my information from such a quarter that I am convinced the appointment was made and the instructions given near about the time mentioned in my letter. Multiplicity of business and the confusion occasioned by the court's removal from one royal residence to another are the present pretexts for this delay. The aspect of our affairs at the close of the campaign, the fate of which is yet unknown, and the apprehension of being obliged to make large advances in consequence of cementing their connexion with the States are perhaps the real causes; to which may be added others of a different nature, though not less important to ministers and courtiers.

The palace is filled with Irish attendants of both sexes, whose animosity to us and our cause is as decided and inveterate as is their attachment to it in America. The Princess of Asturias has on several occasions, and lately in particular, treated such English as come here with much condescension and distinction. The last instance I allude to happened to Lady Winchelsea, and the lord her son, who came from America (where he commanded a regiment) to Lisbon for his health. They were accompanied by a Mr. Graham and his lady and sister, both sisters of Lady Stormont, and visited the Escurial in their way to France.

If the ministers perceive any aversion in their future king and queen to an alliance with us, they can easily find pretexts to retard it until they see their own justification in the urgency of the conjuncture that may appear to have forced them into the measure. This, however, is but conjecture, founded on the knowledge of some little incidents in the interior of the palace, and strengthened by the conduct of the ministry, not only in the great object of Mr. Jay's mission, but also in several minute particulars in which they might act to our satisfaction without showing any marked partiality in our favor. So far from Mr. Jay's having been yet able to obtain further succors, the French ambassador has not procured the payment of moneys advanced in the month of May by the Marquis d'Aranda, to enable Mr. Jay to discharge the bills due month, although the minister engaged his word to the ambassador to repay this sum in equal monthly payments. In fact, the court itself is distressed and with difficulty finds means to answer its own engagements.

I believe I may venture to write with some certainty on this subject, for I have been on an intimate footing with the person who has transacted for the court the most part of its money negociations for more than twelve months past. I knew and cultivated him before he was in favor, and my introduction of him to Mr. Jay procured him the commission on the payment of our bills and a considerable credit in consequence of the sums supposed to pass through his hands monthly for this purpose.

As he has been the founder of the paper system in this country, and as he is like soon to establish a national bank, he will probably make some figure in the annals of this reign. His name is Francis Cabarrus, born in Bayonne, but sent early to Spain to acquire a knowledge in its commerce, in which his father was considerably interested. His marriage at the age of nineteen (he is now twenty-nine) displeased his family, from which after that period he received no assistance. With a small capital, as he himself informed me, he came and established a soap work in the neighborhood of this city. While there he introduced himself to the notice of the Count de Campomanes by becoming a member of the patriotic society, the friends of their country, of which the last-mentioned gentleman is in a great measure the founder. He soon conciliated his esteem, as well as that of the governor of the council of Castile, to whom he became known by means of his friend and patron M. Campomanes. Through their interest he procured a contract to supply wheat and flour in a time of scarcity, and commenced banker. The last year he proposed his plan for procuring cash for government on terms mentioned in former letters. His genius is brilliant, active, and enterprising, with more imagination than solidity, although he is by no means deficient in acquired knowledge, arising from reading and reflection, the result of experience. His eloquence, enforced by a very prepossessing countenance and figure, seizes the heart before it convinces the judgment, and this, joined to his knowledge of commerce and money transactions, has obtained him the confidence of M. Musquiz, who consults him at present in all affairs of finance.

I have thought proper to say thus much of this gentleman, not only on account of the part he has had, and is like to have, in money matters, but because he has on all occasions manifested himself a friend to our cause, of which he is an enthusiastic advocate, being totally divested of local prejudices. He offered to procure five hundred thousand dollars for the States, payable at Havana, on condition of being reimbursed by government in two years, the payments to commence at the expiration of two months after his orders for the delivery of the money to the agents of Congress were despatched. He will make the advances for the payment of the bills due next month, which amount to thirty-two thousand dollars, and for the reimbursement of which Mr. Jay relies on Dr. Franklin; for after the delays we have experienced here and the knowledge of their own distresses there is no great reason to think this court will grant us any pecuniary assistance unless a happy change in the situation of our affairs should precipitate a treaty, and lead them to extraordinary exertions as proofs of their amity. The support of their fleet at Cadiz of forty sail of the line, the sieges of Gibraltar and Mahon, their expensive armaments at the Havana, and the preparations making for an expedition from Europe to that quarter, which will sail next month, exhaust their European and American revenue and all the resources by which they have hitherto obtained money.

The insurrections in Peru augment this expense, and the same spirit of revolt, which seems to have extended to Mexico, will add to it. These discontents have been occasioned by duties imposed since the administration of M. Galvez, the present minister of the Indies. The project was proposed by Carrasco, Marquis de la Corona, to the Marquis of Squillace, then minister, who was much inclined to adopt it, and named the projector to visit Spanish America, in order to form on the spot the plan for its execution. He declined the mission on various pretexts, and another was appointed for this purpose, who died on his passage. M. Galvez, the present minister of the Indies, succeeded him, and on his return to Spain made a report so agreeable to his majesty, that it procured him the important post he now occupies.

The novelty of these measures, joined to the vexations and impositions occasioned, as is said, by the collectors of them, has created much dissatisfaction in these countries. I have my information from some of the principal natives of Mexico and Peru here, and also from a foreigner, who obtained permission to visit Mexico, and who made the voyage from motives of curiosity. Four thousand troops are to be embarked at Cadiz for the expedition above mentioned, and, it is said, will be escorted by four vessels of the line, who at the same time convoy the register ships bound to the Havana and Vera Cruz. As this convoy will sail about the same time that the expedition from Brest will be ready for sea, it is probable they may form a junction. Ten thousand troops are to be employed in the one last mentioned, and I am told will sail escorted by twenty sail of the line, part of which will probably join the grand fleet at Cadiz and the rest proceed to the West Indies, where I have reason to think they will act in concert with the Spaniards. A friend of mine is to embark on board the French fleet as interpreter. He speaks and writes the Spanish language perfectly.

I have also some reason to believe that the French naval force and a larger body of troops than they have yet sent to America will appear on our coasts earlier the next than they did the present year. Jamaica is thought to be the first object of these expeditions, and this conjecture arises from the appointment of M. Galvez to the command of the Spanish force in the West Indies, whose project for attacking that island is well known. In France it is said that a part of the troops to be embarked at Brest is intended for the East Indies; and here, that theirs are sent to suppress the revolt at Santa Fé, mentioned in my letter of the 17th ultimo.* I rather think that two French ships of the line now at Cadiz, and as many frigates, who have taken and are taking in provisions for a long voyage, are destined to the eastern part of the world, and that they will take with them a considerable sum in dollars for the payment of their land and sea forces there. The French ambassador has obtained, or is about to obtain, permission to send out of the kingdom two and a half million of dollars, part of which sum is

* Missing.

probably destined to the purpose above mentioned. [Letters from Mr. St. Priest, the French ambassador at Constantinople, mention that Madras is taken by Hyder Alli; he has his information of this event from the Turkish governor of Badot's letters to the Porte, but the news is not credited here.]*

The sieges of Gibraltar and Mahon go on slowly. The operations against these fortresses have not been so vigorous hitherto as to promise a speedy reduction of either. When the efforts of these besiegers become more interesting I shall transmit regular accounts of their progress. The court of Great Britain proposes to send five thousand troops to America, exclusive of recruits which are to be drawn from Germany and Ireland. These, it is said, will sail with thirteen sail of the line in the course of next month. The East India Company also send a reinforcement of seven thousand men to the East Indies with four sail of the line. If this information can be credited the East and West India and American reinforcements will sail at the same time, to insure by their united force their safety on the coast of Europe.

In Holland the divisions are still great and likely to be so. The provinces have not yet all agreed to the loan proposed by France for the use of Congress. I am informed the stadtholder's friends give it all the opposition in their power. That prince has, as I have already advised the committee, been obliged to consent to the augmentation of the marine. The news of the birth of the dauphin will probably reach America before this letter. It is expected it will be received there with demonstrations of satisfaction that will be highly flattering to the French nation. The great age and infirmities of the Count de Maurepas render it probable that he will not survive the winter. The queen's influence it is thought will increase by the birth of the dauphin and the death of this minister. Permit me to conclude with the flattering hopes of a brilliant close of the campaign, which the well-concerted plan of our General and allies, communicated to me by the Count de Montmorin, renders highly probable. The success of this operation and what is expected [from General Greene's good conduct and gallantry] may perhaps render Mr. Jay's next information more agreeable and interesting to Congress, to whom I beg leave to present my humble respects.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

WILLIAM CARMICHAEL.

Livingston to the President of Congress.†

PHILADELPHIA, *November* 18, 1781.

SIR: The subject mentioned in the letters of Mr. Adams and their enclosures, requiring their express direction, I humbly submit to the consideration of Congress.

---

* Passage in brackets omitted in Sparks' ed.

† MSS. Dep. of State; 6 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 149, with verbal changes.

In Dr. Franklin's letter of the 6th of August to Mr. Adams he informs him "that he can not depend on receiving any more money in France applicable to the support of the ministers of Congress, and that what aids are thereafter granted will probably be transmitted by the government directly to America." Congress need no arguments to convince them of the disgrace and danger of permitting their most confidential servants to be necessitous in a foreign country.

I will, with their approbation, concert with the superintendent of finance the means of supplying our ministers, agents, and secretaries. But to facilitate these means and convince the powers, to whom we are indebted for money, that we know the value of their aids, I would humbly submit to Congress the propriety of practising the strictest economy as far as may be consistent with their honor and the justice due to those they employ. That Congress may determine the more readily whether their establishment will admit of any reduction, or devise the most effectual means of defraying the expense of it, I take the liberty to lay before them the annual amount of the salaries of their servants now abroad.

If I am well informed, it is usual to distinguish the allowances to ministers by the expenses of the country in which they live and the character they are obliged to maintain. Such a rule would be productive of great saving to us, whose policy it is to have agents without any acknowledged public characters at courts which refuse to receive our ministers. How far so important a station as that of secretary to an embassy might be supplied by private secretaries with moderate salaries, at least till the existence of the embassy was acknowledged, must be submitted to the wisdom of Congress. Certain it is that foreigners who may not be acquainted with the dignified characters of those we employ abroad as secretaries will be surprised to find their emoluments equal, if not exceeding, those allowed by the richest potentates in Europe, and that, too, when the great object of the mission is to represent our wants and solicit supplies for civil and military establishments at home.

Perhaps, too, from the ground on which the successful issue of this campaign has placed us, Congress may see it improper to solicit courts who are so little disposed to serve us as those of Petersburgh and Lisbon, or to expend additional sums of money on agencies to Russia or Portugal.

Another part of the despatches referred to me are those that relate to Mr. Temple, to which Congress alone are competent to give directions. The reports currently circulated in England relative to his first mission, his coming by way of New York, his return to England, his abode there, his present visit to America, render him an object of attention not only to the people of this country but to those of Europe, and give weight to those suspicions of attachment to England which, as it is her policy to keep up, it should be ours on every occasion to discourage. Con-

gress will judge how far it is proper to suggest any measures to the State of Massachusetts. I take the liberty, however, to submit to them whether at least it would not be expedient to adopt such resolutions as would leave the executive of that State uninfluenced in their conduct towards him by his being the bearer of public despatches. Congress will observe that I have no personal acquaintance with Mr. Temple nor any knowledge of facts which would lead me to suspect his principles other than the matters which are above stated and publicly known.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

ROBERT R. LIVINGSTON.

Franklin to Hodgson.*

NOVEMBER 19, 1781.

DEAR SIR: Of the credit I have lately ordered, through Mr. Grand, of £400 15*s.* sterling, I request you would hold £100 at the disposition of Mr. Laurens, prisoner in the Tower, and that you would acquaint Mr. Benjamin Vaughan that this sum is placed in your hands for that purpose. I shall write to you more fully per next post.

With great esteem, yours, etc.,

B. FRANKLIN.

Franklin to Witherspoon.†

PASSY, *November* 19, 1781.

REVD. SIR: I hope you will have the pleasure of receiving with this your long absent son, who appears to me a valuable young man. On the receipt of your letter I wrote to a friend in London to furnish him with what money he should have occasion for to bring him hither, which was done; and here I delivered to him the second of your letter of credit on Messrs. Couteulx & Co., whereby he has been enabled to repay me. I wish him a good voyage and happy meeting with his friends, and am, with great esteem, revd. sir.

Washington to Morris.‡

MOUNT VERNON, *November* 19, 1781.

DEAR SIR: I have to inform you that a very considerable debt has been incurred on you as financier of the United States by an order for the relief of the officers of the army from the goods found in Yorktown;

* Bancroft MSS. † MSS. Dep. of State. ‡ 6 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr, 370.

each officer, military and staff, having been authorized to take up, on public account, the sum of twenty pounds, Virginia currency; for which Mr. Ross, commercial agent of this State, is answerable to the merchants, payable in tobacco; Mr. Ross receiving the amount in bills upon you to be paid in six months from the time of the goods being taken. The returns not being handed in, I am unable to give you the amount with any precision; your own calculations will afford you the sum with a degree of certainty.

A quantity of goods found on board a cartel in York river, and which have been judged to be forfeit, were part suitable for the army and part for the country; the latter, which will amount to a considerable sum, are to be sold at public vendue, and accounted for

Knowing the s'ate of your finances, I have studied to keep this debt within its most moderate bounds, but in spite of all my endeavors I fear you will find it but too large. I hoped to have given you some assistance from the military chest found with the enemy, but unavoidable contingencies of the army and furnishing the quartermaster-general for the southern army have swallowed up near one-half of its contents. A number of iron cannon, being unnecessary for our use, I have appropriated as a fund for the discharge of the debt incurred, and they are sent to the head of the Elk; this, with the other funds, may possibly amount to a full discharge of the debt.

I am, &c.,

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

P. S.—Since writing the above I am informed by General Lincoln, who is come up since I left Yorktown, that the whole amount of the goods taken by the officers and on public account will arise to about thirteen thousand pounds sterling, and the articles sold in Yorktown at public vendue will be near six thousand pounds.

G. W.

Franklin to Vergennes.*

PASSY, *November* 20, 1781.

SIR: Your very obliging letter communicating the news of the important victory at York gave me infinite pleasure. The very powerful aid afforded by his majesty to America this year has riveted the affections of all that people and the success has made millions happy. Indeed, the king appears to me from this and another late event to be *le plus grand Faiseur d'Heureux* that this world affords. May God prosper him, his family, and nation to the end of time!

I am, with respect, your excellency's.

* Franklin MSS., Dep. of State.

Livingston to J. Adams.*

PHILADELPHIA, *November* 20, 1781.

SIR: Since my last of the 23d of October nothing material has happened here, unless it be the return of Digby to New York, where he has relanded great part of his troops, and, as is said, proceeded to the West Indies with the fleet, though this is not fully ascertained; nor have we any authentic account that the Count de Grasse sailed from the Chesapeake on the 4th instant.

It gives me pleasure, however, to mention an incident to you which shows how much the yeomanry of this country have improved in military discipline, and must defeat every hope that Britain entertains of conquering a country so defended. It has been the custom of the enemy to move a large body of troops every fall from Canada to Ticonderoga, while a light corps, with a number of Indians, entered the State from the westward, and destroyed the frontier settlements, burning the houses and barns and scalping the old men, women, and children. Last year they effected the destruction of Scoharie and most of the settlements on the Mohawk river before the militia could assemble to oppose them. This year a small body of State troops, drafted from the militia for three months, about sixty New Hampshire levies, part of the militia of the country, and forty Oneida Indians, to the number of four hundred and eighty in all, under the command of Colonel Willet, hastily collected upon the report of the enemy's coming from the westward to oppose them, while the rest of the militia and some Continental troops marched upon Hudson's river (the enemy having about two thousand men at Ticonderoga). Willet met the enemy, who consisted of a picked corps of British troops to the amount of six hundred and six, besides a number of Indians and tories; he fought and defeated them twice with his militia, killed their leader, Major Ross, and young Butler, as is said, made a number of prisoners, and pursued them three days, till he had driven them into the thickest part of the wilderness, whence fatigue and want of provision will prevent many of them from returning. Those at Ticonderoga have remained inactive ever since.

It must be a mortifying circumstance to the proudest people in the world to find themselves foiled, not only by the American regular troops, but by the rough undisciplined militia of the country.

Admiral Zoutman's combat must also, I should imagine, have some effect in humbling their pride, and, what is of more consequence, in raising the spirits of the Dutch.

We find from your letters, as well as from other accounts of the United Provinces, that they are divided into powerful parties for and against the war, and we are sorry to see some of the most distinguished names among what you call the Anglomanes. But your letters leave us in the dark relative to the principles and views of each party, which

* 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 496.

is no small inconvenience to us, as we know not how to adapt our measures to them. It is so important to the due execution of your mission to penetrate the views of all parties without seeming to be connected with either, that I have no doubt you have insinuated yourself into the good graces and confidence of the leaders, and that you can furnish the information we require. You may be persuaded no ill use will be made of any you give, and that it is expected from you.

We learn from M. Dumas that you have presented your credentials to the States General. We are astonished that you have not written on so important a subject, and developed the principle that induced you to declare your public character before the States were disposed to acknowledge it. There is no doubt from your own prudence and knowledge of the world that some peculiarity in your situation or that of the politics and parties in the United Provinces furnished you with the reasons that overbalanced the objections to the measure which arise from the humiliating light in which it places us. Congress would, I believe, wish to have them explained, and particularly your reason for printing your memorial. I may form improper ideas of the government, interest, and policy of the United Provinces, but I frankly confess that I have no hope that they will recognise us as an independent state, and embarrass themselves in making their wished-for peace with our affairs. What inducements can we hold out to them? They know that our interest will lead us to trade with them, and we do not propose to purchase their alliance by giving them any exclusive advantage in commerce.

Your business, therefore, I think lies in a very narrow compass. It is to conciliate the affection of the people, to place our cause in the most advantageous light, to remove the prejudices that Britain may endeavor to excite, to discover the views of the different parties, to watch every motion that leads to peace between England and the United Provinces, and to get the surest aid of government in procuring a loan, which is almost the only thing wanting to render our affairs respectable at home and abroad. To these objects I am satisfied you paid the strictest attention, because I am satisfied no man has more the interest of his country at heart or is better acquainted with its wants. As our objects in Holland must be very similar to those of France, I should suppose it would be prudent for you to keep up the closest connexion with her minister, to advise with him on great leading objects, and to counteract his opinion only upon the most mature deliberation.

You were informed, before I came into office, that Mr. Jay and Mr. Franklin are joined in commission with you, and have received copies of the instructions that Congress have given their commissioners; this whole business being terminated before I came down, I make no observations upon it lest I should not enter fully into the views of Congress, and by that means help to mislead you in so important a subject. I enclose you a resolution discharging the commission for *establishing a*

commercial treaty with Britain. This also being a business of long standing, I, for the same reason, transmit it without any observations thereon.

I would recommend it to you to be, in your language and conduct, a private gentleman. This will give you many advantages in making connexions that will be lost on your insisting upon the assumption of a public character, and the rather as this sentiment prevails generally among the members of Congress, though for reasons of delicacy with respect to you I have not chosen to ask the sense of Congress, to whom it is my sincere wish, as well as my leading object in the free letters I wrote you, to enable you to render your measures acceptable. A number of your letters, written last winter and spring, have this moment come to hand.

This letter will be sent to Europe by the Marquis de la Fayette, who has obtained leave of absence during the winter season. He wishes to correspond with you, and as from his connexion, his understanding, and attachment to this country he may be serviceable to you, I would wish you to write as freely to him as you conceive those considerations may render prudent.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

ROBERT R. LIVINGSTON.

Morris to the Governor of Connecticut.*

OFFICE OF FINANCE, *November* 20, 1781.

SIR: I have been honored with your excellency's letter of the 7th instant, and am much obliged by the attention you have been pleased to pay to the several applications from me which are noticed in it.

I shall be very happy to receive the several accounts you have promised, because the final settlement of all accounts appears to me of the utmost importance, and I hope such measures will be taken as, founded in justice and propriety, will meet your wishes and be agreeable to the State over which you so worthily preside. I hope that in future there will be no accounts between the States and the United States except cash accounts, one side of which will consist of the requisitions and the other with the payment of them. The old Continental which is brought in will, I hope, be forwarded hither with its proportionate part of the new, and indeed of the whole, both new and old, as soon as possible. Both shall be carried to the credit of the State.

As to what you mention of the tax in specie, I have to observe, that whatever may have been the practice heretofore, I hope that the moneys designed for the general service will be paid into the Continental treasury and that the army will be paid from thence. This I conceive to be

*6 Sparks' Rev. Dip. Corr., 371.

the only mode, by which heart-burnings, murmurs, and complaints can be avoided, and at the same time it is the only mode by which the moneys obtained from the people can be applied with effect and economy.

To feed, clothe, and pay the army form a part of the objects of my administration. Clothing I have received. Rations I have contracted for in some degree, and I shall extend those contracts. Pay will also be advanced when the treasury will admit of it. I am therefore to request that the hard money collected and collecting in your State may be held subject to my drafts. I expect that the States will all levy taxes sufficient for those things I have just mentioned and for the other necessary expenses. The money which is submitted to my disposal shall be faithfully applied.

That the requisitions from Congress have been later than was to have been wished is indeed to be lamented. That body have so many objects which call on their attention, that they can not always do what they would wish. Besides this, the uncertain situation of our money has hitherto greatly increased the difficulties which Congress have labored under, and you will permit me to observe, sir, that those difficulties are not a little to be attributed to the inattention of the several States. But your excellency will, I am sure, agree with me, that our situation requires joint vigorous exertions, and not unavailing complaints and recriminations.

With the greatest respect, &c.,

ROBERT MORRIS.

Report of a letter to Don Bernardo de Galvez, made to Congress November 21, 1781.*

The superintendent of finance, in pursuance of the order of the 7th instant, prays leave to submit the following draft of a letter to General Galvez:

SIR: Your letter dated at New Orleans the 22d of July, 1780, has been received and was laid before the United States of America in Congress assembled on the 29th of September following. The committee to whom that letter was referred did not make any remittances in consequence of it, nor write you an answer because the dangers attending a communication with you at that time were too great, occasioned by the many ships of war with which the enemy then infested our coast.

I am now, sir, directed by the United States to express to you the grateful sense they entertain of your early efforts in their favor. Those generous efforts gave them so favorable an impression of your character and that of your nation, that they have not ceased to respect you and to wish for an intimate connection with your country. Conceiving it to be for the mutual interest of Spain and North America, they have

* 6 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 373.

an earnest wish that as the cause is one and the enemy one, so the operations against him may be continued in such manner as to answer the great purposes which all have in view. The late successes which have crowned the combined arms of France and America in Virginia, while they demonstrate the benefits which flow from a union of efforts, will at the same time lead to wholesome reflections on the manner in which that union has been cemented. The French and American soldier marching under the same banners, enduring the same fatigues, bearing the same dangers, and bleeding in the same field together express in the language of their different nations the common sentiment of fraternal affection. Let me congratulate you very much on this success, and still more on the sentiment by which under Providence it has been secured.

With respect to the advance made by your excellency, I have the honor to enclose copies of two resolutions of Congress, one of the 6th of February last and the other of the 7th instant, by which you will perceive that the public accounts with Mr. Pollock are settled and a considerable balance carried to his credit. In these accounts is included a part of your advance, and the remainder of it is contained in Mr. Pollock's account with the Commonwealth of Virginia. This latter account has been referred to the consideration of that Commonwealth, and I trust the debt to Mr. Pollock will be acknowledged by them. That which is due from the United States to Mr. Pollock is now on interest at six per cent., and if you wish that the sums which he has appropriated to the service of the United States out of those advanced by your excellency should be credited to you, on transmitting an assignment thereof from Mr. Pollock it shall immediately be done, and payment will be made both of the principal and interest as soon as the situation of our finances will admit of it, which, from the present prospect of things, may happen in a shorter space of time than the public creditors have been generally led to expect.

With perfect respect and esteem, I am, &c.,

ROBERT MORRIS.

Livingston to Luzerne.*

OFFICE OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS,
November 21, 1781.

SIR: Finding by frequent applications from the French islands that their courts of admiralty are not fully acquainted with the resolutions of Congress passed the 14th of October, 1777, which vest in the captors the property of such of the enemy's vessels as are taken by their mariners; and being called by the letter, a copy of which I do myself the honor to enclose, to attend particularly to the case of Captain Jones

* MSS. Dep. of State; 6 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 21.

and his crew, I must beg, sir, that you will do me the favor to recommend it to the notice of the general and commander-in-chief of the French Leeward Islands, for whose use I enclose a certified copy of the abovementioned resolutions of Congress, presuming that the court of admiralty will pay some respect to them in their decisions, though they may not be strictly agreeable to the rules they have adopted, since it would be highly disadvantageous to both nations to have that considered as lawful prize in one port which is not so in another. But should the court think they are not warranted in condemning the vessel, she should at least be restored to Captain Jones or his agent, that she might by being brought to a port of the United States become lawful prize.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

ROBERT R. LIVINGSTON.

Morris to Luzerne.*

OFFICE OF FINANCE, *November* 22, 1781.

SIR: In conversation with your excellency last evening you requested me to write to you on the subject of it, that you might be fully possessed of my sentiments. I have now, therefore, the honor to remind you that some time in the month of May last you promised me that I should draw for half a million of livres, and shortly after for a millon more. You afterwards extended this sum to two millions and a half, and on the 25th of September last I wrote to you on the subject, having then seen the report of the committee appointed to confer with you, by which it appeared that your engagement with me to draw for the sums first mentioned formed one object of that conference, but that the engagement for one million more was omitted.

I have extended my engagements according to the extent of the means which I was induced to suppose in my power, and therefore, estimating the money and supplies the States would probably furnish, and relying on the money which had arrived, that which I was authorized to draw for, and that which the engagements of your court had led me to expect, my views were directed to all those resources. I shall not dwell on the consequences of my efforts. Enough of them are known to speak for themselves, and I leave to your knowledge and observation the comparison of our public affairs now with what they were exactly six months ago. I will only say that if those foundations on which I built are removed, my past labors will have been thrown away, and my future utility absolutely destroyed.

You can well remember, sir, what I have often told you of the course of exchange. I have raised it gradually since I first commenced my operations, and although it would now have been higher than it is if

* 6 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 374.

the quantity of bills thrown on the market last summer had been withheld, yet even now, at fifteen pence this money for a livre, it is but ten per cent. below par; and as I expect shortly to raise it to sixteen pence, it will then be at a discount of only four per cent. To sustain these operations, if for no other purpose, it is necessary that I continue to draw bills; for certainly a remittance can not be made so cheaply from Europe. But, indeed, my present demands, arising on past engagements, are very great and urgent, so that, if I do not continue to draw, the chest will presently be empty, which will be known as soon as it happens, and then I am again at the mercy of the world. I will dwell no longer upon this subject, but take some notice of another matter which stands in intimate connection with it.

You will remember that you have often mentioned to me a mistake in the account of which you delivered a copy to Congress. As I made no doubt that it would be properly and satisfactorily explained, I have hitherto restrained myself from going at all into the subject; but it now becomes my duty to write to Dr. Franklin upon it, and, therefore, I wish to communicate to you my sentiments, while I request you to use your good offices with the court for having the matter placed on its proper footing.

The note from the Count de Vergennes of the 16th of May last shows very clearly a grant of the three following sums: four millions to Dr. Franklin to discharge the bills of exchange drawn on him by Congress; six millions as a gift towards the operations of the campaign; and ten millions in advance of the loan to be opened in Holland, amounting in the whole to twenty millions. The first sum of four millions appears evidently to have been for payment of the bills drawn to discharge the interest of loan-office certificates, according to the original engagement which the court entered into with the American commissioners. Of the money granted by the court there has been advanced, as appears by the accounts you delivered to the committee, in warlike stores and money to Colonel Laurens four millions seven hundred and eighty-nine thousand one hundred and nine livres; and to purchase the remainder of the articles demanded by him three hundred and ninety-seven thousand livres. For the bills of exchange drawn by Congress on their minister, I will suppose the sum mentioned in the Count de Vergennes' note, viz., four millions, and I will add for my drafts one million and a half, being what, as I have already observed, you first promised. Thus the whole amount of these sums is ten millions six hundred and eighty-six thousand one hundred and nine livres, and the balance, which I conceive to be subject to my disposition, is nine millions three hundred and thirteen thousand eight hundred and ninety-one livres. As to replacing the cargo of the *Fayette*, which is mentioned in your account, I do not take notice of it, because I wish that it may not have happened, and because, if it has been made, it will be time enough to deduct it when the articles shall have been act-

ually delivered. The loss of that ship and the detention of one of the transports laden by Colonel Laurens have already compelled me to make heavy expenditures. Among these I will mention the purchase of lead some time ago, and a late purchase of clothing to a very large amount, a part of which I am now paying for, and the remainder is to be paid in three, six, and nine months from the date of my engagements.

I have the honor to enclose what I conceive to be the clear state of the account between us and your court. This will be transmitted to Dr. Franklin, and I hope it will meet with your approbation and support. As I have nearly drawn for twelve hundred thousand livres, I must request your compliance with your original engagement, that I may extend my drafts so as to include the remaining three hundred thousand necessary to complete the one million and a half mentioned in the enclosed account.

I shall be glad to be informed, sir, whether any more money has been shipped on account of the United States. I shall immediately take measures to draw on account of the balance already mentioned, as our necessities require it; and if, in the mean time, so much shall have been shipped as that my bills exceed the balance due, I shall expect that they will be punctually paid, and I will readily repay that excess out of the moneys so shipped to the use of our army here.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

ROBERT MORRIS.

Franklin to Vaughan.*

PASSY, *November* 22, 1781.

DEAR SIR: I received your late favor without date and immediately ordered 100£ sterling in the hands of Mr. Hodgson to be at the disposition of Mr. President Laurens. Please to inform me how he does. My last informations which came from the Lieutenant of the Tower through Sir Grey Cooper, were that he was very well, and that he was perfectly satisfied with the treatment he received. The Congress have offered to exchange Gen. Burgoyne for him. I sent over to Mr. Burke, who was anxious for the liberty of his friend Burgoyne, a copy of the resolve and requested him to negotiate it. I have not since heard from him.

I have no acquaintance at Lisle. If you will point out to me in what manner I can be useful I will endeavor it, but I suppose the gentlemen you mention will effectuate that small affair. Permit me to trouble you with another. A young lad of Carolina at school here has requested me to forward the enclosed. If you can procure him an answer it will oblige me. The events of war have prevented his paying duly his pension.

---

*MSS. Dep. of State.

I have long missed the pleasure of your correspondence. By some expression in your last I conjecture you are lately married. If so, I wish you most cordially every happiness that state can afford. I long to receive the philosophical papers. Your brother is well at Madrid and much liked there. Present my affectionate respects to your good father and mother, and believe me ever, with sincere and great esteem, dear sir, &c.

Colonel Laurens was well at the capitulation.

Franklin to Adams.*

PASSY, *November* 23, 1781.

SIR: I congratulate your excellency on the late great event.

I received yours of the 12th. I wrote my mind fully on the subject of the goods in mine to you by Mr. Fox, which I suppose must have have come to your hands soon after that date. Gillon wrote to me that Messrs. Searle & Jackson were gone to France. As it is so long since, and they are not arrived, I suppose it may be true that they are gone to America. I expect the consul, Mr. Barclay, here in a few days. If you think his assistance relating to that matter may be of use, I will propose his proceeding to Holland. I can only repeat that if I have any authority over these goods, I transfer it all to you.

With great respect, I have the honour to be, sir, your excellency.

Luzerne to Livingston.†

[Translation.]

PHILADELPHIA, *November* 23, 1781.

SIR: I have the honor of sending to you a letter which I wrote to the commanding officer of St. Domingo in consequence of that with which you honored me yesterday.

Be pleased to send the two despatches to those interested, in order that they may send them to their *fondé de procuration* by safe opportunities.

I have the honor to be, &c., LUZERNE.

Resolve of Congress respecting General la Fayette.‡

IN CONGRESS, *November* 23, 1781.

On the report of a committee, consisting of Mr. Carroll, Mr. Madison, and Mr. Cornell, to whom was referred a letter of the 22d from Major-General the Marquis de la Fayette,

---

* MSS. Dep. of State.

† MSS. Dep. of State; 6 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 37.

‡ MSS. Dep. of State; 5 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 391.

Resolved, That Major-General the Marquis de la Fayette have permission to go to France, and that he return at such time as shall be most convenient to him.

That he be informed that, on a review of his conduct throughout the past campaign, and particularly during the period in which he had the chief command in Virginia, the many new proofs which present themselves of his zealous attachment to the cause he has espoused, and of his judgment, vigilance, gallantry, and address in its defence, have greatly added to the high opinion entertained by Congress of his merits and military talents.

That he make known to the officers and troops whom he commanded during that period that the brave and enterprising services with which they seconded his zeal and efforts, and which enabled him to defeat the attempts of an enemy far superior in numbers, have been beheld by Congress with particular satisfaction and approbation.

That the Secretary of Foreign Affairs acquaint the ministers plenipotentiary of the United States that it is the desire of Congress that they should confer with the Marquis de la Fayette, and avail themselves of his information relative to the situation of public affairs in the United States.

That the Secretary of Foreign Affairs further acquaint the minister plenipotentiary at the court of Versailles that he will conform to the intention of Congress by consulting with and employing the assistance of the Marquis de la Fayette in accelerating the supplies which may be afforded by his most Christian majesty for the use of the United States.

That the superintendent of finance, the Secretary for Foreign Affairs, and the board of war make such communication to the Marquis de la Fayette touching the affairs of their respective Departments as will best enable him to fulfill the purpose of the two resolutions immediately preceding.

That the superintendent of finance take order for discharging the engagement entered into by the Marquis de la Fayette with the merchants of Baltimore referred to in the act of the 24th of May last.

That the superintendent of finance furnish the Marquis de la Fayette with a proper conveyance to France.

That the Secretary of Foreign Affairs report a letter to his most Christian majesty to be sent by the Marquis de la Fayette.*

---

* Extract of a letter from Congress to the King of France, dated November 29, 1781:

"Major-General the Marquis de la Fayette has in this campaign so greatly added to the reputation he had before acquired, that we are desirous to obtain for him, on our behalf even, notice in addition to that favorable reception which his merits can not fail to meet with from a generous and enlightened sovereign; and in that view we have directed our minister plenipotentiary to present the marquis to your majesty."

Heads of an oral communication made to the Secretary of Foreign Affairs by Luzerne, Minister of France.*

IN CONGRESS, *November* 23, 1781.

The Secretary of Foreign Affairs laid before Congress the following heads of a verbal communication made to him by the minister of France:

The minister of France informed the Secretary of Foreign Affairs that the Count de Vergennes, in a letter to him of the 7th of September, 1781, assured him that the King of France had received with great pleasure, an account of Mr. Adams, Mr. Franklin, and Mr. Jay's appointment to the place of ministers for the negociation of peace; and after expressing favorable sentiments of them and of Mr. Jefferson, from his general reputation, adds, that they have little reason to hope for the assistance of Mr. Laurens, since the enemy will probably continue his captivity during the war. That the king accepted with pleasure the proofs which Congress have given him of their confidence when they entrusted to his care the interests of the United States. That he would use his influence and credit for the advantage of his allies whenever a negociation should render their interests a subject of discussion. That if he did not obtain for every State all they wished, they must attribute the sacrifice he might be compelled to make of his inclinations to the tyrannic rule of necessity. That, however, he had no reason to believe that the events of the campaign would make an unfavorable change in the situation of affairs; and that from the present view of them he had no cause to dread a disadvantageous peace.

The count adds that he presumes Mr. Adams has communicated to Congress his majesty's refusal to accede to the terms of the mediation of the imperial courts until they should agree to acknowledge the American plenipotentiaries in the manner most conformable to the dignity of the United States; and observes thereon that if the king was so attentive to a matter of form, though it might indeed in our present situation be considered as important, he would not be less tenacious of our more essential interests, which he will be zealous to promote as far as circumstances will allow. But that if, notwithstanding this, Congress, or even a considerable part of its members, should regret the confidence they had placed in his majesty, or wish to free their ministers from this restraint, his majesty would not disapprove the measure, provided they made their ministers answerable, as in justice they should be, in proportion to the powers with which they invested them. He expresses his satisfaction at the extensive powers with which the ministers are invested as to the matter of boundary and the truce, which he says the interests of France as well as of us requires to be as long as possible.

With respect to the *statu quo*, he says that, though from the number of their conquests it would be beneficial both to France and Spain, yet

* MSS. Dep. of State; 6 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 22, with verbal changes.

it has not entered into their system so far as it regards America, and that his majesty accordingly refused to accede to the plan of negociation proposed by the mediating powers which held up that idea. He exhorts the minister to recommend to Congress the most vigorous exertions, and to assure them that the expulsion of the enemy from this continent depends in a great measure on the exertion of the United States; that France would be able to afford us very little assistance; and that Britain, so far from discovering any inclination to peace upon reasonable terms, absolutely refused the plan of negociation proposed by the mediating powers; so that arms alone could compel her to it. He mentions that, the king being apprehensive that the capture of the *Marquis de la Fayette* might reduce us to some difficulties, had ordered her cargo to be replaced immediately; and that, in consequence of applications from the States of Virginia and Maryland, he had ordered a number of arms and military stores to be shipped to them, subject, however, to the order of Congress. That this and the cargo designed to replace that of the *Marquis de la Fayette* were to be paid for out of the loan negociated in Holland, which he had occasion to think would be completed. He expresses a desire that the plan for the appointment of consuls should be digested and adopted, as the court of France wished to make it the basis of some commercial arrangements between France and the United States.

The following paper was also communicated:

[Extract of a letter from the Count de Vergennes, September 7, 1781.]

We think that since the arrival of Colonel Laurens you have stopped the bills of Mr. Morris on Messrs. Le Couteulx. If the superintendent has not followed your advice he will cause us some embarrassment, as we have not destinated any fund for that article. We have peremptorily declared to Dr. Franklin that we will not in future discharge any bills that had not been drawn with your consent. As to you, sir, we can not but repeat our former instructions on this subject; and we direct you to authorise no draft even for a small sum.

No. 1.

THE ANSWER OF HIS MOST CHRISTIAN MAJESTY TO THE ARTICLES PROPOSED BY THE TWO MEDIATING COURTS.*

[Translation.]

The mediators are too well satisfied of the moderation of the king and his constant wish for the re-establishment of peace not to be previously assured that his majesty will receive with as much gratitude as warmth the *preliminary articles* they have

* Austria and Russia proposed to act as mediators for a general peace about the beginning of the year 1781. Some particulars on this subject will be found in John Adams' Correspondence, vol. 3, p. 431; also in Flassan's *Diplomatique Française*, vol. 7, p. 300. The papers here inserted are imperfect, but they are all that could be found in the Department of State. They will serve to illustrate that part of the preceding communication of M. de la Luzerne which relates to the proposed mediation.—SPARKS.

communicated. The king, the more fully to convince the two high mediators of his frankness and of the purity of his intentions, as well as of the unreserved confidence that he places in the justice and impartiality of their high Imperial majesties, believes he ought to make some confidential observations upon these preliminary articles. His majesty flatters himself that this will be more acceptable to them, as its sole objects are to prevent discussions, which are equally mischievous and complicated, and to facilitate the much-wished-for success of their generous interposition.

"ARTICLE I. *There shall be a negociation at Vienna by the united care of the two imperial courts, embracing all the objects for the re-establishment of peace which the belligerent parties who entrust them with the mediation shall judge proper to be there proposed. A negociation shall in the mean time be entered into between Great Britain and her Colonies for the re-establishment of peace in America, but without the intervention of either of the other belligerent parties, or even of the two imperial courts, unless their mediation shall be formally demanded and accorded for this object.*"

According to the verbal observations, the expressions in the first part of this article have been used merely to place the King of Spain in a situation to propose the cession of Gibraltar, and this turn has been judged necessary because the court of London had previously declared that it ought to be made without reference to this cession, while the Catholic king demands it as a preliminary; as this part of the article immediately affects the court of Madrid, the king can not but refer himself to it for the answer that shall be made thereto. His majesty is content to observe, that having united himself in the same cause with the king, his uncle, he neither can nor will separate his interests from those of that prince, and that he regards the satisfaction he claims as a condition without which he can not personally treat of those matters.

As to the second part of the article, the two imperial courts can not flatter themselves with the hopes of bringing their mediation to a happy issue if they do not prevent the subterfuges, the subtleties, and false interpretations which either of the belligerent powers may avail themselves of to explain according to their views the preliminary propositions, which will certainly happen if they do not previously ascertain the sense of the expressions which relate to America.

The court of London will elude as much and as long as she possibly can the direct or indirect acknowledgment of the independence of the United States, and will avail herself of the terms that are used in speaking of them to maintain that she is not obliged to treat with her ancient Colonies as with a free and independent nation. That she is consequently not reduced to admit a plenipotentiary on their part, and that she is at liberty to view the American representative as a deputy from a part of her subjects who demand a favor. From whence it will follow, that when the mediation is in force, and they shall be about to enter upon the negociation, that they will dispute the character in which the American plenipotentiary shall be received. The King of England will consider him as his subject, while congress will demand that he shall be received as the representative of a free people, by means whereof the mediation will be stopped at the first outset.

To prevent this inconvenience it should seem that previous to any other measure, the *character of the American agent* ought to be determined in the most precise and positive manner, and Congress should be invited to confide its interests to the mediation. This invitation is so much the more interesting as the negociation relative to America should go hand in hand with that of the courts of Madrid and Versailles, and by consequence the negociations, although separate, should commence at the same time.

But who will invite the Congress to treat with England? The king can not, since the first article excludes him from the negociation. This task then can only be executed by the mediators themselves; all that the king can do, and that he will do with zeal and fidelity, is to invite the Americans to the peace, and to facilitate it by every means that they believe compatible with their essential interests. But that

the king may take this step with safety, and the hopes of success, and with the certainty of not rendering himself suspected by the Americans, it is necessary that he should first know the determination of the mediators upon the observations now made to them, and that this determination should be such as to secure to the American States their political existence.

The two high mediators and their ministers are too enlightened not to perceive that without this preliminary measure the Congress will send no person to Vienna, and that the king can make no attempts to engage them thereto without incurring the danger of involving himself, by means whereof and for the reasons already urged the mediation will be stopped at its first outset. These reflections appear to merit the most serious attention of the two mediating courts.

"ARTICLE II. *This separate peace can not, however, be signed except conjointly, and at the same time with that of the powers whose interests shall be treated by the mediating courts. Although neither peace, notwithstanding they are treated separately, shall be concluded without the other, yet care shall be taken to inform the mediators constantly of the progress of that which regards Great Britain and the Colonies, to the end that the mediation may be able to regulate the measures entrusted to it according to the state of the negociation relating to the Colonies, and both of the pacifications, which shall have been separately concluded at the same time, shall be solemnly guarantied by the mediating courts and by every other neutral power whose guarantee the belligerent powers may think proper to claim.*"

When the United States shall have been duly called to the congress of Vienna and shall have commenced their separate negociations with England this article will make no difficulty with his majesty.

"ARTICLE III. *To render the negociations of peace independent of events of war, always uncertain, which may arrest, or at least retard their progress, there shall be a general armistice between the two parties during the term of one year, reckoning from ——— of the month of ——— of the present year, or reckoning from the month of ——— of the year* 1782. *Should it happen that a general peace should not be re-established during the first term, or whilst the duration of either of these terms continues, everything shall remain in the same state in which it shall be found at the signing of these preliminaries.*"

This article includes two objects of equal importance; an armistice and a *status quo*. The mediators have already acknowledge that without this preliminary basis they can not enter upon a serious negociation for a peace; and for still stronger reason these preliminaries should be established before a truce can be spoken of.

The two mediating courts are themselves of this opinion, since they do not propose this armistice but in consequence of the acceptation of the first and second preliminary articles. The king thinks that before they can agree to an armistice it is necessary that the belligerent parties should have established preliminaries; and it can not be denied that the basis which the high mediators have proposed may lead to a delay of those preliminaries which should serve as the pledge and security for the re-establishment of peace, when in fact they really afford none.

But when these preliminaries shall be invariably established, it may be of consequence to determine what duration should be given to the suspension of arms. The plan of the mediators proposes one year; but this term appears too short not to be illusory. In fact it should be observed that the fire of war being kindled in the four quarters of the world, one part of the year will have revolved before the orders can be received by the respective commanders; so that tranquillity will be established in Europe, while hostilities continue in America and in the Indies. Besides, all the powers remaining armed, the slightest circumstance may occasion a violation of the truce.

In fine, it is in vain to flatter ourselves with the hope of concluding a definite peace in the short space of one year: as, exclusive of the variety of subjects that must necessarily be discussed, the two mediating courts are at a great distance from each other, nor is there less between the belligerent powers, and we should deceive ourselves if

we supposed that all the propositions which will be made on the one part and on the other will not give room for much debate and altercation, or that they will not, consequently, consume much time.

To these considerations we ought to add that an armistice for one year would be very burdensome, because the powers at war will be obliged to remain in arms, to their manifest loss, as it will be impracticable to disarm as well from the dispersion of the troops as from the enormous expense if (which is highly probable) it should become necessary to renew hostilities. If, then, the mediators wish sincerely to establish the peace they propose they should prefer a truce of many years to a simple armistice for one year. This expedient is better adapted to consolidate their work than a suspension of arms for a short time. But a truce will have the same inconveniences, and be equally dangerous with an armistice, if the belligerent powers remain under arms. Thus it seems necessary to agree at the same time reciprocally to disarm.

But supposing these two points settled, there remains another equally important, that is the *status quo*. Neither France nor Spain has any reason to reject it, so far as they are individually concerned. This is not the case with the Americans. To be satisfied of this we need only cast our eyes upon the *points* that the British troops actually occupy upon the continent of North America. The question then will be to obtain the consent of the United States, and this consent can only be demanded by the two courts that offer their mediation for the reasons that have already been urged.

"ARTICE IV. *This plan of negociation being adopted by all the parties, the belligerent powers shall request the mediators to open the conferences of the congress, and shall without delay give their respective plenipotentiaries such full powers and instructions as they shall judge necessary for the success of the negociation.*"

The king will conform himself with as much pleasure as earnestness to this article as soon as the preliminary basis shall be irrevocably established agreeably to the observation above mentioned. And the king will then authorize his plenipotentiaries to treat immediately of the preliminary articles, which should lead to cessation of hostilities, and as soon as these articles shall have been agreed to, to labor with zeal and assiduity for the early conclusion of a definitive treaty. The high mediators may be assured that his majesty will facilitate this double task by every means which he shall deem compatible with his dignity, with his interest, and with those of his allies, and that, as far as depends upon him, they will acquire the glory of having established upon a solid and unalterable basis the peace and tranquillity of every part of the world.

No. 2.

THE ANSWER OF THE COURT OF LONDON TO THE PRELIMINARY ARTICLE PROPOSED BY THE MEDIATING COURTS.

I am authorised to return an answer to the paper which by order of your court you delivered me and of which I have given an account to his majesty.

The answers marked A and B,* which I have the honor to submit to you to explain the unalterable sentiments of the king upon points essential to his dignity, and demonstrate the reasons that obliged his majesty to decline the plan proposed, so far as it relates to his rebellious subjects. The king knows the justice and the impartiality of the mediating courts, and he considers the plan with that spirit of conciliation which they give birth to. But his majesty can not but see it in a very different point of view from that in which it appeared to the august mediators when they supposed it admissible in all points.

* These papers are missing.

The king persuades himself that after having considered it again they will not entertain the same judgment relative thereto as heretofore, and that they will ever cease to wish that it should be admitted, since from their intention, as well as from the principles which they have laid down with so much wisdom and which the king adopts altogether, it necessarily results that everything inconsistent with the dignity of his majesty, the essential interests of his nation, and the rights of his crown, is inadmissible. A just and honorable peace with the belligerent powers under the mediation of the two imperial courts is the first object of his majesty's wishes. The king knows that the two august mediators will pursue the great work that they have undertaken with the same sentiments which induced them to engage therein, the desire of being useful to the belligerent powers, and his majesty hopes that their generous care will be crowned with success, and that they will serve to reconcile all the sovereigns at war by a safe and honorable peace which it shall be the interest of all parties to accept, and which shall not wound the dignity of either of them.

The sincere desire of peace, the gratitude due to the august sovereigns who have been willing to charge themselves with the mediation of it, and the sentiments with which the king will always receive whatever shall be proposed to him by them, would dispose his majesty to accept the proposed articles, if that acceptation could be reconciled to his dignity, the interests of the empire, and the rights of his crown.

1st. On every occasion in which there has been a question of negociation, since the commencement of the war with France, the king has constantly declared, that he could never admit in any manner whatsoever, nor under any form, that there should be any interference between foreign powers and his rebellious subjects.

2dly. The resolution of his majesty upon this important object is founded upon what the king owes to his own dignity, upon the essential interests of his people, and upon the incontestable right which every sovereign has to determine at his pleasure that which is clearly within his jurisdiction. This resolution is as immutable as the foundation upon which it rests. From the application of this principle to the different points of the first, second, and third articles results the melancholy but indispensable necessity of declining all that is proposed in these different articles relative to the rebellious subjects of his majesty.

The king invariably entertains the desire, which he has so often manifested, of terminating the war in which he is engaged with the belligerent powers by a just and honorable peace under the mediation of the imperial courts, and for this purpose his ministers shall be furnished with instructions and full powers, necessary to treat of all objects directly relative to the said powers. They shall be ordered to pursue the negociation conformably to the principles explained therein with all possible zeal, and to contribute on their part every suitable means to conduct it to a happy end.

No. 3.

THE VERBAL ANSWER OF THE KING OF GREAT BRITAIN TO THE VERBAL OBSERVATIONS MADE BY THE COUNT DE BELGIOJOSO, AUSTRIAN AMBASSADOR IN LONDON.

Since the king finds himself under the necessity of declining a plan proposed by the two mediating courts, he should think himself wanting in that respect which is due to them on so many accounts if he did not give some details of the reasons which have rendered it indispensable for him to take this step. His majesty is persuaded that when the two august mediators shall have considered them with that spirit of justice and impartiality which characterizes them they will become sensible of their weight.

The king would derogate from his rights of sovereignty should he consent in any manner to the admission of any person whatever delegated to the Congress by his rebel subjects; this admission being absolutely incompatible with their quality of subjects. For the same reason conciliatory measures employed to put an end to a

rebellion ought not to be intermixed either in their commencement or in their conclusion with a negociation between sovereign states.

In consequence of the same principle, his majesty can never enter into any engagements, nor adopt any plan which may limit or suspend the incontestable right which every sovereign has to employ all the means in his power to terminate a rebellion kindled in his dominions, either by the progress of his arms or by conciliatory means employed in the country itself. If, instead of taking advantage of the present disposition of a great part of his rebellious subjects to return to their allegiance, he was to stop the effect and progress of that disposition by stipulating a suspension of arms, he would retard the instant of that reconciliation which he wishes so much to hasten, and would furnish the leaders of the rebels with the means of fostering and strengthening their rebellion and oppressing the well-affected by the weight of their usurped authority; he would put it in the power of his enemies to prolong the troubles if he made the return of peace in America to depend on the success of a negociation with a belligerent power, a negociation which it would always be in their power to render fruitless.

The favorable intentions of the king towards his rebellious subjects, and his desire to make them experience the effects of his clemency, and restore to them the happiness which they enjoyed before their rebellion, are generally known; but whatever may be the arrangements which his majesty will make to restore and ensure the quiet of his Colonies, and link the happiness of his American subjects to that of the metropolis, they will be in their nature, as all things are which are merely national, arrangements of internal policy, and as such they can not properly be the object of the mediation or guarantee of any foreign power. When the king availed himself of the dispositions of the two imperial courts and employed their mediation his majesty gave it plainly to be understood that he aimed at the restoration of peace between the belligerent powers, to which alone it appeared to him that a mediation could be applied. Persisting invariably in the same sentiments, the king wishes that the mediation, at the same time that it confines itself to this particular object, may comprehend it in its full extent, and that the war between Great Britain and the republic of Holland may be included in it.

If the negociation is opened agreeably to these principles, and directed solely to this salutary end; if the other belligerent powers bring to it the same conciliatory spirit which his majesty will show, the generous care of the mediating powers will meet with a success the most complete, and the most conformable to their views.

No. 4.

REPLY OF THE MEDIATORS TO THE BELLIGERENT POWERS.

[Translation.]

The courts of Versailles and Madrid having transmitted to the two imperial courts their respective answers* to the articles proposed to serve as a basis to the negociation which had been communicated to them, as the court of London had done on the 15th of June last, the two imperial courts think that they must not delay to communicate their reply reciprocally to the three respective courts, as necessary to their mutual direction, and they have directed in consequence their ambassadors and ministers with the said courts to present copies of them to their respective ministers.

Their Imperial majesties have seen with the greatest satisfaction in that which was transmitted to them by his most Christian majesty the assurance of the grateful sentiments and real pleasure with which his majesty has received the said articles, but they could not but be so much the more affected by the exposition of the motives which have appeared to his Britanic majesty sufficient to prevent his acceptation of

* The answer of the court of Madrid is missing.

them. It appears convenient to them in the actual state of things to refer to another time and other circumstances the observation which they might produce, and which it would probably be useless to expose in the present moment; but what can not be so either at present or in future is, that the belligerent powers may see in their proper light the articles which have been proposed to them, and may in consequence appreciate them properly.

The mediating powers could not allow themselves to make any propositions which might wound the dignity or delicacy of either of the parties, or any of those which might in the first instance have obliged them implicitly or explicitly to decisions which can only be the result of a consent obtained by the way of negociations. They must consequently have confined themselves to seeking and finding out some proper means to enable the belligerent powers to assemble their respective plenipotentiaries at the place where the congress shall sit to endeavor under the mediation of the two imperial courts to settle amicably all the differences which are the causes of the present war, and when once they have met and are provided with instructions for all possible cases, to be continually at hand to seize one of those happy moments which circumstances sometimes bring on, and which are often lost forever, or at least for a great while, when one has not been at hand to take advantage of them.

They have found at the same time no other inconveniency in this but that perhaps the progress of the negociation might not be altogether so rapid as it would undoubtedly be wished. The suspension of arms and of the *status quo* by itself, independent of the remaining part of the proposition, can either be adopted or rejected; and after having weighed with the greatest impartiality the inconveniences and advantages which may result from the acceptation of their propositions, it has consequently appeared to them that nothing could better suit the respective interests of the belligerent powers, as well as their general and particular circumstances. They still persist in that opinion, and from the sincere interest which they take in the circumstances of all the belligerent parties they can not but wish that they might still admit between themselves, with such modifications as they should think proper, the articles which have been proposed to them, and which, as his most Christian majesty well observes, are not preliminary articles, as in the nature of things they could not be such, but which can no less be the means not only of bringing on at one moment or other the conclusion of a preliminary treaty, but perhaps even that of peace, a speedy return of which is so much to be wished for.

The two imperial courts have thought that in return for the confidence with which his most Christian majesty has expressed himself in his answer they ought to show as much in exposing to him the light in which they have seen the step they have taken in proposing the articles which they have caused to be communicated to him, and which they still persist in holding out, that the belligerent parties may still be able to adopt what has been proposed to them, or if not, to communicate some other idea, which may be productive of the same good effects or of happier ones if possible. His most Christian majesty may be persuaded beforehand that in that case they will with the greatest zeal make such use of it as they shall think most useful and convenient. Nothing can certainly add to the sincerity with which they will take care to justify on every occasion the confidence which the high belligerent parties have shown in accepting their mediation.

No. 5.

ANSWER OF THE COURT OF FRANCE TO THE REPLY OF THE MEDIATORS.

[Translation.]

The king has received with equal sensibility and gratitude the answer of the two mediating courts; his majesty regards it as a new proof of their friendship for him, of the just estimate which they form of his confidence in their impartiality, and of the true interest which they take in the prompt re-establishment of peace.

The king has not changed, and will not change, in his desire to second views so salutary; and the two high mediating powers may be assured that, so far as concerns his majesty, it will it not be owing to him if they are not soon in a situation to give full scope to their beneficent zeal.

But the court of London deprives the king of every expedient and every hope on this subject by its invariable resolution to regard and treat the Americans as its subjects. Such a resolution renders abortive every exertion that may be made for obtaining peace. It utterly destroys the plan of the two mediating powers, since it decides in the most peremptory manner the question which is the subject of dispute, and the direct or indirect decision of which should be the preliminary basis of the future pacification.

In this state of things the king thinks that the conferences proposed by the two mediating courts would at present be without effect, and that the meeting of the respective plenipotentiaries would be but a vain pretence, which would not diminish nor abridge the horrors of war, and which might compromise the dignity of their Imperial majesties.

The king is truly sorry to see that things have taken a direction so contrary to his wishes and to the expectations of their Imperial majesties, and, if it were in his power to change it, he would do it with an eagerness which would show to them the purity of his intentions; but his majesty thinks it is his duty to observe that he has allies with whom he has inviolable engagements; that he should betray them by abandoning the American cause; and that he should betray this cause if he consented to negociate a peace separate from and independent of the United States. The high mediating powers have perceived the impossibility of such a proceeding, since they have themselves proposed to place the negociation of the king and that of the United States upon an equal footing.

But even admitting that the king should lay the affairs of America out of the question, that he should be content to act only for his own personal interest, and that he should leave to the Americans the care of coming to an accommodation with their mother country, what would be the result of this mode of proceeding? The result would be that the peace would be deceptive; that it would have a merely speculative existence. In fact if, as appears from the strongest evidence to be probable, the Americans should persist in their refusal to return to their obedience to the British crown, the war between Britain and her former Colonies would still continue. The king would then be obliged, as at present, to assist them; the King of Spain, on his part, would be under the necessity of assisting his majesty; so that France and Spain, after the signature of their private treaty, would be in the same situation as they now are.

These considerations seem to the king to be most forcible, and his majesty has too just an idea of the wisdom and penetration of the two high mediating powers not to be convinced that they will regard them in the same point of view, and that they will wholly approve the cautious course which they oblige him to pursue.

The king is earnestly desirous to be able to change this course, and it is in consequence of this desire that he invites the high mediating powers to employ all their influence at the court of London to induce that court to show dispositions which may convince us that it is at last resolved to unite in good faith in a prompt and equitable peace.

The king thinks that he ought to inform the high mediating powers that his ambassador at Vienna is at present authorized to attend to all overtures and all expedients which tend to this object, whether they come from the court of London or are proposed by their Imperial majesties; and he is also authorised to join in the negociation, if sufficient grounds are presented to him for conducting it safely to a happy conclusion under the auspices of their Imperial majesties.

J. Adams to Vauguyon, Ambassador of France at The Hague.*

AMSTERDAM, *November* 24, 1781.

Mr. Adams presents his most respectful compliments to his excellency the Duc de la Vauguyon, and begs leave to acquaint him that by the last night's post he received from Congress some important despatches, which it is his duty to communicate to the ambassador of France. Mr. Adams requests his excellency to inform him what hour will be most convenient for him to wait on him at the *Arms of* Amsterdam. Meantime he most sincerely congratulates his excellency on the glorious news from America by the Duc de Lauzun of the surrender of Lord Cornwallis with his whole army to the arms of the allies.

This card I sent by my secretary, Mr. Thaxter. The duke returned for answer that he would call upon me at my house between twelve and one to congratulate me on the news from America. Accordingly, about one he came and spent with me about an hour and a half.

I communicated to him my fresh instructions and agreed to send him a copy of them to-morrow or next day by the post wagon (*chariot-de-poste*). He said he had not received any instructions from Versailles upon the subject, but might receive some by next Tuesday's post. He asked me what step I proposed to take in consequence of these instructions? I answered none, but with his participation and approbation; that I would be always ready to attend him at The Hague or elsewhere for the purpose of the most candid and confidential consultations, &c. He said that he thought that the subject was very well seen (*très bien vû*) and the measure very well concerted (*très bien combiné*), and that it would have a good effect at this time to counteract the artifice of the British ministry in agreeing to the mediation of Russia for a separate peace with this republic.

Livingston to Franklin.†

PHILADELPHIA, *November* 24, 1781.

SIR: Major-General du Portail will have the honor to present this. Congress, in consideration of their long and faithful services in this country, have granted permission to him and Colonels de Laumoy and de Gouvion to revisit their friends in Europe for the winter.

As the merits of these gentlemen have procured for them particular marks of the esteem of Congress, they wish them to be distinguished by the notice of their sovereign, and for that purpose have directed that they be recommended to you, and that you be requested to present them at court in such a manner as will bespeak for them the attention they justly merit.

---

* 3 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 499.

† MSS. Dep. of State; 2 Sparks' Dip. Rev. Corr., 180, with verbal changes.

Congress are persuaded that this task will be particularly agreeable to you, as they are indebted to your care for the useful services of these gentlemen, and as nothing is more acceptable to a man of real merit than to be made the means of displaying it in others.

P. S.—This is the third letter I have had the honor to write to you since my entering upon office, and you will find it numbered in the margin accordingly. I beg you will be pleased to number all your letters to me in the same manner, that I may know those which somehow or other may be prevented from coming to hand.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

ROBERT R. LIVINGSTON.

Bound to Last
DENVER
Bookbinding Co.
2715 17th St.
Denver, CO 80211